BUDDHISM

CRITICAL CONCEPTS IN RELIGIOUS STUDIES

Edited by
PAUL WILLIAMS

BUDDHISM

Critical Concepts in Religious Studies

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Volume VIII

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Disclaimer

DID I-CHING GO TO INDIA?

Problems in using I-ching as a source on South Asian Buddhism

T.H. Barrett

Source: *Buddhist Studies Review* 15, 2 (1998): 142–56.

For almost a century and a half Sinologists in this country have been accustomed to being buttonholed by their Indological colleagues who wish to know what light Chinese sources might throw on Indological problems[1]. We are, I am sure, always pleased to help, but if sometimes we might seem to hesitate to give straightforward answers, we would like our colleagues to be aware that such hesitation need not be due to indifference, incompetence or false modesty. Rather, Chinese information on India is often deeply puzzling for reasons which are not merely linguistic. In asking the question in my title I would no more wish to question the historical reality of I-ching's journey to India than I would Marco Polo's visit to China[2]. What I would wish to do, however, is to suggest that the records of both journeys exhibit problems at a variety of levels which demand careful consideration before these sources may be used as evidence.

Thus, notoriously, the account as we have it of Marco's Chinese sojourn turned out to be so at variance with what later European visitors of the sixteenth century found that for some time many learned men even hesitated to identify his Cathay with China. One modern reaction to this has been to suspect foul play, to accuse Marco of playing some sort of gigantic hoax on his readers. But while it is certainly possible to point to one or two palpable lies in the text of the work that goes under his name, it is in my view much more profitable to meditate on the differences between Europe in the thirteenth century and in the sixteenth, as well as the differences between thirteenth and sixteenth century China, and – yet further – to try to understand the vast differences that separate his viewpoint (that of an expatriate isolated in a predominantly Muslim foreign community, living in a China controlled by Mongols) from the perceptions of jetsetting moderns today. On this topic I will say no more, especially since Peter Jackson of Keele University has published an excellent account of how his tale stands up as a mediaeval document[3], but in what follows the similarities and differences between I-ching and Marco may perhaps be kept in mind.

For Chinese travellers to India certainly brought their own cultural attitudes with them, affecting not simply their outlook on what they saw, but also their very modes of expression, which must always be read against Chinese conventions if they are not to mislead us utterly. I have already drawn attention to one particular form which Chinese conventions of description could take in India, in discussing the reasons why Chinese Buddhist visitors to the holy places of Buddhism might be moved to tears, and I am very happy to see that at least one Indologist has found my remarks on this point useful[4]. In exploring one little corner of I-ching's writings, however, I find more to say about politics than literature, though again I hope that Indologists will see my remarks, limited as they are, as but a case study of a phenomenon which may well deserve more extended consideration.

Once again my object is to suggest that we cannot read a travel record like that of I-ching straighforwardly as an eyewitness deposition, but this time with particular regret, for though we possess several accounts of overland voyages from China to India, I-ching presents the most detailed information we have on the sea route out and back which he took through South-East Asia on his way to study in Nālandā, granted that beyond that route there is little sign of his having explored India beyond the closely grouped historic sites of Buddhism at all[5]. The quickest way to draw attention to the entire passage in which it occurs, first in the well-known translation by J. Takakusu (with the orthography updated), and secondly in the most recent translation I know of the portion of the text in question, by Daniel Boucher.

> 'The priests and laymen in India make caityas or images with earth, or impress the Buddha's image on silk or paper, and worship it with offerings wherever they go. Sometimes they build Stūpas of the Buddha by making a pile and surrounding it with bricks. They sometimes form these stūpas in lonely fields, and leave them to fall into ruins. Any one may thus employ himself in making the objects for worship. Again, when the people make images and caityas which consist of gold, silver, copper, iron, earth, lacquer, bricks, and stone, and when they heap up the sand or snow, they put in the images or caityas two kinds of śarīras. 1. The relics of the Great Teacher. 2. The gāthā of the Chain of Causation.
>
> 'The Gāthā is as follows:
>
> All things (Dharmas) arise from a cause.
> The Tathāgata has explained the cause.
> This cause of things has finally been destroyed;
> Such is the teaching of the Great Śramaṇa (the Buddha).
>
> If we put these two in the images or caityas, the blessings derived from them are abundant. This is the reason why the Sūtras praise in parables the merit of making images or caityas as unspeakable. Even if a man

make an image as small as a grain of barley, or a caitya the size of a small jujube, placing on it a round figure, or a staff like a small pin, a special cause for good birth is obtained thereby. and will be as limitless as the seven seas, and good rewards will last as long as the coming four births. The detailed account of this matter is found in the separate Sūtras'[6].

Next, Boucher:

'[People in India] make [incense] paste caityas [another term in this context for stūpa] and paste images from rubbings. Some impress them on silk or paper, and venerate them wherever they go. Some amass them into a pile, and by covering them with tiles, they build buddha-stūpas. Some erect them in empty fields, allowing them to fall into ruin. Among the monks and laity of India, they all take this as their practice. Furthermore, whether they build images or make caityas, be they of gold, silver, bronze, iron, paste, lacquer, brick or stone; or they heap up sand or snow, when they make them, they place inside two kinds of relics. One is called the bodily relic of the Great Teacher; the second is called the dharma-verse relic on causation. This verse goes as follows:

> All things arise from a cause.
> The Tathāgata has explained their cause
> And the cessation of the cause of things.
> This the great ascetic has explained.

'If one installs these two [relics], then one's blessings will be extremely abundant. This is why the sūtras, expanded into parables, praise this merit as inconceivable. If a person builds an image the size of a bran kernel or a caitya the size of a small jujube, and places on it a parasol with a staff like a small needle, an extraordinary means [is obtained] which is inexhaustible as the seven seas. A great reward [is obtained] which, pervading the four births, is without end. Details of this matter are given in other sūtras'[7].

I have to admit at this point that the flagrant anomaly in both these translations results from my own editorial intervention. Both try to gloss over the reference in the original Chinese to making Buddha-images out of snow, which I-ching certainly could not have seen during his journey to and from the plains of north India through the tropics: Takakusu in fact translates 'snowy-sand (lit. sand-snow)', and Boucher translates 'sand like snow'. But in Chinese qualifier precedes qualified, so if that is indeed the relationship between the two words, 'sandy snow' is the only possible translation, to say nothing of the impracticability of making a sandcastle Buddha out of sand fine enough to appear as white as snow. A check of all the largest dictionaries of Classical Chinese, however,

shows that no such term as 'sandy snow' has ever been recorded, and that we must translate the two terms separately, as I have just done. Nor can we posit some confusion between similar Indian words for snow and gold: a recent survey of translation terminology shows that the phrase 'golden sand', though frequent in Chinese translations, derives in all known cases from a compound in which the word for gold is totally dissimilar from that for snow[8].

The reasons for this clear anomaly (to continue to use a neutral word) in amongst what would appear to be a list of practices vouched for as authentically South Asian on the basis of observation is, I intend to show you, political, in the sense that it relates to a struggle for state patronage in a situation of interreligious rivalry in China. Before demonstrating this, however, it is necessary to say a word or two concerning just what that situation was in I-ching's lifetime. As is well known, the T'ang dynasty favoured Taoism over Buddhism for dynastic reasons, and particularly after the death of T'ai-tsung, Hsüan-tsang's imperial patron, his successor seems to have encouraged interreligious debate, perhaps with an eye to bringing Taoism and Buddhism closer together, but ultimately with a view to favouring the former. However, on the death of this ruler, Kao-tsung, in 683, his widow, the famous Empress Wu, who dominated the court, cast about for justifications for her taking over the throne in her own name, and eventually found them in Buddhism, thus giving I-ching's colleagues an unexpected opportunity to establish Buddhism in China against the run of events, which had increasingly exposed Buddhism as alien or irrelevant to Chinese life[9].

No one has done more to document this reversal in the fortunes of Buddhism than Professor Antonino Forte of the University of Naples, and he has shown in a number of publications not only how Chinese Buddhist monks helped create the necessary propaganda documents, but also how Buddhist monks of foreign origin were pressed into service to support the régime. South Asian Buddhism was of course taken as normative at this time – ascertaining those norms in relation to practice, rather than as hitherto in relation to doctrine, was the whole purpose of I-ching's trip – so Chinese political influence on the process of translation from a South Asian language (by this point invariably Sanskrit) allowed the régime of the Empress to use the authority of Buddhist norms without any of her subjects being aware of this imposture: Forte shows some clear examples of translators who succumbed to political pressure, or rose to the occasion to benefit their religion, depending on the way you look at it[10]. In either case, I am obliged to report that Wang Bangwei, whose excellent annotated editions of I-ching's works certainly deserve publication in English, presents evidence from a later epigraphical catalogue making it quite plain that I-ching himself eventually put his linguistic abilities in the service of the Empress, interpreting an indecipherable excavated text as an omen of divine approval of her rule[11].

This event, however, took place in 695, on his return, whereas Wang's scholarship favours 691 as the date of composition of I-ching's writings on India[12]. Perhaps, then, we can exempt these works from the charge of political influence on the grounds of chronology? Unfortunately, this is not possible. In 671, when

he set out for India, the threats to Chinese Buddhism would already have been obvious, but not the later opportunity to remedy the situation through appealing to the Empress for patronage. In 689, however, two years after I-ching had already left India to retrace his steps as far as the kingdom of Śrīvijaya, which is thought to have been located somewhere in southeast Sumatra, he did make a trip of a little over three months from his base there to South China[13]. Ostensibly this was an accident – he did not get off a China-bound ship to which he was delivering letters in time before it cast off – but Wang for one suspects a deeper motive[14]. Certainly, matters in China had by then reached a very interesting stage, as the Empress was moving towards declaring her own dynasty in the following year, but in my view it was not until the last minute that her patronage was decided in favour of the Buddhists, since there are clear signs that up to this point she was, for lack of any better ideological support for female rule, obliged to present herself solely as a Taoist Holy Mother figure, even though motherhood tied her firmly to the dynastic claims of her sons, whom she wished to supplant[15]. We should doubtless note as well that when in 691 I-ching sent his new writings back to China, the Chinese monk who conveyed them was himself seeking the patronage of the Empress in order to construct a temple in India with Chinese funds[16]. No wonder we learn on reaching the end of Takakusu's translation that I-ching professes his ultimate aim to be identical with that which Forte convincingly ascribes to the Empress from 690 onwards, that of creating a Buddhist 'New Jerusalem' in China to rival India[17].

In this great undertaking the rôle of the Buddhist snowman might at first seem insignificant, but even so it should not be overlooked. Vital to the work of the Empress was the sanctification of Chinese space, using the spiritual and material technologies of the age: holy image and holy text, both in their different ways holy relics of the Buddha himself[18]. Glancing at the material aspect of image making, it becomes obvious that the list of artistic media supplied by I-ching follows a pattern to some extent already familar. That well-known 'workshop manual' (to quote an economic historian's description), the *Lotus Sūtra*, provides an overlapping list of gold, silver and so forth as permissible substances out of which to form an image of the Buddha[19]. Yet the eighteenth century Japanese scholar-monk and Indologist Jiun (1717–1804), on whose remarkable commentary Takakusu depends heavily in his own translation, while naturally referring to the *Lotus Sūtra* for the value of the Buddhist sandcastle, gives no cross-reference for snow (sandy or otherwise) whatsoever, despite copious quotations from the ample Buddhist literature on the construction of images[20]. This in itself of course amounts to no more than an argument from silence, and I would readily concede that much of I-ching's material, even when not attributed to a named source, derives from identifiable textual material[21]. But the fact remains even so that the only other list I have been able to find so far that legitimates the building of holy snowmen is Chinese, and not even Buddhist, but rather is contained in a Taoist work of the late sixth or early seventh century[22]. And if the Taoists were stealing a march in increasing their spiritual potency by deploying Taoist snowmen, then

the Buddhists would have urgently sought or would even have concocted the sanction of Indian tradition to do the same.

Nor is the making of images from snow the only technology that our Taoist list shares solely with I-ching's. It also speaks (to our modern eyes, perhaps, more significantly) of imprinting images on paper or silk. Naturally, the passage in question has attracted the attention of those interested in the history of printing, particularly since imprinting texts on clay – especially the short text I-ching gives us – is so well attested at an even earlier date[23]. But the erudite Paul Pelliot for one was puzzled by the use of these Chinese materials in India and speculated that they had been used for the imprinting of images in China at an earlier date, and that the practice of using these materials had then been exported to India[24]. The great historian of Indo-Chinese relations (and teacher of Wang Bangwei), Ji Xianlin, was also puzzled at the references to paper in I-ching's writings, noting that in two out of the three passages concerned (covering the use of toilet paper and paper in the manufacture of parasols) it was unclear whether conditions in India or elsewhere were being described, though in view of I-ching's mode of expression in the passage I have cited, he felt obliged to accept that images were stamped on paper in India[25].

He also reasoned that since I-ching had to send home for supplies of paper and ink from South-East Asia (such indeed was the purpose of the letters home which caused his allegedly involuntary temporary return to China), and since there were no indications of the use of paper in that region at such an early date, the use of paper must have spread to India from China's Central Asian domains, which during the seventh century had been temporarily extended to very much their modern limits, to the north-west of India[26]. Though it would seem to be the case that poor quality paper was already being manufactured on the north-west frontier of India, the Taoist evidence allows us to read I-ching differently on the crucial point of whether paper was being used for stamping images on in the regions where he himself travelled[27]. Clay, after all, remained plentiful and was sanctioned by tradition. The comparative mobility of the paper image, noted by I-ching, would only have been important in a situation in which distribution was a premium, and this applied solely to China, where the spread of holy objects was vital to the process of sanctifying the entire terrain, in competition with Taoists for whom the terrain of China was already sacred, dotted with sites of great numinous power[28].

Could this be amongst the reasons why I-ching sailed back westwards again after his visit to the South China coast? His writings needed the authority of composition outside China in order to legitimate the practices described. However, among those practices we should not be surprised to find afterthoughts prompted not by his observations in India but by the need of his Chinese colleagues to be able to compete, in a life or death struggle for patronage, with enemies who had already sponsored two vicious persecutions in the two preceding centuries. In such circumstances the doctrine of expedient means would surely have allowed I-ching a little flexibility in describing Indian norms.

I use the words 'a little' advisedly. I have no doubt, surveying the scale of I-ching's achievements, that he was not only a very learned man and a very brave man, but also a very good man. His writings give every indication that he was a moral rigorist rather than an opportunist, let alone a skilled liar. If we wish to redeem his reputation, it may be possible to put his remarks down to a misunderstanding of hearsay evidence (though I doubt this) or even to the presentation of evidence from the 'Serindian' mixed cultural zone of Central Asia (which perhaps at this time may be seen as encompassing even the borderlands of the Indian Northwest Frontier) as purely Indian: his efforts in compiling the biographies of Buddhist travellers from China to India through that zone would have given him ample opportunity to find out about practice there. He gives himself away to a modern reader all too readily, because we know that South-East Asia and India up to the level of the Himalayas are not snowman country, though this would not have been known to the common Chinese reader in his own day. But when we consider what was at stake, surely we can forgive him his trespasses. The Empress, for one, whatever her personal religious commitment, was clearly desperate to find Buddhist sanctions for her rule, and the means for converting China into a Buddhist holy land, since (as we have noted already) the rôle of Holy Mother offered by the Taoists only tied her to the offspring of her late husband and did not allow her to rule in her own right – so no wonder that on I-ching's eventual, official return, she left her palace to greet him as he entered the capital[29]. By legitimating the use of Chinese paper technology for the reproduction of sacred materials, he had put a particularly powerful weapon in the hands of the Chinese Buddhist state.

And if we return once more to our initial comparison with Marco Polo, we may even – at the expense of piling hypothesis upon hypothesis in a way that rules out any chance of reaching a firm conclusion – push matters yet further. If Marco Polo's epic journey in time brought about an important element in the Renaissance – by establishing the lure of Cathay as the target of European voyages of discovery – then I-ching's journey equally may be seen as part of a chain of causation bringing modernity into being. For, by providing the Buddhist justification for the multiplication and distribution of texts and images through printing, he can be said to have prompted the development of Chinese printing to the point where the widespread use of paper for woodblocks paved the way for the somewhat different technology of the Gutenberg revolution.

And if either man had confined himself solely to a dry and completely unembroidered recitation of his observations – let alone if neither had left their own worlds to venture into the unknown – would the world be the same place today? I started these remarks with the suggestion that Indologists engaged in Buddhist Studies might do well to develop an awareness of the problems that their Sinological counterparts have to face in collaborating with them. I shall end with the suggestion that such collaboration, whatever the difficulties, is still a goal worth pursuing – that we could both do worse than unite, for example, in advising historians of technology. For if my interpretation of the function of the passages

I have cited is correct, then Buddhist conceptions of truth might well have played a part in what is still all too often taken to be a purely empirical field of research. Such a united front might well prove useful, for if I might hazard one further, final guess, a Buddhist Studies that remains solely of interest to students of Buddhism, without making any contribution to other fields of study, will remain also vulnerable at best to misunderstanding, at worst to continual institutional obstruction in its development. Surely this is the last thing this Association would wish.

Paper for the UK Association for Buddhist Studies, 1997

Notes

1 See 'Notes of a Correspondence with Sir John Bowring on Buddhist literature in China. by PROFESSOR WILSON, PRESIDENT. With Notices of Chinese Buddhist Works translated from the Sanskrit. By REV. E. EDKINS', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* XVI (1856), pp.316–39, which shows that Wilson was having Chinese works purchased on his behalf as early as 1854. Of course, there have also been a number of virtuosi in Western scholarship who have spanned both traditions, and it is gratifying to see that scholarship at this heroic level is still not a thing of the past, to judge by Jonathan A. Silk, 'The Composition of the *Guan Wuliangshoufo-Jing*: Some Buddhist and Jaina Parallels to its Narrative Frame', *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 25.2 (April 1997), pp.181–256.

2 I-ching is probably best known to Indologists under the romanisation I-tsing, used by Takakusu in 1896, and earlier by Chavannes in 1894, in their translations of his works. Here I have used the Wade-Giles forms for Chinese names, since they represent a standard still better known in Buddhist studies than pinyin. I have, however, referred to the contemporary Chinese Indologists Wang Bangwei and Ji Xianlin in the pinyin spellings that they themselves use; in Wade-Giles they would be Wang Pangwei and Chi Hsien-li respectively, though the latter was also known during the earliest stages of his career in Germany as Dschi Hiänlin.

3 Peter Jackson, 'Marco Polo and his Travels', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 61.1 (1998), pp.82–101.

4 T.H. Barrett, 'Exploratory Observations on Some Weeping Pilgrims', in T. Skorupski, ed., *Buddhist Studies Forum* I (London 1990), pp.99–110. See also Malcolm David Eckel, *To see the Buddha: A Philosopher's Quest for the Meaning of Emptiness* (Princeton 1994), pp.57–8.

5 See the fold-out map incorporated into J. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D.671–695), by I-tsing* (Oxford 1896; repr. New Delhi 1982), and the maps included in the works mentioned by Wang Bangwei: his study cited in n.11 below gathers on its pp.257–8 all we may know concerning his travels within India; they do not seem to have amounted to much.

6 Takakusu, *Record*, pp.150–1, minus footnotes.

7 Daniel Boucher, in Donald S. Lopez, Jr., ed., *Buddhism in Practice* (Princeton 1995), p.61, giving also a reference to the standard Taishō edition of the text, i.e. Vol.54, No.2125, p.226c, equivalent to *Nan-hai chi-kuei nei-fa chuan*, fasc. 4, section 31. Boucher quotes this passage in his introduction to a full translation of one of the main sources on Buddha images in the Chinese Canon (pp.66–8); his introduction and especially his suggestions for further reading (pp.63–4) contain much that throws light on the aspect of Buddhism described here.

8 See Hirakawa Akira, ed., *Kan-Bon daijiten* (Tokyo 1997), p.1180.

9 An outline of the seventh century history of state religious patronage in China prior to the advent of the Empress Wu as ruler may be gained by consulting S. Weinstein, *Buddhism Under the T'ang* (Cambridge 1987), pp.1–36, in conjunction with T.H. Barrett, *Taoism Under the T'ang* (London 1996), pp.11–40.

10 For a detailed study of the events leading up to the Empress Wu's declaration of the new dynasty as a Buddhist régime, see Antonino Forte, *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century* (Naples 1976), and *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias in the History of the Astronomical Clock* (Rome 1988); for an excellent case study of political interference in translation, A. Forte, 'The Relativity of the Concept of Orthodoxy in Chinese Buddhism', in Robert E. Buswell, ed., *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha* (Honolulu 1990), pp.239–49, though this concerns the period immediately following the rule of the Empress; note, however, A, Forte, 'Hui-chih, fl. (676–703 A.D.), a Brahmin Born in China', *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale (Napoli)* 45 (1985), pp.105–34, for what appears to be an interesting case of political manipulation by the Empress of a China-based Sanskritist.

11 Wang Bangwei, *Nan-hai chi-kuei nei-fa chuan chiao-chu* (Peking 1995), p.20; p.160 reveals that this information was brought to his attention by another outstanding Chinese expert on Buddhism, Fang Guangchang. The epigraphical evidence is preserved in Chao Ming-ch'eng, *Chin-shih lu*, 25.9b, in the edition of the Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an, series two: this text dates to 1119–25 and contains much important evidence of inscriptions that are now lost. Wang's volume consists of an excellent edition of the text first translated by Takakusu, with a lengthy introduction: the passage given above in our two translations is on pp.173–4. As long ago as 1973 John Brough drew attention to the need to update Takakusu's work, as may be seen from Minoru Hara and J.C. Wright, eds., *John Brough: Collected Papers* (London 1996), pp.249, 260; Wang's work is a major step in this direction.

12 Wang Bangwei, *Ta-T'ang Hsi-yü ch'iu-fa kao-seng shuan chiao-chu* (Peking 1988), p.261, in his annalisic biography of I-ching. This is attached to an edition of I-ching's other main work, the collection of biographies of East Asian clerical pilgrims to India first translated by Chavannes, and now also available in English from Latika Lahiri, *Chinese Monks in India* (Delhi 1986). Lahiri's work does not replace that of Chavannes, but she does include a reprinting of the Taishō text, No.2066 in Vol.51.

13 Unfortunately, the history of the region in which I-ching was based is not as well established as that of China: for the current state of our knowledge, see Jan Wisseman Christie, 'State Formation in Early Maritime Southeast Asia: a Consideration of the Theories and Data', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 151 (1995), pp.235–88, especially pp.262–72. This impressive digest of recent scholarship shows that although we lack the archaeological evidence to pin down the exact location of I-ching's base, thanks to a close reading of his works and similar sources, plus a number of inscriptions, we do know roughly what sort of state it was.

14 Wang, *Ta-T'ang ... chiao-chu*, p.235, n.60, re. text on p.214. The translation of this passage by Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p.114, does not quite capture the sense.

15 Barrett, *Taoism Under the T'ang*, pp.40–2, presents the evidence for this view.

16 Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p.103; Wang. *Ta-T'ang ... chiao-chu*, pp.207–8; see also Ts'ao Shih-pang, *Chung-kuo Fo-chiao i-ching shih lun-chi* (Taipei 1990), pp.213–20, for a study of the background to this.

17 Takakusu, *Record*, p.215, and also earlier, pp.70–1; Wang, *Nan-hai ... chiao-chu*, pp.242–3; p.94.

18 Some further reading on this topic may be found by consulting the contribution of Boucher, as pointed out in n.7 above.

19 The materialistic reading of the *Lotus Sūtra*. I derive from Liu Xinru, *Ancient India*

and Ancient China (New Delhi 1988), p.96; pp.92–102 set lists of the type which we are considering here within the larger context of conspicuous religious consumption in Mahāyāna Buddhism. Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* (New York 1976), pp.38–9, translates the scriptural passages in question.

20 Shikō, also known as Jiun, *Nankai kiki naihō den kairan shō*, 4A, pp.189–91 (continuous pagination, pp.219–21), in the edition of *Dainihon Bukkyō Zensho*, Vol.14 (Tokyo 1917), an edition prepared by Takakusu. For Jiun's position in the general history of East Asian Sanskrit studies, see R.H. van Gulik, *Siddham. An Essay on the History of Sanskrit Studies in China and Japan* (Nagpur, 1956), pp.133–5, and for the man himself in his own historical context the publications of Paul B. Watt, notably 'Jiun Sonja (1718–1804): A Response to Confucianism within the Context of Buddhist Reform', in Peter Nosco, *Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture* (Princeton 1984), pp.188–214. Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom* . . ., p.39, translates the references to sandcastles on Jiun's p.189.

21 Note the case pointed out by Gregory Schopen, on pp.485–6 of his 'Deaths, Funerals and the Division of Property in a Monastic Code', in Lopez, ed., *Buddhism in Practice, op. cit.*, pp.473–502. One might also note with Schopen that here I-ching's ostensible eyewitness account turns out to be nothing of the sort.

22 T.H. Barrett, 'The *Feng-tao k'o* and Printing on Paper in Seventh century China', BSOAS 60.3 (1997), pp.538–40, is deigned to provide a discussion of this Taoist list and its probable date: it is certainly earlier than I-ching, and the text is certainly cited in polemical Taoist literature by a contemporary of his.

23 Jiun, *Nankai kiki* . . ., 4A, p.189, is probably the earliest scholar to have noted that I-ching constitutes testimony to a form of printing long before the advent of the printed book as a common commodity in Sung times (tenth century onwards). The most up to date standard overview of the development of printing in China is currently that of Tsien Tsuen-hsuin, in Vol. V:1 of Joseph Needham, ed., *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge 1985): I-ching's data on printing are discussed on pp.149 (printing) and 356 (paper).

24 Paul Pelliot, *Les débuts de l'imprimerie en Chine* (Paris 1953), p.18.

25 Ji Xianlin, *Chung-Yin wen-hua kuan-hsi shih lun-wen chi* (Peking 1982), p.37. This expanded collection of Ji's essays on Sino-Indian cultural relations adds to his original work on the introduction of paper into India (the essay cited here first appeared in 1954 and was later included in an earlier collection of his essays in 1957) a number of supplementary notices, none of which bears upon the passage that concerns us here. Please note also that my 'Ji Xianlin on the Original Language of Buddhism', *Indo-Iranian Journal* 35 (1992), pp.83–93, represents no more than an attempt at summarising his comments on K.R. Norman's work; it is not a balanced discussion of the whole impressive range of his achievements.

26 Ji, *Chung-Yin* . . . *chi*, pp.44–50, reprints from his earlier collection a study amplifying his original arguments for a Central Asian source for Indian knowledge of paper.

27 Jeremy P. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India* (London 1982), pp.10–11, shows that some of the famous Gilgit manuscripts of the sixth century were written on a crude form of paper produced from materials in the vicinity, apparently to meet purely local needs, but finds it most improbable that such paper could have displaced traditional writing materials further afield where they were in more plentiful supply at this date, and in fact there is no evidence of such a substitution elsewhere until long after I-ching's visit, though (as noted below) we might conclude that I-ching could have heard tell of this use of paper on the fringes of India proper from East Asian pilgrims who had passed through the region of Gilgit. I am indebted to my knowledge of Losty's discussion of the issue to Dr P.F. Kornicki of Cambridge University, who is

also working on the early history of printing with a view to a reassessment of the Japanese evidence.

28 The Buddhist sacralisation of Chinese space to compete with the existing Taoist dominance of the Chinese landscape is certainly a phenomenon that requires more extended treatment than can be afforded in a footnote. Some idea of the Taoist view of Chinese space during the late seventh century may be gained from Florian C. Reiter, *Kategorien und Realien im Shang-ch'ing Taoismus* (Wiesbaden 1992), an analysis of a Taoist encyclopaedia of sacred places which mixes (in a fashion which must have been the envy of the Buddhists) heavenly realms and Chinese locations.

29 Wang, *Ta-T'ang . . . chiao-chu*, p.262, citing sources such as Chih-sheng, *K'aiyūan shih-chiao lu*, 9, p.568b in Taishō, Vol.55, No.2154, which is our earliest account of this from the eighth century. Of course his other contributions, not only scriptures for translation and an image but also 300 granular relics – ideal for distribution across the land as caityas – would also have contributed to the evident decision to afford him the Chinese equivalent of a tickertape welcome home.

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STŪPA, SŪTRA AND ŚARĪRA IN CHINA, *c*.656–706 CE†

T.H. Barrett

Source: *Buddhist Studies Review* 18, 1 (2001): 1–64.

1. Shorter histories and larger questions

To a readership of Buddhologists, a study concentrating on a span of a mere fifty years—and at some remove from the lifetime of the Buddha, too—probably requires a word or two of explanation. The interrelationship between structures, texts and relics is surely a topic for investigation on the grand scale, so as to arrive at an understanding of how Buddhism deals with such matters as scripture and memory within the tradition as a whole. Why select a brief fragment of time, less even than an ordinary lifespan, from one particular regional branch of Buddhism, and subject it to microscopic examination? To state the obvious, because this study is not concerned with Buddhological matters in themselves, but with an attempt at historical reconstruction designed to answer a specific question.

And, as it happens, that high degree of specificity has not helped in reducing the research that follows to the truly microscopic level. China in the late seventh century was an environment which produced a vast amount of surviving textual information, so far from having to eke out what meaning we may from a strictly bounded collection of materials, it is much more of a problem to feel certain that one has read comprehensively enough to arrive at a definitive answer. This study may, then, be improved upon by future researchers possessed of greater assiduity, but the immediate aim here is simply to establish the area of research covered as an important one for making sense of human experience over the past one and a half millennia. For the question which we are attempting to answer is this: what was the religious environment that encouraged the spread of the new technology of printing in late seventh century China?

Here, of course, I cannot answer this question completely, but only in so far as it concerns Buddhism, though I have presented a broader treatment of some of the issues involved in another lecture*. But to understand the need to focus on an answer—albeit a partial one—in Buddhist terms, we should note that the classic study on the origins of woodblock printing in China, which was based on

research carried out more than three quarters of a century ago, is quite clear about the importance of Buddhism in the development of printing technology. It refers explicitly to 'the duplicating impulse that has always been a characteristic of Buddhism'[1]. This may sound slightly mysterious in isolation, but a standard general history of the book is more intelligible:

> [O]ne of the ways by which the devout Buddhist . . . acquired merit was by the ceaseless repetition, orally or in writing, of passages from the Buddhist scriptures. A method of endless reduplication of such merit-bringing passages by means of impressions on paper from wooden blocks was too precious an opportunity for Buddhist zeal to have overlooked[2].

Thanks to more recent work, by K. R. Norman and others on the oral nature of early Buddhist scriptures, and by Richard Gombrich and others on the link between the rise of Mahāyāna and writing, the general factors stimulating reduplication are now tolerably clear: Buddhists needed to repeat their scriptures orally, lest they forget them; Mahāyānists needed to propagate their ideas in writing as energetically as possible, lest their minority opinions disappear from the face of the earth[3]. But whereas such factors, plus paper and rudimentary text transfer devices such as seals, were present almost from the start of Chinese Buddhism, there are no signs that Buddhists, once introduced to these resources, were in any sense looking for a way of combining them so as to embark on the mass manufacture of meritorious texts. It surely remains important to try to explain through a closer examination of all the factors involved why the large-scale move to woodblock printing took place when and where it did, even if that attempt at explanation remains at times tentative and incomplete.

2. Printing and the seventh century

Chinese scholars have long suspected that woodblock printing was known in China during the seventh century, and lately a few examples of *dhāraṇī* found in tombs have been dated by archaeologists there to this period, though I am not sure how securely[4]. Even so, by looking at some of the religious literature of the period, I have established to my satisfaction that the advantages of speed, accuracy and volume conveyed by printing would have been understood at this time[5]. I have also discovered that Taoists were stamping images from woodblock onto paper during the first half of the seventh century[6]. It may further be deduced that they were printing text as well during the latter half of the century[7]. Yet the earliest securely datable printed materials we have from East Asia are all Buddhist. The first is a *dhāraṇī* found inside a Korean pagoda (i.e. stūpa), which was constructed in 751. The latest scholarship on this object, a collection of conference papers from a seminar at Yonsei University, Korea, held October 19–20, 1999, continues to show heated disagreement between Korean and Chinese academics

over whether this text, the *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni*, or *Raśmivimalaviśud-dhaprabhā-dhāranī*, first translated by 704, was made locally or exported from China[8].

But until the discovery of this text in 1966, the first material evidence that the world had of woodblock printing was that deriving from a project undertaken in Japan between 764 and 770. During that period the ruler of Japan, the Empress Shōtoku, sponsored the creation of one million miniature pagodas containing printed copies of the same work found in Korea—which, as a mere record in the relevant Japanese chronicle we might be inclined to doubt, were it not that so many survive to this day. As Peter Kornicki notes in a recent summary of this episode, on which he is preparing a substantial monograph, the text in question had already arrived in Korea by 706, for an inscription on the inside of a reliquary box states that another copy was placed inside a pagoda in a different temple in Korea in that year. The proximate source for the Japanese enterprise might therefore have been Korean practice, but he suspects instead some connexion with the Empress Wu, the great Chinese example of female rule, who dominated the court for about fifty years from 655 till shortly before her death in 705.[9] But how may we bridge the gap between the Taoist references of the seventh century and these eighth century materials, particularly in view of the fact that the Empress Wu is chiefly known for her public support for Buddhism, whatever her personal attitude towards the Taoist religion?

At the 1997 UKABS conference I presented research suggesting that the famous late seventh century pilgrim Yijing's remarks concerning the printing of short texts on *paper* for insertion into stūpas in India reflected not Indian practice (which used clay) but the legitimation for Chinese Buddhists of a practice already known to Taoists, with whom they were in competition for sacred space. I also suggested that Yijing's patron, the Empress Wu, might have stood to gain from this[10]. Since this paper was addressed to Buddhologists, I did not expatiate on the Chinese situation, for fear of introducing too much material on Taoism or on Chinese imperial politics, though I gave in footnotes one or two brief indications of my evidence. In the following remarks, however, I hope to provide some documentation suggesting several possible motives for interest in the use of printed texts as relic substitutes on the part of the empress within the context of Buddhist studies, with some tentative conclusions as to what motive in particular may have proved crucial. So before turning to the more specific research task outlined above, it is necessary at least to provide a general account of the phenomenon of the textual relic and its antecedents.

3. Relics and texts in the Chinese Buddhist tradition

The conception of relics and texts which came to prevail in China will, perhaps, be relatively unfamiliar to those primarily interested in the Buddhism of the Pāli canon. As I understand the situation described in these materials—for which I have gone little further than the recent recapitulation of earlier research by

Kevin Trainor—images of the Buddha did eventually come to be recognized as relics of a sort within this tradition, and 'relics of use', objects associated with the Buddha such as the Bodhi-tree, also played a part[11]. But primary interest remained with corporeal relics, as enshrined in the equivalents of stūpas or, to use the sinologist's term, pagodas—the terminology even of Indian Buddhism is inevitably more complex than can be conveniently summarized here[12].

It goes without saying that the image of the Buddha was also of immense importance during the period of Chinese history we are about to consider, and one can point to important reasons for this in the Chinese context. Thus Glen Dudbridge has shown that Chinese tales collected about a century later regard Buddha images as supernatural actors in their own right, regardless of any orthodox clerical interpretation of what they were supposed to represent; these beliefs were probably established well before this point[13]. Looked at another, more ideological way, recent research has also stressed the benefits to the standing of both the local elite and the central state in village society of the public consecration of religious images even some two and a half centuries earlier in China[14].

Even so, control of text by the state had a particular importance in the Chinese world, and the arrival of an imperial edict in local society was in itself evidently the occasion for public ritualized displays of state power which involved local religious communities as well[15]. In this respect, moreover, Chinese orientations towards respect for text coincided with those of the Mahāyāna tradition—hence, perhaps, one reason for its success in East Asia—and it is exclusively within the limits of the Mahāyāna tradition as known and understood in East Asia that I have attempted to grasp any larger background to the phenomena I shall describe.

The textualization of relics in the Mahāyāna context links up, of course, with the sacralization of the text, which we have already mentioned. But the point of linkage in doctrinal terms seems to have involved the concept of the *dharmakāya*, the corpus of the Buddha's teachings as a form of his presence—a key term as it emerged in the development of Buddhist doctrine, and one over which much ink has been spilt over the years. Again, my account must be minimal. The very ancient saying underlying this development, 'Whoever sees the Dharma, sees the Buddha', was already known in China in the third century CE[16]. The consequential treatment in religious practice of Buddhist texts as relics may be detected there too from the early fifth century[17].

4. Introducing the empress

Lastly, before embarking on my brief history, I should explain that the chronological limits of my survey are dictated by the period of ascendancy of the Empress Wu. In 655 she was well on her way to defeating her only two rivals in the imperial harem, so that by the start of 656 they had both been subjected to mutilation and judicial murder at her instigation. By 660 her husband's ill health had obliged him to cede to her a measure of executive power—unusual, but not

unprecedented for an empress at this stage in Chinese history. His death in 683 next obliged her to rule through her sons, in the course of which she removed one who showed signs of independence in favour of a more pliable sibling. Eventually she took over as Emperor (using the male title) from 690 until a coup against her shortly before her peaceful death at an advanced age in 705[18].

As we shall see, the bare outlines of her life are not enough to understand the course of religious events during this career. We should take into account from the start the fact that reactions to her were not, and since her lifetime have not ever been, neutral. In a male-dominated society she has generally, except in the case of one or two rare iconoclasts, inspired feelings of strong revulsion, and her whole career has been seen as the carefully planned outcome of a diabolically clever and scheming nature. The following remarks are not intended to exonerate her from all the charges laid against her, since in order to win and maintain her position she was obliged to perpetrate some fairly dark deeds, but rather than see her regime as the outcome of a well thought out plan, it would seem more natural to suppose that she was primarily concerned to ensure her own survival in unpredictable circumstances that were not of her own making; that she laid plans, but was not prescient enough to ensure that everything unfolded just as she wanted. In any case, it is not the personality of this empress as such that concerns us, but aspects of her knowledge of and deployment of Buddhism.

For this remarkable—indeed, terrifying—woman had as a teenager been a concubine of her husband's father, and on the old man's death had been consigned to a Buddhist nunnery, where she would have stayed indefinitely had she not already made sure to catch the attention of his heir apparent. From this, and from other indications of her early interest in Buddhism, we can assume as the starting point of our investigation not only the calculating nature unafraid of risks that is acknowledged by her friends and foes alike but also a basic knowledge of Buddhist texts and doctrines.

5. The empress and India: first reports

In the matter of the construction of multiple miniature pagodas, however, we do know that by 656 she had made the acquaintance of China's chief source of information at this time on the nature of this practice as current in India. For the great traveller and even greater translator Xuanzang maintained close relations with the throne, and in this year was invited to bestow the bodhisattva ordination on the newborn child of the empress—a precaution which Arthur Waley likens to vaccination[19]. If this association moved her to read his travel account of India, composed for the old emperor on his return from his travels, she would have found a full description of how the sagely Indian layman Jayasēna passed his time—quoted here as rendered into the splendid Victorian prose of Samuel Beal:

> It is a custom in India to make little *stūpas* of powdered scent made into a paste; their height is about six or seven inches, and they place

> inside them some written extract from a *sūtra*; this they call a *dharma-śarīra* (*fa-shi-li*). When the number of these has become large, they then build a great *stūpa*, and collect all the others within it, and continually offer to it religious offerings. This then was the occupation of Jayasēna; with his mouth he declared the excellent law, and led and encouraged his students, whilst with his hands he constructed these *stūpas*. Thus he acquired the highest and most excellent religious merit. In the evening, again, he would walk up and down worshipping and repeating his prayers, or silently sit down in meditation. For eating or sleeping he had little time, and relaxed none of his discipline night or day. Even after he was an hundred years old his mind and body were in full activity. During thirty years he had made seven *kōṭis* of these *dharma-śarīra stūpas*, and for every *kōṭi* that he made he built a great *stūpa* and placed them in it. When full, he presented his religious offerings and invited the priests; whilst they, on their part, offered congratulations[20].

Xuanzang may also have told his later followers in China about this phenomenon, but the account of his meeting with the layman found in his biography, though it mentions a miracle involving the relics of the Buddha which they both witnessed together, passes over his preoccupation with the mass production of miniature texts and stūpas[21]. A number of points may, however, be made about this passage, on the assumption that the empress was, indeed, aware of it. First, although an authorial note in the text helpfully (indeed, mercifully) defines a *koṭi* here as one hundred thousand, the productivity achieved seems extraordinarily high, even for an activity that could presumably be carried on at the same time as participation in other tasks, somewhat in the same fashion as knitting[22]. The same may be said of the massive production of religious objects achieved by Xuanzang himself, according to the listings at the end of his biography[23]. It may be in the Chinese case that we are dealing with the creation of religious images by stamping from woodblock on paper, for one late, second-hand, but not necessarily inaccurate source does allege that Xuanzang did use such a method to create five packloads of religious images annually[24]. Even so, I notice, in the canonical literature recounting the devotion shown to and copying of various famous Buddhist texts in China, the admission that the total productivity credited in at least one case to a named person was achieved by copyists, for whom he acted as sponsor. That such a practice was common is also suggested by the fact that some of the production totals achieved by individuals appear in any case to exceed what would have been possible in a single human lifespan[25]. This would mean that the artefacts attributed to Jayasena and Xuanzang were actualy from the 'school of', rather than the personal creations of the masters concerned—and each man seems to have had a goodly number of disciples.

Secondly, even though no mention is made of printing the scriptural passage inserted into the stūpas in India, there is every reason to believe that stamps

were being used to create texts on clay, for there is plenty of archaeological as well as textual evidence to corroborate the account given by Xuanzang which makes entirely clear the printing element involved. Daniel Boucher, in the magisterial published version of his MA work, provides a very full explanation of this, which I can only synopsize here[26]. Starting from the same notion of *dharmakāya* and the equation. 'He who sees the Dharma sees the Buddha', he adds (as we have omitted to do) the simultaneous equation in our source that seeing the Buddha's teaching on causality amounts to seeing the entire Dharma corpus. From the second century CE we find a short statement on causality already used in inscriptions to equate with a corporeal relic; from the end of the sixth century the practice of multiplying such statements, as cast into formal verse, by stamping them on clay is attested by innumerable archaeological examples.

But thirdly, there is still a significant gap between the practice described by Xuanzang and Boucher and the invention of printing as I understand it. Jayasena hoards up his little stūpas with their clay prints inside, until they are stored inside a larger one. There is no notion of distributing his printed material here, and indeed his clay stamps are not ideal material for distribution in any case, though the practice of simply making miniature stūpas out of clay, minus any obvious textual material, did apparently spread during the period under consideration from Central Asia (where it may have arrived in the sixth century) to the various kingdoms of East Asia[27]. Only Xuanzang's alleged images on paper are said to have been distributed, as Taoist materials probably were by about this time; paper was a far easier material to transport, but despite its marginal availability around the area of Gilgit does not seem to have displaced clay further south in India, where distribution does not seem to have been envisaged.

The reasons for this we shall discover shortly, but before leaving Indian practice we should note one more facet of it which the empress would have known about through direct observation. For Xuanzang was not the only Chinese to inform their majesties of conditions in the subcontinent; an official named Wang Xuance was also sent out on at least three successive missions by the old emperor and by the husband of the empress, apparently to explore possible diplomatic cooperation with Indian kings. The date of his third mission has been somewhat in doubt, but the surprising recent discovery of an inscription which it left on its way through Tibet would seem to confirm that it went out in 658 and came back the following year[28]. There are, however, clear indications that he went back yet again, in 660, and brought back a Buddha relic, a portion of skull-bone, which, given that the round trip always took about one year, was presented to the throne in 661, by which time the empress had, as noted above, taken over executive authority. But besides this relic he had also acquired in India other religious items donated by monasteries, including four objects described as 'Buddha seals'. This can only mean seals for stamping images of the Buddha, and so we can be fairly sure that at least the empress saw and understood the use of these items, since all such gifts were presented at court, not just extraordinar-

ily numinous items such as relics. The sources on this fourth trip may be found cited in the *Fayuan zhulin*, a compilation on which more will be said shortly[29].

6. The empress and Aśoka

But at this time she and her husband were already engaged in religious activities which, although apparently tangential, do in fact help to explain important factors in her involvement in texts and pagodas. In 659 the couple happened to have invited to the palace a monk renowned for his knowledge of spells, who mentioned to them an ancient pagoda some one hundred kilometers west of the capital, said to have been once attached to an establishment known as the Aśoka Monastery. Now places so named are not uncommon in China, for one of the ways in which the cognitive dissonance between a religion all of whose holy sites were in India and a China all of whose holy sites were originally non-Buddhist was to suppose that Aśoka, as a cakravartin world-ruler, must have ruled China once, though because of the famous 'Burning of the Books' by the First Emperor of China records as to this episode had been lost. This belief inspired a sort of sacred archaeology, already described to some extent by Zürcher, who points out both that it is so easy to unearth ancient structures in China that traces of allegedly Aśokan foundations were not too difficult for pious Buddhists to identify, and that the discovery of such numinous traces in themselves helped to legitimate the reigning monarch in a China where auspicious omens were given great political weight[30].

In that these 'responses to stimuli' (*ganying*) were in general not construed as accidental, but as reflections of the ruler's virtue, discoveries of this type naturally allowed any ruler to bask amongst his (or, as we shall see, her) subjects in the reflected glory of the great Buddhist world-ruler. But we can most certainly go further than this, for Zhou Yiliang has noted well before the Tang the use of Sanskrit-based, Buddhist-tinged rhetoric in South and South-East Asian diplomatic correspondence with China in general, and flattering references to Aśoka in particular. These must surely have encouraged Chinese rulers to see the advantages of claiming Aśokan connexions and if possible projecting an overtly Aśokan role on the international stage as well[31].

So it is not surprising to read that the emperor jumped upon this piece of information with alacrity: 'Is that not the Aśoka who donated a lump of dirt when he was a lad?' he asked, showing a detailed knowledge of the legend of king Aśoka[32]. 'If there's something there nowadays, then it's one of the 84,000 stūpas!' Doubtless, like the emperor, the reader will recall that with supernatural help the great monarch distributed 84,000 relics of the Buddha in stūpas (in some accounts known in China and elsewhere, within *vihāras*) across the length and breadth of his domains in a single day[33]. On the thaumaturge suggesting that it would indeed be a good idea to check, the enthusiastic emperor replies, 'If we could find a relic that would be a good cause in the most profound way!', and issues instructions for preliminary ceremonies to be carried out for seven days

before conducting a search. To cut a long story short, his agents found the relic, and, leaving behind a statue of Aśoka of equal size to the emperor, brought it back to the capital, where it was soon joined by the skullbone from India[34]. When the relic was returned to its place of origin in 662, on the understanding that it would only be put on display every thirty years, it was accompanied by lavish gifts of clothing from the empress. There these textiles of hers remained undisturbed as property of the Buddha (or rather the fraction of him in that place), until rediscovered in 1981[35].

For the monastery in question is none other than that best known as the Famensi, whose lavish reliquaries and donated goods (mainly, in firmly identifiable cases, from later in the dynasty) have astonished the modern world, most recently though the 'Gilded Dragons' exhibition in London[36]. Those fortunate enough to have seen these will have witnessed quite tangible evidence for the imperial obsession with relics. But for our current purposes it is the notion of 84,000 stūpas as a symbol of monarchy that intrigues, for anyone interested in emulating the legendary distribution of such relics would perhaps have been prompted to think of the rapid creation of relics in textual form, and in China would no doubt think of texts on paper rather than clay. Would the empress have had such an interest stimulated? Not necessarily by the discoveries at the Famensi, one imagines, but some other reports reaching her in 661 are far more likely to have caused her to reflect on the manufacture of multiple pagodas. And here again the initial motive for launching an imperial investigation concerned the use of religious space.

7. The empress and the Five Terrace Mountains

For there was one great exception to the Indian location of Buddhist religious space, one extraordinary trump card possessed by the Chinese. In the northeast of China lies a series of peaks known as Wutaishan, the 'Five Terrace Mountains', which had become identified with a location mentioned in the Avataṃsaka Sūtra, and were therefore by the seventh century widely believed throughout Buddhist Asia to be the abode of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī[37]. The empress, whose family was from the area, at this point commissioned a survey of this spiritual asset, and the results must have intrigued her[38]. For there was plenty of evidence on the mountains of earlier imperial interest, specifically at first from the Emperor Xiaowen of the Northern Wei, who reigned in the late fifth century. A forebear in the Northern Wei dynasty—a unique, half-foreign regime from which the seventh century ultimately derived many of its political institutions—had once savagely persecuted Buddhism, but Xiaowen is best known as a lavish (and perhaps guilt-stricken) patron responsible for the colossal Buddhist art carved out of the mountain at Yungang[39]. On Wutaishan, it was discovered, his imprint had not been so colossal, but it was impressive, for large numbers of miniature pagodas in stone were found in the mountains, the carvings and (according to one passage) inlaid text or pattern (*wen*) upon them still visible[40].

Now if there were texts on them, the likelihood is that they would have contained the formula on causality studied by Boucher. A number of examples of short stone pagodas less than a metre tall inscribed with texts of this sort have been found not on Wutaishan but further west, and not from the late fifth century, but from its first half, when the region was intially not under the control of the Northern Wei but of the Northern Liang, on the Central Asian fringes of China—indeed, conquest by the Northern Wei drove the last rulers of this dynasty right out of what was normally considered Chinese territory[41]. These pagodas, then, have been seen as the product of a distinct regional culture, but a recent analysis of their fusion of Buddhist and Chinese symbolism has revealed clear evidence of eschatological interests on the part of whoever made them, for to symbolism indicating the Buddhas of the past they add also pointers to Maitreya, Buddha of the future[42].

But we cannot be sure that the stone pagodas of Wutaishan that were reported to the empress followed this format, and by the time that we get another report on their existence a couple of decades later they had evidently fallen into disrepair, so that though they still could be seen as late as the mid-ninth century, we learn nothing further of their form or function[43]. All we can say is that the creation of multiple miniature pagodas was a practice for which the empress would have had Chinese imperial precedents by 662. There is no record of her immediately setting out to emulate this feat, but there is a record in the earliest surviving work to describe Wutaishan in detail, datable to 679, suggesting that she was interested in propagating knowledge of these miniature stūpas, and of the wonderful world of Wutai in general. For she at least permitted, or more likely encouraged, the compiler of her official report to issue a brief summary of his findings, accompanying a small map, which was apparently widely disseminated in the metropolitan area[44]. As the proof of the acceptability of a part of her sickly husband's domain as the dwelling place of a bodhisattva this document would surely have been a useful tool in the propaganda of legitimation which seems to have constantly preoccupied the couple. Naturally we tend to think of such matters in Confucian terms in China, but during this period in Chinese history quite different approaches to the demonstration of the right to rule had already been tried out by other regimes, most famously by the Sui dynasty, which had immediately preceded the Tang, and the southern Liang dynasty, organizers and arbiters of much of the elite cultural heritage that the Tang had taken over. As we shall see, there is every reason to suppose that the empress would have had at least some of these precedents in mind[45].

8. The empress and the Chinese Buddhist heritage

For by 668, she would have had potentially at her disposal a source of information not only recapitulating the notable Buddhist events we have mentioned so far for her joint reign with her husband, but providing also a great deal of other items relevant to our topic as well. This was the *Fayuan zhulin*, on which we

have relied not only for our account of Wang Xuance's last mission but also for its descriptions of the mission to investigate the Famensi and to survey Wutaishan. The *Fayuan zhulin* is a large encyclopaedia complied by Daoshi, a monk who worked in a large metropolitan monastery founded by the husband of the empress[46]. It bears a preface by a layman, a fairly obscure bureaucrat of the day, but one who was used as a calligrapher by the emperor at one point, and so was presumably known to him[47]. Anyone with the leisure to read all of it would, one suspects, gain a remarkable knowledge of seventh-century Chinese Buddhism and its sources. Whether its original readers included the empress we simply cannot tell, though it is not impossible.

Had she picked it up, she could have learned of a sūtra already translated which described the manufacture of minature pagodas with tiny Buddha images inside 'as big as a myrobalan'—a fruit particularly associated with Aśoka[48]. She could have read of rediscovered Aśokan stūpas not only in China, but further afield in Korea and Japan[49]. And she could have studied in detail the attempts made by the preceding Sui dynasty to emulate Aśoka by distributing relics across the empire—and by request yet further, to the kingdoms of the Korean peninsula—by the dozen, rather than the thousand[50]. This last information, moreover, she may well have picked up already in any case, for the former rulers of the Sui, the Yang family, had married one of their lesser female family members to a military man who had been one of the first to abandon the dynasty when it failed and support the nascent power of the Tang dynasty. This man's reward was to see his own daughter received into the imperial harem, the very same daring young woman who was to become the Empress Wu—and, ironically, to break the power of the narrow elite that had dominated China through several changes of regime.

The members of that elite, of course, hated her and resented her power, so that had she not demonstrated an unrivalled efficiency in using it to the good of the dynasty she would soon have perished at the hands of her enemies. The main task that confronted the dynasty, now in its third reign, was the perpetuation of power won by force of arms, and it was for this reason therefore, as much as because of the unimpressive physical state of her husband already alluded to, that questions of ideology and the more abstract justification of power loomed large. Under such circumstances it was necessary to go beyond currying the support of the elite in order to seek the goodwill of as large a section of society as possible. Now, as it happens, for reasons not yet fully understood the late sixth century and the seventh were in China—and possibly further afield—an age of unusual doubt and anxiety, expressed in Buddhist circles in the notion of the 'decline of the dharma'. This was in itself not a new analysis of the bleak prospects for Buddhism as the memory of the appearance of the Buddha himself in our world faded into an ever more remote past, but it was certainly an analysis that gained renewed strength at this time[51]. And the word analysis is perhaps the wrong one in any case: the feelings of which I speak seem to have been much more visceral and deep seated than anything susceptible to intellectual analysis.

What everyone craved was the reassurance of a form of spiritual presence, an affirmative sense of the immediacy of spiritual power[52].

9. The empress and her translators

It is against such a background, of course, that we must understand the interest of emperor and empress in relics. In the short term, however, a non-Buddhist solution to the question of spiritual presence probably tended to occupy more of their time. For the Tang ruling house claimed descent from Laozi, founder of Taoism, who in current belief occupied a position of cosmic power every bit on a par with the most uplifting Mahāyānist conceptions of Buddhahood. Alleged divine descent was not a novelty in China, but the potency of the particular connexion was obviously well worth exploiting, and I have described elsewhere how this was done[53]. The empress herself, of course, could not claim divine descent in the same way, but the Taoist religion affords plenty of scope for divine motherhood, as she was evidently quick to appreciate.

Where this could no longer work as a preferred solution was, of course, a situation in which a rift had developed between mother and sons, and where the empress wished to act not as a mother but as a person in her own right. This, as I have already mentioned, is exactly what happened after the death of her husband, especially during the late 680s. It was surely at this point that the Buddhist answers to the problems of spiritual presence once more rose up her agenda—whence they had probably never been omitted, in that Buddhism seems to have had a somewhat firmer grip on the sentiments of the population of China than Taoism, which had been late in developing such institutions as a full-time celibate clergy on the Buddhist model, whereas the Buddhist *saṅgha* undoubtedly had played a major role in propagating the Indian religion in East Asia.

Nor had contacts with India ceased: in the final years of her husband's life, and in the years that followed, monks continued to arrive with new sources on Indian Buddhism. Many of these late seventh century missionaries have been studied by Antonino Forte in a number of widely scattered articles, which bring out some intriguing features less evident at other periods. For example, the new dynasty had been quite successful in extending its control into Inner Asia along the trade routes which either carried through to Iran or turned south through Kashmir into India, the area termed by Sir Aurel Stein 'Serindia', and this intermediate zone in due course produced once more learned monks familiar with both cultures and their languages. Whereas in principle an original text in an Indian language had been to the Chinese an obvious guarantee of Buddhist orthodoxy, whatever suspicions modern scholars now harbour about the products of the intermediate Serindian zone, during this period we find at least one clear example of an Indian at the court of the empress who in 693 was able to include panegyrics in Sanskrit on her behalf into a Buddhist composition and then translate the piece into Chinese[54]. The Japanese scholar Osabe Kazuo, who has carried out a very useful study of the importation of new forms of Tantric

Buddhism during the ascendancy of the empress also points out that several of these translations include what he loosely calls 'Taoist' elements, that is, expressions which would seem more at home in a Chinese rather than an Indian religious environment[55].

Such a tailoring of translation to their audience likewise suggests to me the presence at least of bilingual intermediaries with a very keen political sense of the advantages of deliberately slanting Buddhist texts towards a potential Chinese readership. This makes me wonder in particular about another translation concerning the benefits of making images of the Buddha, carried out by a monk from Khotan in Serindia, Devendraprajña, in 691, who has also been the subject of an article by Forte[56]. For this text seems to make a point of stressing the benefits of making Buddha images for women in particular, and despite the evidence that some authors adduce for an Indian background to such notions, one cannot help wondering to what extent it may have been written *ad feminam*[57].

10. The empress and the 'Crowning Glory'

Both the specific examples I have cited actually relate to a later phase in the career of the empress (or emperor, to use the male title she had assumed by that point) when, as we shall see, Forte's research has shown that in any case interpolations on her behalf may be plainly detected in one key translation. The phenomenon is mentioned here because it throws a cautionary backward light over the next episode that concerns us, namely the multiple translation and dissemination of the *Uṣṇīṣa-vijaya-dhāraṇī*, in Chinese the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing*, later as personified as a goddess and translated into English as 'Crowning Victory'. In this form, which does not concern us here, 'Crowning Victory' has been shown by Rob Linrothe to have been the focus of a considerable cult in Tangut territory during the twelfth century, leading to the imperial printing and distribution of thousands of texts and images[58].

There is certainly no doubt that the Indian practice of combining text and stūpa to provide a site for relic worship in the fashion illuminated by Boucher became known in 680, for he renders into English a short work translated in that year which describes as before the creation of minature pagodas as big as a myrobalan, but makes quite clear that now they might hold as relics the four-line verse on causality that is the object of his research[59]. There is also no doubt at all that the 'Crowning Victory' text was also transmitted to East Asia at much the same time, for an actual Sanskrit manuscript of the text apparently dating to the seventh century survives to this day in Japan[60]. What is less clear to me at present, pending the researches of other scholars, is the chronology not simply of the translation but of the dissemination of this key text, though we do already possess a number of useful studies relating to it, including an excellent two part article in Chinese by Liu Shufen[61].

It would seem fairly certain, at least, that a translation, perhaps a revision of

earlier work done in 679, was made in 682 by the translator already responsible for the 680 text examined by Boucher[62]. The date is given in the surviving preface by Yanzong, biographer of Xuanzang, and the text, while not identical with later translations, makes clear that one of the functions of the *dhāraṇī* was to turn any stūpa containing it into a relic site[63]. The problem arises with the text which bears the name of Buddhapāli, for here we are dependent on an undated preface by one Zhijing, which appears to have been written shortly after 689, that is, during the very period when the empress was moving towards abandoning the Tang dynasty to rule in her own right[64]. Zhijing claims to have obtained his information from Divākara, the translator of the 682 version, who had conveniently died in 688, but early in the next century it was already noted by a normally well-informed but discreet bibliographer that his chronology of events is somewhat awry[65]. Whatever the actual truth of the matter, the story given by Zhijing became extremely widely known, and is even depicted in a small surviving sketch of the Tang period, while the text concerned eclipsed all other translations in popularity[66].

And no wonder, for Zhijing states that in 676 Buddhapāli had travelled from India to prostrate himself at Wutaishan, declaring that since the Buddha's decease all other spiritual beings were hidden; only the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in these mountains continued the Buddha's work, and that therefore, since he had always regretted living in an age without a Buddha, he had crossed the shifting sands in the hope of a meeting. He looks up, of course, to see an old man approaching, who congratulates him on his earnestness, but points out that China is deeply encumbered by bad karma, and that the saṅgha there is none too observant; only the 'Crowning Victory' text can overcome these defects. Buddhapāli confesses that he has not brought a copy with him, to which the old man replies that in that case there is no point in meeting Mañjuśrī; he had better go back and get it, to distribute in China and remedy the situation; only then will his interlocutor tell him the whereabouts of the bodhisattva.

The Indian returns, and reports back again in 683 with the text to the emperor, who commissions others, including Divākara, to translate it, and keeps it in the palace, giving Buddhapāli a reward. This he responds to by saying that he is not in the translation business for the money or fame, but had hoped to benefit sentient beings. The emperor hands back the Sanskrit original, which Buddhapāli has translated with permission outside court circles at the monastery where Daoshi had lived, after which he takes it off to Wutaishan, never to be seen again, leaving both translations to circulate. Later in 687 Zhijing meets up with Divākara, who goes over both translations with him, paying particular attention to the pronunciation of the Sanskrit, so as to come up with a definitive version.

It is obvious both that this story raises problems concerning the earlier translations and that the emperor, who in 683 was still her ailing husband, does not come out of this very well—indeed, he is guilty of wishing to keep a text of potential mass benefit to the nation to himself. This was no doubt a very convenient thing to emerge just as the empress, rapidly abandoning her recently

assumed role of Holy Mother, found it expedient to be done with husband, children and with Taoism, the cult of the Li family, and started looking overtly to Buddhism to legitimate her undisguised personal rule. The story might even provide a convenient excuse to cover her own relative neglect of Buddhism while exploring Taoist options.

And while tales of Indians coming to worship at Wutaishan may already be found in the text of 679 to which we have already alluded, the clearly articulated notion that only China now gave any prospect of contact with an important bodhisattva must be seen as consistent with the attitudes towards sacred space already displayed by the empress. One hopes that future research may uncover more details concerning Zhijing. All we can say at present is that two other monks associated with the dissemination of the 'Crowning Victory' text, Xinggan and Bolun, have been identified by Professor Forte as close supporters of the empress in her ideological manoeuvres at this crucial time[67].

But there is one more point to be made about the 'Crowning Victory'. The Buddhapāli version recommends dissemination by four methods, and besides the use of writing on clay or paper that we have already mentioned, three of them are epigraphic, in the sense that they require writing upon hard surfaces such as walls, mountains and pillars. The latter means of dissemination has attracted the most attention, since epigraphers have found many examples providing excellent examples of the highly regarded calligraphy of the Tang[68]. This should perhaps not surprise us, when the text itself claims that the very shadow of a pillar bearing its words, the very least particle of dust blown from its surface, could cause the removal of bad karma from anyone within range[69]. But the assiduous research of Liu Shufen has established that the multitude of pillars found cannot be regarded simply as equivalents to the other Tang period steles whence epigraphers are wont to take copies of such materials for other reasons.

Thus it is certainly quite possible that the Empress Wu was alive to the wider symbolism of these new structures, in terms of what has been seen as the association between the pillars of Aśoka, the stūpa form, and the notion of an *axis mundi*, for an immense octagonal obelisk known as the Axis of the Sky was later one of the glories of her capital[70]. For our purposes, however, it is more immediately significant that to Liu, the format of the pillars on which the 'Crowning Victory' text was transcribed shows unambiguously that they also served as stūpas containing the dharma-body of the Buddha—in short, that the practice already described of inserting text within to serve as a relic was in an important sense the primary purpose of the new form[71]. This, indeed, may explain why they became so popular (for example under the Liao dynasty) in memorial contexts[72]. And Liu shows, too, that whatever the true story of the arrival of the text, the earliest dated version of a pillar dedicated to it is 689[73]. In this way the Buddhapāli story enhanced the appeal of Wutaishan, trump card of the empress in the Buddho-Taoist struggle over sacred space, and at the same time encouraged the spread across the landscape of a new sanctifying device suitable for local erection which did not require any investment from the state[74].

11. The empress moves to centre stage

This means that this new form of stūpa had started to spread before the empress finally plumped for Buddhist forms of legitimation and founded her own, personal dynasty, the Zhou, in 690[75]. It is interesting to note the role played by images and stūpas in the process of legitimation. Forte's very thorough study of this crucial phase in the career of the empress has uncovered the fact that for all the subsequent discussion of the part played by a work known as the *Great Cloud* (*Mahāmegha*) *Sūtra*, a completely undeniable interpolation supporting the empress in another Buddhist text, the *Rain of Jewels* (*Ratnamegha*) *Sūtra*, has been generally overlooked. This equally important prophecy of female rule produced in 693 reads in part 'May you practise the Ten Good Rules, apply my Law, magnify and maintain it, and erect stūpas and temples'[76]. Two sentences later this spurious prophecy further announces that 'Your name will be Yuejingguang, Pure Moonlight', which very much reinforces the same point.

For Erik Zürcher has shown that here there is a deliberate reference to the messianic figure Prince Moonlight, the subject of an earlier spurious prophecy to the Sui ancestors of the empress, which he translates: 'He will patronise Buddhism on a grandiose scale, notably by the reproduction and spread of holy texts, the making of Buddha images of every kind, and the establishment of Buddha sanctuaries in all parts of the empire'[77]. In the original 'reproduction' does not plainly signify printing, but 'sanctuary' does stand for stūpa. And if the empress felt obliged to fulfil this prophecy as assiduously as the Sui had done, then she had plenty to do, for we know from the *Fayuan zhulin* that they had financed the (evidently purely manual) creation of literally hundreds of thousands of volumes of sūtras, probably well over half a million in total, to say nothing of 20,358 images[78]. What better response could there be to the fear, quite apparent in Chinese Buddhist and Taoist circles, that with the onset of final, irreversible religious decline, pending the appearance of a supernatural figure with the power to renew all things, all sūtras and other relics would disappear from this world?[79]

In Buddhist circles, moreover, we do not have to rely simply on a few scattered prophetic utterances to gauge the profound insecurity that afflicted Chinese civilization in the late sixth and seventh centuries over the future of its sacred texts. Ample testimony still survives in the form of the impressive number of sūtras that from this time on started to be carved out of the mountain stone of north China in the explicit hope that this durable medium would outlast the decline that was bound to come. The first efforts in this vein date to the Northern Qi dynasty of the late sixth century, and focus in particular on texts associated with the 'decline of the dharma'[80]. But by Tang times the massive project to carve the whole canon in the form that now survives at Fangshan was already under way, and both the contemporary reports and a surviving inscription in situ explaining the aim of the project make it perfectly plain that the same motivation inspired this remarkable feat as well[81]. So it was not in the hope of gaining more reading materials that printing spread in China, but rather in the fear that

what they had to read and to value—in some quantity, one might add, on the evidence from the Sui period—might not last. Against any objective account of the rude good health of East Asian manuscript culture we may dismiss this fear as entirely illusory, but it was nevertheless a political fact, and one which the empress needed to turn to her own purposes. Ideally, too, in her campaign (as revealed by the 'Crowning Glory' preface) to contrast her own inclusivism with the exclusive, 'divine kingship' model of legitimation favoured by her Tang in-laws, she needed to make the sacred available in a mass way more easy of access than texts carved in or on distant mountains.

12. The empress plays Aśoka

As it happens, we can be quite sure that by the time that the empress made her move to set up her own dynasty, she had taken on another role, one which we have seen her toying with even in the early days of her ascendancy, and one in which the mass distribution of potent symbols from the centre to the periphery formed the most important characteristic. For her propagandists state, in their commentary on the *Great Cloud Sūtra*, a text only rediscovered in this century, that she had already acquired through an auspicious discovery in her capital more than ten thousand relics. To judge by sources located by Forte in his translation of this work, this had taken place in 677, though their ideological use seems to have been delayed until after her husband's death, till 684, when the omen was associated with the renaming of Luoyang as a 'holy capital' (*shendu*) and other reforms in adminstrative nomenclature[82].

This delay in itself is worth remarking, and not only in view of what we have already said with regard to the 'Crowning Victory' concerning the contrast she seems to have been at pains to spell out between her husband's implied desire to keep Buddhist blessings to himself and her own conspicuous commitment to distributing them. For at the same time, as one expert on her reign has already pointed out, her measures of 684 may well have been prompted by the appearance of a Buddhist 'false messiah' and the consequent need to anticipate further popular charlatans by taking on a messianic role herself—another theme already touched upon that we will need to explore further[83].

For our immediate purposes, however, the most significant information added by the propaganda team of 690 is that in a former incarnation the empress had vowed to construct ten times the number of pagodas (that is, reliquaries) made by Aśoka himself, and further that by the time that they were writing she had already distributed the relics of 677 to the 'Four Continents'. The last phrase can only mean that she had already taken on an international Aśokan role by sending at least some of the relics overseas[84]. Given that they would therefore have been contained in pagodas of a portable size for transport, a definite historical antecedent for the later Japanese distribution of thousands of relics inside small wooden pagodas becomes immediately apparent, no matter what it was that justified the Japanese ruler's use of relics in printed, textual form.

We can unfortunately expect no confirmation of this in non-Chinese records. The recently formed Japanese centralized state produced its earliest surviving historical works soon after the Empress Wu's reign. But it remained too concerned with its own international standing to mention either in its accounts of the late seventh century or in describing its own later eighth century relic distributions the receipt of any relics from China, for this could well be construed as an acknowledgement of the Aśokan status of the empress, and hence of their subordination. Later Korean sources are much more free in describing relics in the Korean peninsula as being of Chinese origin, but nothing of particular relevance to the empress appears to be contained in them, and unfortunately no documentary sources now survive from the seventh or eighth centuries that might provide more useful information[85]. The best that can be said is that Chinese diplomatic records for 681 and 693 detail contacts that could have allowed for a transfer of relics to the newly unified Korea to have taken place[86]. Equally there is nothing to show in this case either that relics in three dimensional, solid form were accompanied to Korea by textual relics, whether printed or in manuscript. But here, as we shall see, the evidence of archaeology, unknown until the late twentieth century, does allow us to conclude that by 706 at the latest in Korea both three dimensional and textual relics were used in conjunction—and in the latter case, the text in question was so newly translated that it must have been deliberately distributed by the central authorities in China, whether at the behest of the empress herself or of her successor.

And it must be stressed that there is plenty of evidence, some of which we shall review shortly, to show that the empress continued to be obsessed with relics and stūpas for the rest of her reign. In the light of what has been said, however, concerning the particular anxieties over the loss of text and the prophetic messages promising messianic renewal of the textual resources available, it is absurd to do as some have done and imagine her to be the victim of some peculiarly anile form of religious fervour, preoccupied with doubtful tokens of sanctity. As we have discovered already, in the apocalyptic atmosphere that had prevailed since the sixth century it was vital for any ruler to be able to preempt the messianic longings of the masses and pose as the very embodiment of utopian prophecies—as Aśoka *redivivus*, Maitreya, or anyone else, all at the same time, the more the merrier, in accordance with the same 'belt and braces' principle that suggested, as we have just noted, the use of both textual and solid relics at the same time[87]. So pious in her way the empress may have been, but it was power that she really understood—power, and the role of propaganda in securing and diligently upholding it.

13. Once more the empress and India

It is therefore against this background, and particularly against the chronology of her quite unique efforts at legitimating female rule that I would understand the apparently offhand remark by Yijing about printing on paper in India. Following

the research of Wang Bangwei, I note that Yijing returned briefly to China in 689, just when questions of Buddhist legitimation became crucial, allegedly by accident when a ship he was visiting cast off and set sail. He then returned to the world of normative Buddhism that was supposed to exist beyond China—though only to Southeast Asia, not India—and in 691 was able to send his authoritative account of his observations thence to the empress, before returning himself the next year. He is certainly quite explicit about his aim in this work about helping his ruler achieve the goal of a Buddhist Utopia[88]. We can now see exactly how printing on paper would have played a part in achieving that.

But there is one more aspect of Yijing's account of India that bears indirectly upon printing which has not been remarked before, but which nevertheless merits some discussion. For in another text written at the same time and sent back to China, he remarks equally casually that a monk who had been sent to India on a mission by the husband of the empress had 'taken a printed impression from' (*qu qi yinwen*) a skullbone of the Buddha, possibly the very one that was later conveyed to China, to divine his future[89]. The reference is explained once again by consulting Xuanzang, who describes in more detail how at another relic site a paste spread on a cloth was used to take an impression of the bone in question, again for the purpose of fortune telling[90]. Evidently the practice was well enough known by Yijing's time not to require explanation. The terminology obviously overlaps with that of printing, reminding us that the Chinese use of rubbings can be dated to a stage not long before the invention of the print technology we are considering: though (as experts have pointed out in the past) the two techniques do differ, in some ways, rubbing is much closer to printing than stamping with a seal-like object[91]. But if taking an impression of a text could be seen in the same auspicious light as taking one from a relic, this would explain how a printed object could nevertheless be invested with a borrowed sanctity, for otherwise, in the case of copying, the sanctity of the text was very much understood as a product of the correct behaviour of the copyist, as contemporary sources attest[92].

What we cannot see is any immediate evidence of the empress putting Yijing's new and useful snippets of information into practice. Though a number of factors may be involved, the main reason for this probably lies in the extremely hostile attitude taken towards the empress by our standard historical sources, which are overwhelmingly conventional (or, if you wish, Confucian) in tone, and typically exercise their revenge against her assault on patriarchy by simply ignoring much of what she did. One day, perhaps, some chance discovery may illuminate her work, just as a chance discovery among the Dunhuang manuscripts, S.2713, dated to 670, shows the otherwise unknown popular expectations of apocalypse which she had to outbid with her presentation of her own messianic claims in order to calm the outbreak of wilder imaginings amongst her subjects through a judicious doctrine of 'realized eschatology'. In this short text, the Buddha Dīpaṃkara predicts that Mount Tai is about to collapse, releasing tens of thousands of devils upon the land, and that in the fourth month on the

fifth day of 670 a noxious wind will arise from Mount Tai which can kill in two days; only one copy of the prophecy can save an individual, or two a whole family, or three a whole village[93]. It was against the sporadic propagation of just such disturbing visions that a more efficient technology for spreading the supernatural prestige of the monarch had to be directed so as to promote social order and stability.

But if the terrifying fears that might grip the wider populace are generally as hidden from us as the solutions that a daring ruler might devise to calm them, at least we can tell something from the moralising of the convention-bound bureaucrats who dominate our sources. Precisely because they hated the empress, their reactive tut-tutting involuntarily reveals at least something of her activities relating to relics and other signs of the Buddha's presence. Thus Antonino Forte has devoted the greater part of a laboriously researched monograph to what is still at times a quite tentative reconstruction from our reluctant witnesses of the programme of building work carried out by the empress in her capital. Pagodas on a small scale, even if in large numbers, may well have escaped their attention—we hear nothing from them of the relic distribution attested by the document of 690 examined above—but the symbolism of metropolitan architecture was something which they felt more strongly about. For the endeavours of the empress in this sphere constituted a no less than startling attempt to equip the centre of her world with gigantic symbolic structures, including one housing a massive Buddhist statue[94].

14. Ruling through relics

These structures were the scandal of the age, and that is why a measure of denunciation of them at least survives, whereas her lesser projects are only heard about occasionally, even indirectly, in our conventional sources. But hear about them we do, even so. In 694, for example, penalties for the theft of any form of Buddhist image, public or private, were included with those for 'great sedition'[95]. This was a category of crimes against the symbols of state power, for which the penalty was instant decapitation for the least offense, with the lesser penalty of strangulation merely for conspiring to carry them out[96]. In 699 an edict was issued forbidding the incorporation of relics of the Buddha into the annual observances of the Buddhist 'ghost festival' in China, as had been done by the monks at one named institution[97]. The perceived problem seems to have been that the context—a festival now ably reconstructed by S. F. Teiser—involved treating the decease of the Buddha as an occasion of actual rather than apparent loss[98]. The promulgation of an edict suggests that there were fears that this practice might spread, indicating that relics were by this point very widely available, though we should remember that in their manifestation as very small, jewel-like objects (some of which have been on display in London recently in the 'Gilded Dragons' exhibition) three-dimensional, solid relics were considered to have had the power of spontaneous multiplication[99].

The next year, in 700, the empress was in the Sanyang Palace, a new residence which she had had built on Mount Song, the Central Peak of the Five Sacred Peaks of China, which lay close to her capital. A 'foreign monk', whose name our sources do not deign to mention, had persuaded her to stage a massive public enshrinement of a relic, but the ceremony was cancelled due to the furious protests of one of her most famous ministers[100]. This was Di Renjie (607–700), the model for the sagacious and upright Judge Dee of the Chinese detective novels[101]. Di's objections were not, however, allowed to control events: the year 701, for example, was declared a new era entitled 'Great Footfall', when a new footprint of the Buddha was discovered on Chinese territory, and though there are indications that hostile witnesses later tried to put it about that some terrible deception by criminals lay behind this, the most judicious traditional authorities reject that suggestion as betraying internal inconsistencies[102]. Footprints of the Buddha were, of course, one of the most dramatic of 'traces' showing that those feet did in ancient times walk upon China just as much as India; other examples had already been identified in earlier phases of the ongoing efforts to sanctify Chinese space in Buddhist terms[103].

By this time, of course, the empress was about halfway through the last decade of her personal rule, and of her life. Natural vigour and skilful use of cosmetics meant that she was even by the extraordinary standards of her career a rather exceptional old lady—a sort of Mae West figure, but with real pretensions to divinity. To judge from conventional sources, she was mainly engaged towards the end in an attempt to construct one last massive Buddha image. One of her earlier grandiose efforts made of lacquer still survived somehow, even though the structure destined to house it had not reached completion[104]. This new statue, however, was to be of bronze, and to stand on a mountain slope to the north of the city. It was to be financed by levying a donation of a single coin from each and every Buddhist monk and nun in her empire, a method which assumes a particular significance because a donation of a single coin was an echo of one of Aśoka's actions, recorded for example in the *Fayuan zhulin*[105].

Whether they were aware of this or not, her Confucian officials kept up a barrage of protest from the time the plan was first mooted in 700 right the way through to 704, when she finally dropped the idea. Their arguments are in fact utilitarian, that the money could be used to charitable purposes, since this is where the proper purposes of Buddhism lie, not in opulent displays of extravagance. Thus the memorial sent in to her by a complaining bureaucrat that seems finally to have tipped the balance accuses her of 'making an end of the trees on the mountains in order to create stūpas, exhausting the smelting of metals to make images'.[106] We need not take such rhetoric at face value, but it does suggest that the empress had made a good job of keeping up messianic appearances in terms of the goals that had earlier been set for her.

15. Old age and mountains: Wutaishan and Taishan

But by this stage we also get hints of another agenda beyond appearances, an agenda yet closer to her heart that we cannot discern in her earlier years. What it was emerges most clearly from a contrast between the attitudes she displayed in her later years towards three of China's most sacred mountains. We have already remarked on her evident interest in Wutaishan, and it must be said that her signs of interest there were quite public, and demonstrably known to all. Indeed, there are even signs that her well-known munificence in the region gained in the telling over time. For one of our chief sources for Wutaishan in the ninth century, the travel diary of the Japanese monk Ennin, who was there in 840, lists as structures associated with the empress, or 'Old Woman Wu' as she was remembered more colloquially, three iron pagodas on the 'Central Terrace' of the mountain range; one iron pagoda on the 'Western Terrace'; and one iron pagoda surrounded by many small stone ones on the 'Northern Terrace'[107]. Yet the author of our source of 679 on the mountain makes it clear that the largest of the three central iron pagodas was erected by local people in 673, whilst the one on the northern terrace was his own work[108]. It is even imaginable that the cluster of smaller pagodas there had accumulated later as a result of the Buddhist equivalent of the practice of 'burial *ad sanctos*', which certainly produced such an effect in South Asia[109]. The practice has not been examined in China, but I have noticed one example at least, dated to 717[110]. What appears to be a secular version of the same custom—burial near one's ruler—would certainly appear to have been carried out in the seventh century[111].

As it happens, an even later source on the Wutaishan area, compiled in 1059, does tell us that in 702 the empress ordered a nun to construct a pagoda on the Central Terrace, but since it is said to have taken a year to complete, it must have been much larger than any of the small or medium-sized structures mentioned so far[112]. What is most astonishing about this account is that it is said that the following year, after a separate mission charged with refurbishing a monastery had witnessed a most gratifying series of omens, which were duly reported to the empress, she ordered her craftsmen to fashion a likeness of herself out of jade to dispatch to the mountain to worship Mañjuśrī. This attracted such crowds that it had to stop short of the mountain to receive their worship in a monastery in Taiyuan[113]. Such a public use of an image as a surrogate is, I think, unparalleled in Chinese history, though her grandson, who clearly learned many lessons from her but used them mainly in the service of the Li family religion of Taoism, did distribute imperial icons about his domain[114]. This may, however, have been the only way open to her to pay her respects to her favourite Buddhist site, since it has been pointed out that at this time a journey to the remote and occasionally dangerous northern borders of China would have been distinctly unwise[115].

Whatever the truth of these accounts, the persistence of stories about the empress and Wutaishan contrasts quite dramatically with the situation regarding

another of China's most sacred peaks, Mount Tai in the East. There epigraphic evidence in abundance gives us excellent contemporary documentation of what the empress was up to on the mountain. Yet this material would seem to relate to much less public (or at least publicized) activity, leading modern scholars to conclude from it that she had religious interests quite different from those ostensibly reflected in her more flamboyant construction enterprises[116]. Mount Tai has a long history in Chinese religion: traditionally the most important ceremonies in the state cult were conducted there whenever a ruler could claim to have brought good government to the empire—something which none had dared to claim for centuries before the time of the empress and her husband, who undertook the ceremonies in 666. This event is fully recorded in conventional sources, and there seems to have been a deliberate stress on its national, public nature, even if the numbers who would have observed on the mountaintop would probably have been quite limited[117]. At the same time if the empress had later ordered public Buddhist ceremonies on the mountain, this would not have been a surprise: the god of Mount Tai was also considered to be Lord of the Dead in some circles, and this belief was one element in Chinese religion which seems to have influenced the formation in China of popular Buddhist texts[118].

But all the inscriptions on Mount Tai mentioning the empress are in fact Taoist. And not only that: they date to 661 and 678, during her husband's Taoist phase; to 691 and 692, when her new dynasty was busy using Buddhism to legitimate itself; and to 696, 698, 701 and 704, right through almost to the end of her reign[119]. This consistent pattern may at first sight seem something of a puzzle, but recently Antonino Forte has advanced evidence suggesting that what hostility we may find towards Taoism during the early years of the Zhou dynasty stemmed not from the empress, but from her alleged lover, the popular religious leader Xue Huaiyi, who though important to her assumption of direct rule, was disposed of in 695[120].

The majority of the sources make clear that the ceremony carried out for the empress involved the ritual known as dragon hurling, or 'tossing dragons', in which inscribed messages were attached to small metal dragons and cast from a great height, theoretically so as to wing their way as messengers of the gods. Recent scholarship on Tang Taoism has been in two minds about this, seeing the practice as originally dedicated to seeking the personal immortality of the monarch, but later modified to become a ritual dedicated to the common weal[121]. All the inscriptions on Mount Tai, at any rate, would appear to stress the well-being of society as a whole, though it is worth noting that Taoist inscriptions for 691 by the team of imperially appointed ritualists survive from one or two other locations such as the birthplace of Confucius, while that for Mount Tai makes it clear that all five Sacred Peaks were selected as sites for Taoist ceremonies in that year. This all suggests that however much a collection of epigraphic materials such as that relating to Mount Tai may help us in understanding the empress, the bulk of our evidence even in this category had unfortunately disappeared before antiquarian scholars and students of calligraphy from Song

times onwards embarked upon their remarkable efforts towards preserving inscribed sources of the Tang period and earlier.

16. A message from Mount Song

It is a pity in particular that we do not possess more information to clarify all that she did on the central Sacred Peak, Mount Song, which we have already had occasion to mention above as the site of a palace and of the abortive enshrinement of a relic. The empress, like her husband before her, seems to have been obsessed with this sacred space, to an extent which hints that something beyond the admittedly important symbolism of the centre attracted them to it: I have suggested elsewhere that the cause may have been astrological, that they both felt that their fates were literally governed by this mountain[122]. Yet in May 1982 one unexpected piece of additional information precisely dated to the year 700, was found on its slopes, in the form of an inscription from a metal dragon, one of a very small number from medieval times that actually got away[123]. Omitting only the details of the official responsible and the date of the ceremony, it says just this:

> With respect, Wu Zhao, ruler of the Great Zhou, delights in the True Way, and the long-lived holy immortals. She has respectfully sent to the Central Peak, to the gate of lofty Mount Song, and cast a metal tablet, begging the Three Officers and Nine Departments of the world of the dead to remove the criminal name of Wu Zhao from their records.

The records mentioned here—one hardly needs to explain—totted up misdeeds to the point where a summons of death was issued; they have been seen as one of the key features distinguishing Taoism from other forms of native Chinese religion[124]. Of all the empress ever wrote or said, of all that historians ever did to transmit to posterity her crimes and achievements, these few words, doubtless known only to her trusted intermediary who actually carried out the ceremony give us the most unmediated, unrehearsed private picture of the real person that we can possibly hope to retrieve. And it is a picture of a forthright and powerful woman who is facing up to the prospect of death and punishment for her crimes, and who will do whatever she can to escape her fate. It is in this sense that I have referred to the empress as 'pious after her fashion', and I make no apology for this seeming diversion from Buddhist studies into another religious tradition in order to establish the point. For we shall find that we need to keep the dragon's message in mind when we turn to the last category of evidence bearing on the topic of stūpa, sūtra and *śarīra* in China up to the year 705.

17. The last translations

This category is the balance of the Tantric materials surveyed by Osabe, of which we have only considered one or two from the earlier portion of the career of the empress. Naturally Buddhist texts, and not just Tantric ones, continued to be translated throughout her reign, and of these perhaps the most famous was the retranslation of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, completed in 699[125]. It is noteworthy that this occasion too was used by the empress to assert to her public the success of the translation team (which she had assisted clerically herself) in averting eschatological collapse. For in her preface to the work she says 'Who would have thought that in the latter five hundred years we would suddenly receive word from the Golden Mouth?'[126]. Here the 'Golden Mouth' is, of course, the Buddha's, and the 'latter five hundred years' is unambiguously in China a period of the withering away of Buddhism[127]. As before, too, making public the benefits of Tantric texts to all was still very much the approach stressed by the empress. Some time after 697, for example, Bolun, whom we have encountered above as involved in the dissemination in the Buddhapāli version of the 'Crowning Victory' text, wrote a preface for a text and icon featuring the Thousand-armed Guanyin, in which he contrasts earlier problems in transmission with the straightforward attitude of the empress, who immediately orders her palace women to produce embroidery versions and her craftsmen to distribute painted copies[128]. Mention of these lavish measures, however, calls to mind that the first reference to printing on paper by Taoists comes very far down a list of acceptable media in which to create images, so it is perhaps no wonder that references to printing texts are so hard to come by[129].

For that matter the multiple construction of small pagodas, even quite expensive ones, also seems to have been nothing special in T'ang times. A survey of the monasteries in the capital carried out in the middle of the ninth century discovered one with several tens of thousands of such pagodas surviving out of an even greater number which had originally been manufactured in some haste to deal with a spontaneous multiplication of relics; by comparison another establishment housed one hundred thousand small gilded images produced to expiate the killing of an innocent monk[130]. Even allowing for some hyperbole, it would seem reasonable to assume that the state would have been easily capable of feats achieved by private citizens. True, one *dhāraṇī* translated for the empress by the Khotanese Śikṣānanda, the monk responsible for bringing her the new text of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, did suggest that it was so potent that to place it inside a stūpa would create as much merit as making one hundred thousand ordinary stūpas[131]. But this proffered shortcut probably did nothing to discourage mass manufacture, no more than the theoretical lower limit of one to ten invocations of the name of Amitābha ever discouraged Pure Land devotees in China from chanting the holy name incessantly.

For rather than any change in the methods advocated by texts of this later period, it was their aims which have been seen as distinctive. In general, it was

only over a decade after the death of the empress that the first Tantric texts started to be translated which produced the East Asian Tantric system known today, for example in Japanese Shingon. Even so at this point, when the goals of Tantric practice were still much more open, one specific benefit seems to be mentioned more frequently than any other, and this, as Osabe's survey makes clear, was long life[132]. This may not necessarily relate to the 'Taoist' elements he describes, or even to a Serindian input into the texts, since it is possible to find *dhāraṇī* designed to confer long life in non-Chinese materials also[133]. Now that we have read the dragon's message, we can be sure that the empress paid close attention to all such materials. But they must have presented her with a problem, for how could she put such texts to use without appearing to be pursuing entirely private interests, especially after having made such a point of public spiritedness in all her religious activities?

18. The first printed text

This question must have been posed in particular by the *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing*, the text printed copies of which survive in Korea and Japan. Its author, a Tokharian whose name seems to have been Mitrasena or Mitraśānta, came to China in 702, according to some remarks by Fazang (643–712) concerning a translation with which they were involved together up to 704[134]. Since this same source states that his work at that time consisted of reviewing an existing translation by Śikṣānanda, it may well be that a catalogue of 730 is correct in suggesting that his work on our earliest printed text was likewise one of revising an existing version by Śikṣānanda as well; unfortunately neither this source nor any other gives a precise date for the completion of the work[135]. But what it does show is that again he was working together with Fazang, which may well be significant for several reasons.

First, we know that Fazang's full-time dedication to Buddhism started at the age of fifteen when he burned off a finger as an offering at the Famensi; he would therefore have been familiar from an early age with the legend of Aśoka and his distribution of relics[136]. Secondly, a passage in one of his earlier works, even if it may not be taken as proof of a familiarity with printing, at the very least shows that he appreciated the instantaneousness with which text can be created by a large seal or the like[137]. Thirdly, as Stanley Weinstein observes, he was not just a famous exegete, but also carried out such practical tasks as praying for rain on behalf of the empress—though it may be noted that even his most philosophical essay for the empress, by collapsing distinctions of space and time, actually serves her religious purpose of bringing the time of the Buddha's enlightenment closer once more to a fearful populace[138]. Fourthly, his earliest biography reveals that following conversations with the empress it was he who was charged in 704 with going to the Famensi and after due rituals escorting the Buddha's relic back to the capital[139].

One suspects therefore that he would have known exactly what to do when

presented with the problem of how to create a public context for the private goal contained in his newly translated text. His new product consisted of four *dhāraṇī* texts interspersed with praise of their benefits[140]. The first, for example, guarantees that if seventy-seven copies are placed in seventy-seven miniature clay pagodas, it will add one year to one's life, and that even if this is done posthumously, it will secure a rebirth in a heaven, while the rest of the *dhāraṇī* weigh in with even more benefits, so that finally it is stated that by placing ninety-nine copies of all four in miniature pagodas almost limitless rewards are possible[141]. For the empress to carry out such a ritual for herself would have exposed her to the public charge of seeking personal gain in a way that she had always been anxious to avoid, and but for the accidental discovery of her dragon message in the twentieth century would have successfully concealed from history entirely.

Now the obvious solution was to distribute this new talismanic import in Aśokan fashion across her empire as a demonstration both of her legitimacy as a Buddhist ruler and of her desire to share her good fortune. The smallest units of administration under the early Tang empire totalled only some one and a half thousand plus units, but if all territories which entertained friendly relations with the court such as Korea and Japan were included, that would have driven the number up towards a couple of thousand[142]. It would have been enough to distribute a few copies, or even one copy, to each: no one would worry about over-production at the centre, since it did not tax the scribal resources of the bureaucracy, to judge from the surviving evidence for the later Japanese enterprise[143].

It is, in fact, an even later episode which gives us the greatest reason to believe that Japanese practice was inspired by a distribution of relics in textual form carried out by the empress. For in the tenth century Qian Shu (929–988), the ruler of the small but prosperous state of Wu-Yue, with territory around the mouth of the Yangtse river, seems to have followed a dynastic policy of strong ideological support for religion, and Buddhism in particular, in order to promote its image in the interstate diplomacy of the period[144]. In particular there is plenty of surviving evidence to show that he engaged over a number of years in the Aśokan distribution of relics in textual form, using a *dhāraṇī* unknown in the time of the empress that was translated in the late eighth century by the great confidante of emperors and Tantric master Amoghavajra[145]. Copies of this work, variously dated, have been found in China both inside and outside his home territory[146]. There is a trace of the distribution of at least one of his textual relics to Korea also, with which he had close diplomatic ties[147].

But the impact of his distribution of 500 copies to Japan was particularly marked: the manufacture of miniature pagodas, which for a while saw a certain vogue in that country, invariably thereafter used Amoghavajra's text in preference to the one translated in the days of the empress[148]. It should not be assumed that our hypothetical distribution by the Empress Wu must necessarily have served as the proximate model for his actions: Abe Jōichi, in a brief account of

Qian and the Aśokan ideal, notes a fourteenth century source that speaks intriguingly of a distribution of relics in the mid-ninth century, following a centralization of these objects during the great Huichang persecution of Buddhism[149]. But what this episode does show is that though over time the texts involved may have changed, the Sui precedent of playing the Aśokan role, not simply by the production of 84,000 miniature pagodas (as in the Tangut case studied by Linrothe) but in particular by the distribution of relics in such pagodas throughout East Asia as a whole, was by no means forgotten, even centuries later[150].

19. The end of the empress

What this does not explain, however, is why a copy of the text (printed, as we might now surmise, even though copies in manuscript certainly did circulate later) did not arrive in Korea until 706, well after the removal of the empress[151]. But the biography of Fazang cited above shows that he would have been preoccupied with the Famensi relic from late 704 into the first month of 705, so he perhaps could not turn his attention to any scheme immediately, if one existed, and by the end of that month the empress had been deposed. All her grandiose religious undertakings were cancelled at once, and Yang Wulian, her chief of engineering, was packed off to a remote provincial post[152]. But no one dared lay a finger on her, so that it was not until much later in the year, on 16th December, that she actually died[153]. Doubtless fearful that her spirit in death might be even more formidable than in life, her son and successor immediately revived her favourite scheme for a giant metal statue, abandoned as we have said in 704[154]. If the distribution of the translation for its beneficial posthumous effects on her (to which we have already drawn attention) was ordered at the same time because it was another item left on her agenda, then the work would have been carried out in 706. In both cases a certain amount of haste would have been called for in order to deploy the necessary good karma towards her next reincarnation, which in current belief would have been determined in a mere seven weeks; printing would have commended itself for its speed if nothing else under the circumstances[155].

The final argument for associating the new *dhāraṇī* in printed form with the funeral rites of the empress, however, entails the corollary that far from being a left-over agenda item, now was the time that it came into its own. For Greg Schopen has shown that, with other similar works, it was used precisely as a funeral text in monuments in India[156]. And not only that: the inscription of 706 in Korea shows very plainly that that was precisely how it was used already by the end of the fifth month there (12 August in the Western calendar). For it was found in a pagoda originally erected for the repose of King Sinmun (r. 681–692) by his widow and his son King Hyoso (r. 692–792); following their deaths, the reliquary was added by the latter's brother, King Sŏngdŏk (r. 702–737), not simply (as the inscription states) for their posthumous benefit, but also (as he states with un-Chinese directness) to increase his own lifespan[157]. In view of the

surmise that the copy of the *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni* referred to was in fact one distributed by the empress in printed form, it is unfortunate that no surviving trace of paper material was found by the archaeologists responsible for the discovery, though some decayed slivers of thin bamboo have been seen as evidence for the original existence of a bookbag in the pagoda, presumably containing the text in question[158].

The funerary use in Korea of the *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni* is, even so, firmly attested not only by this inscription but by later evidence as well[159]. And once the possibility is admitted that the text arrived in Korea in conjunction with ceremonies marking the passing of the empress, it seems to me highly improbable that such a 'one-off' operation of manufacture and distribution would have been undertaken under pressure of time had not earlier exercises of this type taken place already using other texts, so that everyone knew exactly what to do. Once again, one suspects the agency of Fazang, who by this point had probably accumulated considerable experience in handling 'Aśokan affairs'—indeed, a couple of years later, in 708, we find an inscription bearing his name on a relic casket, newly provided at that time, amongst the Famensi finds[160]. This would, then, increase the likelihood that the various factors impelling the empress to carry out some distribution of texts by printing had already resulted in action earlier in her own reign or even those of her sons or husband.

20. The empress in retrospect

I am aware, of course, that we have now reached our target date without turning up the least piece of concrete evidence to say that the empress ordered the printing of anything. But while I should repeat that there is still plenty of room for research even into the materials used in this study, I rather suspect that no such evidence exists. We have already mentioned the historiographic bias against her; we have also drawn out her pursuit of private objectives which she deliberately hid from view; and where ideological control was at stake, one doubts that much would have been allowed to survive in public documents anyhow. One of her ministers, alarmed by the all too blatant depradations of her chief of police early in her reign, cites Laozi's dictum that 'the sharp instruments of the state are not to be shown to outsiders'[161]. Even so, in associating her name with the emergence of printing I do not think that we are simply constructing a tottering tower of hypotheses.

Rather, what we have is a field or forest of separate hypotheses growing naturally together to constitute not any specific structure, but a much wider and quite unmistakable environment. That environment was the product of many factors, but it was tended by one person in particular, the Empress Wu, whether the ultimate harvest came before or after her death. Why did printing spread in China, when the seal was known across the Old World from high antiquity? Not, surely, because the Chinese wanted more books, as the statistics for sūtra production

under the Sui make abundantly clear. It is more likely in the light of the information reviewed above that printing arose for a number of unambiguously religious reasons associated primarily with Buddhism: to mollify Chinese ethnocentrism by making China more Buddhist; or to calm the apocalyptic fears of a population that fancied it saw the signs of the Buddha's presence fading away as time passed; or to justify the rule of a woman both nationally and internationally in terms of the fulfilment of Buddhist prophecy; or to salve the conscience of that same woman in her old age, disturbed by the thought that in order to seize and retain her grip on power she had been obliged to kill repeatedly; or, finally, to reassure her nervous son that his late mother had been dispatched to a world pleasant enough to stop her spirit from returning to the one now under his control.

It is possible, of course, that someone had already hit upon printing as a cheap way of manufacturing and selling *dhāraṇī* texts in the seventh century; it is even just possible that the idea occurred independently in Korea and Japan. But there are some indications that might be taken to suggest that it was not until the empress took over from the Tang to rule in her own right that the state became involved in printing, and thus bestowed on it a crucial dgree of legitimacy. For the research of Fujieda Akira in the Dunhuang manuscripts has uncovered the singular fact that several dozen copies of the *Lotus* and the *Diamond Sūtras* were actually copied out at the capital, using the resources of state employed copyists in various parts of the civil service, between 671 and 677, evidently in order to provide good exemplars of well edited versions of popular works, though perhaps also to promote acceptable, orthodox Buddhist literature in the face of more dubious concoctions, such as the Dīpaṃkara prophecy, which we will recall dated to 670[162]. As there is no reason to think that Dunhuang was particularly favoured with these centrally disseminated texts, we must assume that rather a large number were created for China as a whole. Since these, and also the copy of the equally widely distributed commentary studied by Forte in his first monograph on Empress Wu's political propaganda, all exist in manuscript, evidently printing did not commend itself even for the accurate volume production of a work as short as the *Diamond Sūtra* at this point. This is why I have guessed that the funerary associations of the *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing* may have been important, in that the element of speed of multiple production would also have been crucial, along with accuracy and volume, in the situations in which it was used. Even so, Fujieda's work does illuminate yet another facet of the medieval Chinese state's persistent and large-scale involvement in the control of textual material—an important aspect of the background to the adoption of printing that could easily be the topic of monographic study in itself.

But, in short, the probability is that printing spread in order to meet the religious needs of China under the exceptional rule of one of its most Buddhist sovereigns. Without her and her unusual sensitivity to popular Buddhism, no doubt, the story would have had much the same ending: some of the basic preconditions for printing, such as paper, were there all the time, and so I have

not discussed them[163]. But if there was something distinctive about the empress that marked her off from the male rulers who dominate the rest of Chinese history, it was undoubtedly her open-mindedness—even her daring—in coopting the power of popular religious sentiment to strengthen her regime[164]. Most rulers in China after the dramatic and disturbing Yellow Turban uprising of the late second century CE worried (and perhaps still worry) obsessively about the power of popular religion to inspire revolts capable of overthrowing dynasties, and were far more concerned to repress rather than to harness religious movements. The only possible parallel that comes to mind is the last Empress Dowager at the end of the Qing, trying much more ineptly to use the Boxers to shore up her tottering power.

So, finally, where does the foregoing information leave our understanding of the introduction of the distribution of texts from woodblock? In some ways, not radically different, in that Buddhism has been shown to have played a major (but not the sole) part in its success. Even so, the specific Buddhist ideas involved have, perhaps, emerged with greater clarity. And it is probably safe to say that while there is nothing that is obviously and specifically 'female' about the origins of printing, its widespread adoption now has to be seen against the overall background of the ideological innovations introduced by the Empress Wu. These were, after all, largely a reflection of her unique position as a female ruler, which in turn elicited from her daring and sometimes unique solutions to the problem of legitimating herself. Without the empress, the saga of the discovery and spread of the new technology would, at the least, have been a very different and probably much longer story.

Appendix: Ninth-century Japanese Buddhist catalogues of acquisitions from China: print or manuscript?

As pointed out above, at n. 145, we know from the Dunhuang finds that manuscript copies of the *Wugou jingguang da tuoluonijing* circulated in Tang China, even if the precise dating of these exemplars is unclear. It might be thought that the catalogues of their acquisitions made by Japanese pilgrims in China, since (as Peter Kornicki has pointed out) they distinguish printed materials in their listings, should provide some evidence to place such manuscripts at least in the ninth century, when these monks were active[165]. It is certainly true that these catalogues mention the *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing* several times, but the presumption that since they are not indicated as printed exemplars they must be manuscripts is not an entirely safe one[166]. This is because a close look reveals that the distinction between print and manuscript is only made in certain texts, and for certain purposes; there is no way to be certain in the case of any of the exemplars mentioned that they should be placed either in one category or the other.

The first mention of printing, which is in a catalogue of acquisitions by Ennin (793–864), is apparently of one hundred 'stamped Buddhas in fine copper' and 'a stamp in the form of a pagoda for making impressions in clay'—the Indian

practice already noted above for the seventh century[167]. There is thus no direct connection with woodblock printing. There would appear to be a reference to a printed text of the 'Crowning Victory' in another catalogue by one of Ennin's contemporaries, Eun, but this is made a little uncertain by the frequent reference in these sources (which are particularly interested in Tantric materials) to *mudrās*, the Chinese translation term for which uses the same word, *yin*, 'a seal', also covers the literal products of printing. If there has been some displacement of text in this catalogue (and the copyists responsible, though good, were clearly fallible), then this casual reference to printing disappears[168].

Unambiguous references to printed materials do occur in a further work compiled by the pilgrim Shūei (809–884), but his catalogue is unusual for the amount of physical description of his acquisitions that it contains, and the mention of printing seems in one case primarily designed to distinguish one version of a collection of texts from slightly different manuscript versions elsewhere in his listings[169]. Elsewhere he does list two printed dictionaries commercially produced, but here the mention of printing is in each case part of their titles[170]. Even in this catalogue, then, we cannot be sure that we are consistently given information on whether a work is printed or not. In a somewhat similar fashion, the iconographic section of a catalogue by Ennin's disciple Annen (841–985) includes details on the physical format of icons not found elsewhere in his listings for texts, and here too there is one clear reference to a print[171]. But this may mean that elsewhere in his work Annen does not distinguish between print and manuscript.

In short, then, unambiguous references to printed books in these materials are somewhat rare—only three explicit examples in the work of Shūei, by my count—but this in itself tells us nothing about the circulation of printed materials in China at the time or even about the nature of the materials brought back. I should note, too, in this connection that I hope to publish a study showing that Japanese sources appear to preserve the text of a piece of printed material brought back at the end of the eighth century which was not even listed in the relevant catalogue of acquisitions. Unfortunately for us, the vibrancy of the contemporary manuscript culture was such that printing did not appear as some major marvel, but rather started off as a technique suitable for relic equivalents that would never be read or for ephemera, and so the distinction between print and manuscript just did not interest observers in the same way that it does us.

Notes

† Since presenting my paper at the UKABS conference, I have also been able to benefit from some points brought to my attention by Chen Jinhua, to whom I am grateful.

* To be published in a collection on China's technological transfer to the world edited by Glen Dudbridge. A preliminary version is available as 'The Rise and Spread of Printing: A New Account of Religious Factors', SOAS Working Papers in the Study of Religions, 2001 (London: SOAS, 2001).

1 T. F. Carter, revised and edited by L. C. Goodrich, *The Invention of Printing and Its Spread Westward* (New York: Ronald Press, 1955), p. 40.
2 Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Book: The Story of Printing and Bookmaking* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1943), pp. 85–86.
3 E.g. K. R. Norman, *A Philological Approach to Buddhism* (London: SOAS, 1997), pp. 41–57 (and cf. 77–94); R. Gombrich, 'How the Mahāyāna began', in T. Skorupski, ed., *The Buddhist Forum*, I (London: SOAS, 1990), pp. 21–30.
4 Su Bai, *Tang-Song shiqi de diaoban yinshua* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999), pp. 7–9, gives the most convenient summary of these materials I have seen recently. For some of my doubts over dating (which may perhaps now be set aside), see the study cited in the next footnote.
5 T. H. Barrett, 'Images of Printing in Seventh-century Chinese Religious Literature', *Chinese Science* 15 (1998), pp. 81–93.
6 T. H. Barrett, 'The Feng-tao k'o and printing on paper in seventh-century China', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 60.3 (1997), pp. 538–540. This article only provides a *terminus ante quem* for my source; in a review—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 10.3 (2000), pp. 419–420—of Florian Reiter's monographic presentation of the *Feng-tao k'o* I advance my reasons for dating it to the first half of the seventh century.
7 T. H. Barrett, 'Evidence for 7th Century Taoist Printing', *Needham Research Institute Newsletter* 17 (December, 1998), p. [5].
8 Thanks to the good offices of my student, Mr. June Seo, a set of these papers is available at the Needham Research Institute, Cambridge.
9 Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998), pp. 114–117. The date of 706 he derives from p. 8 of Kawase Kazuma, 'Shiragi Bukkokuji Shakatōshutsu no Muku jōkō daranikyō ni tsuite', *Shoshigaku* 2nd series, 33/34 (1984), pp. 1–9, which quotes a Korean epigraphic collection I have not had to hand, but we do return to this evidence below, in the penultimate section of this paper.
10 T. H. Barrett, 'Did I-ching go to India? Problems in Using I-ching as a Source for South Asian Buddhism', *Buddhist Studies Review* 15.2 (1998), pp. 142–156.
11 Kevin Trainor, *Relics, Ritual and Representation in Buddhism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 89. Another very useful summary may be found in Steven Collins, *Nirvana and other Buddhist felicities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 244–249.
12 Cf. Gregory Schopen, *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), p. 196, n.38. For an account of Indian and Chinese enthusiasm for relics extending over the period covered here, but broader in scope and less chronologically organized, see Xinru Liu, *Silk and Religion: An Exploration of Material Life and the Thought of People, AD 600–1200* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), Chapter One, pp. 25–48.
13 Glen Dudbridge, 'Buddhist Images in Action: Five Stories from the Tang', *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 10 (1998), pp. 377–391, especially his remarks on pp. 386–387.
14 Liu Shufen, on pp. 28–29 and 46 (summary) and of 'Art, Ritual and Society: Buddhist practice in Rural China during the Northern Dynasties', *Asia Major*, Third Series, 8.1 (1995), pp. 19–49.
15 E. O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1955), pp. 180–182, preserves a valuable Japanese observation of this from the mid-ninth century, when the state is generally reckoned to have been much weaker than it was in the seventh century.
16 N. Ross Reat, *The Śālistamba Sūtra* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1993), pp. 14, 27.

17 See Robert F. Campany, on pp. 37–40 of 'Notes on the Devotional Uses and Symbolic functions of Sūtra Texts as Depicted in Early Chinese Buddhist Miracle Tales and Hagiographies', *Journal of the International Association for Buddhist Studies* 14.1 (1991), pp. 28–72.

18 Here and below my summary of the dynastic background follows the treatment in D. C. Twitchett, ed., *Cambridge History of China*, Volume Three, Part One (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), Chapters Five and Six. Note in particular that the early involvement of the future empress in Buddhism, though doubted by some, can be confirmed by her own words, as demonstrated by Antonio Forte, *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century* (Napoli: Instituto Universitario Orientale, 1976), pp. 281–284.

19 Arthur Waley, *The Real Tripitaka and Other Pieces* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1952), p. 119.

20 Samuel Beal, *Si-yu ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1981 reprint of London: 1888), Volume Two, pp. 146–147.

21 Samuel Beal, *The Life of Hiuen-tsiang* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1911), pp. 156–157.

22 This passage, in the best edition of Xuanzang's work now available, is in Ji Xianlin, et al., ed., *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiao zhu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), p. 712.

23 This part is not translated by Beal; again, a good modern edition supersedes the Taishō: see Sun Yutang and Xie Fang, eds., Huili and Yancong, *Da Ciensi sanzang fashi zhuan* 10 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 220.

24 This assertion has recently been reexamined positively by Pan Jixing, *Zhongguo, Hanguo yu Ouzhou zaoqi yinshuashu de bijiao* (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1997), pp. 42–45, in the light of the other passages concerning Xuanzang which we have adduced here. It should be said that although we normally think of the great pilgrim translator in terms of his contribution to Chinese textual awareness of Indian Buddhism, there is also some evidence that the religious objects he imported influenced the development of material culture, so there is nothing intrinsically improbable in the idea that his use of Indian technology and Chinese materials contributed to the advance of printing: see, for his apparent influence on sculpture, Li Wensheng, *Longmen shiku yu lishi wenhua* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1993), pp. 47–57.

25 The passage where a copyist is mentioned may be found in Taishō Canon vol. 51, p. 46a. Compare also the great Sui period exegete Zhiyi (538–597), who is said (*ibid.*, p. 23a) to have produced fifteen copies of the entire Buddhist canon during his lifetime, to say nothing of more than one hundred thousand gilded and painted wooden images: we should recall that in medieval Japan it took ten thousand people to copy out the Buddhist canon in one day. Granted that the canon was appreciably smaller in Zhiyi's day, and that a Chinese monk was probably more single-minded than a crowd of medieval Japanese aristocrats, even so the resulting calculation suggests that Zhiyi must have taken more than one lifetime to complete his task, if it was carried out single handed. Cf. K. Mizuno, *Buddhist Sutras: Origin, Development, Transmission* (Tokyo: Kosei Publishing, 1982), p. 171.

26 Daniel Boucher, 'The *Pratītyasamutpādagāthā* and its Role in the Medieval Cult of the Relics', *Journal of the International Association for Buddhist Studies* 14.1 (1991), pp. 1–27.

27 See the study of these forms, which are very hard to date except in the most general terms, by Ishida Mōsaku, *Bukkyō kōkogaku ronkō*, vol. 4 (Kyoto: Shibundō, 1977), pp. 245–262, and especially his estimate of dates on p. 253.

28 See p. 263 of Huo Wei, ' "Da Tang Tianzhu shi chu ming" ji qi xiangguan wenti de yanjiu', *Tōhō gakuhō* (Kyoto) 66 (March, 1994), pp. 270–53 (reverse pagination).

29 Daoshi, *Fayuan zhulin* 29, p. 498a1;39, p. 597b7–12, in edition of Taishō Canon, vol. 53, no. 2122. There is just a possibility that the 'Buddha seals' were rubbings taken from the relic, after the fashion mentioned by Yijing, which we shall consider below. But even this, as we shall see, is not without relevance to printing.

30 E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959), pp. 277–280. Further information on Aśokan sites in China may now be found in a series of six articles by Murata Jirō in *Bukkyō Geijutsu*, issues 114 (1977) to 123 (1979).

31 Zhou Yiliang, *Wei, Jin, Nanbeichao shi zhaji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), pp. 214–215.

32 For the reference, see John S. Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 200–201, and cf. the comments on pp. 56–69. The offering is made to the Buddha by a child who is, of course, the future Aśoka; the symbolism is too complex to discuss here.

33 Strong, *King Aśoka*, pp. 219–221, and comments, pp. 115–119.

34 Patricia Karetzky, in n.30, p. 224, of 'The Representation of Women in Medieval China', *T'ang Studies* 17 (1999), pp. 213–271, suggests that the statue bore the emperor's features. There were precedents for this under the Northern Wei, but I am not sure that the evidence can be so construed in this case. The capital in question is now Luoyang, not (as above) Changan; the empress alternated between the two, but seems to have disliked Changan (perhaps fearing the ghosts of murdered rivals) and favoured Luoyang.

35 *Fayuan zhulin*, 38, pp. 586b–587a. Much of the Chinese scholarship on these finds has been subsumed into a lengthy study by Kegasawa Yasunori, 'Hōmonji shutsudo no Tōdai bunbutsu to sono haikei', in Tonami Mamoru, ed., *Chūgoku no chūsei bunbutsu* (Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku Jimbun kagaku kenkyūjo, 1993), pp. 581–641: see p. 591 (and comments, p. 595) for a late Tang inscription from the crypt which would appear to suggest that the surviving clothing includes a skirt which once belonged to the empress herself. For some spectacular illustrations of these materials (to say nothing of the other finds), see Wu Limin and Han Jinke, *Famensi digong Tang mi mantuluo zhi yanjiu* (Xianggang: Zhongguo fojiao wenhua youxian gongsi, 1998), pp. 457–459, though this important monograph is mainly devoted to the doctrinal implications of the discoveries.

36 Carol Michaelson, *Gilded Dragons* (London: British Museum Press, 1999), pp. 148–162. Unfortunately, the surviving textiles were too delicate to send abroad for this exhibition.

37 Or so it would seem from Chinese sources, though the best evidence for the widespread influence of this belief is somewhat later, as we shall see. The considerable body of recent research in various languages into the religious history of Wutaishan has not yet been brought together in any monographic study, though in English the articles by Raoul Birnbaum and Robert Gimello on this holy site may be read with particular profit, and the book by Du (see next note) covers much relevant material in Chinese; cf. also the article cited in n.66 below.

38 The speculation that some family interest may have spurred the interest of the empress may be found in Du Doucheng, *Dunhuang Wutaishan wenxian jiaolu, yanjiu* (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1991), p. 111, though it is pointed out that on p. 110 that the Sui dynasty also took an interest in the holy sites there—this precedent in fact gains added interest in view of what follows below.

39 James O. Caswell, *Written and Unwritten: A New History of the Buddhist Caves at Yungang* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988), provides a recent summary of scholarship, pp. 13–28, showing firm evidence for imperial involvement in the project, even if the argument of his study is mainly directed against the assumption that all construction at this site was due to imperial patronage.

40 *Fayuan zhulin* 14, p. 393a11–13, which mentions 'several thousand' of these pagodas with discernible *wen* on them, and 39, p. 596a11–12, which again speaks of discernible carving. We shall return to the other monuments of Wutaishan in due course.

41 These stone pagodas are briefly discussed with references to earlier scholarship as part of an overall survey of the distinctive Buddhist culture of the Northern Liang on pp. 71–72 of Susanne Juhl, 'Cultural Exchange in Northern Liang' in Søren Clausen, Roy Starrs and Anne Wedell-Wedellsborg, *Cultural Encounters: China, Japan, and the West* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1995), pp. 55–82; a more recent and detailed survey in Chinese may be found in the second part of the article by Liu Shufen introduced below, n.61.

42 Yin Guangming, 'Bei Liang shita shang de *Yijing* bagua yu qi Fo yi Mile zaoxiang', *Dunhuang yanjiu* 57.1 (1997), pp. 81–89.

43 For the next report, of 679, see Huixiang, *Gu Qingliang zhuan*, A, p. 1094a 11, in edition of Taishō Canon, vol. 51, no. 2098. For the mid-ninth century, cf. Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, pp. 239, 243. For the Chinese literature on Wutaishan I have for ease of reference cited the Taishō editions, but have also consulted the annotated versions of Chen Yangjiong and Feng Qiaoying, *Gu Qingliang zhuan, Guang Qingliang zhuan, Xu Qingliang zhuan* (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1989).

44 Huixiang, *Gu Qingliang zhuan*, A, p. 1098c16–17; the line preceding this passage makes quite clear the agency of the empress in arranging the investigative mission, as would have been natural to someone writing in 679.

45 For a very general account of Chinese kingship which at last begins to do justice to these alternatives, see Julia Ching, *Mysticism and kingship in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 206–234.

46 For this important source, see S. F. Teiser, 'T'ang Buddhist Encyclopedias: An Introduction to the *Fa-yüan Chu-lin* and *Chu-ching yao-chi*', *T'ang Studies* 3 (1985), pp. 109–128.

47 Cen Zhongmian, *Jinshi luncong* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), pp. 97–99.

48 *Fayuan zhulin* 37, pp. 580c–581a; cf. Strong, *Legend*, pp. 90–91.

49 *Fayuan zhulin* 38, pp. 584c–589a (with Japan and Korea mentioned in the last two frames).

50 *Fayuan zhulin* 40, pp. 602b–604a1—the last frame gives the precise reference to the distribution to the Korean kingdoms; Arthur F. Wright, 'The Formation of Sui Ideology, 581–604', in John K. Fairbank, ed., *Chinese Thought and Institutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 71–104, sets this episode in its larger context. I am also deeply indebted to Chen Jinhua for sending me a copy of his major unpublished monograph, '*Śarira*, Sceptre and Staff: Tanqian in Sui Buddhism and Politics', which constitutes an excellent reconsideration of the entire enterprise. In particular Chen includes an appendix containing a full translation of the original documents, as preserved in another seventh century compilation which again could have been read by the empress.

51 Jan Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time* (Berkeley, California: Asian Humanities Press, n.d., reprint of Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture, 1991), pp. 110–118, reexamines the notion that sixth century Hephthalite persecutions of Buddhism prompted the formulation of a new timetable of decline, which in conclusion here and on pp. 136–137 is designated an East Asian concept. The sources she cites, such as studies by P. Magnin and James Hubbard, however, show that from the start it was an extremely powerful one.

52 Collins, *Nirvana*, pp. 24–25, cautions against reading Christian presuppostions into this, though Chinese presuppostions were probably somewhat less distant from

Christian ones than the South Asian modes of thinking which he explains later (reference in n.11 above).

53 T. H. Barrett, *Taoism Under the T'ang* (London: Wellsweep, 1996), pp. 29–40.

54 Antonino Forte, 'Hui-chih (fl. 676–703 A.D.), a Brahmin born in China', *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale* 45 (1983), pp. 105–134. For an earlier example of what must be taken as a Serindian product incorporating ideas from both cultures, see the research of Nobuyoshi Yamabe as reported on p. 6 of Valerie Hansen, 'The Silk Road Project: Returning Turfan's Scattered Treasures', *Revue Bibliographique de Sinologie*, n.s. 17 (1999), pp. 63–73. For a survey of the special significance of the area to the emergence of Tantrism for East Asia, see Todd Gibson, 'Inner Asian Contributions to the Vajrayāna', *Indo-Iranian Journal* 38 (1995), pp. 1–21.

55 Osabe Kazuo, *Tō-Sō Mikkkyōshi ronkō* (Kobe: Kobe Joshi Daigaku, 1982), pp. 1–33. We shall return to Osabe's observations below in due course.

56 On this monk and his translations, see Antonino Forte, 'Le Moine Khotanais Devendraprajña', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 66 (1979), pp. 289–297.

57 Note *Zao xiang gongde jing* A, p. 795b and especially 795c1–3, in edition of Taishō Canon, 16, no. 604. For some surprising materials on women and image dedication in early Buddhism, see Schopen, *Bones, stones, and Buddhist monks*, pp. 248–250; for women and stūpas in Indian materials, see e.g. Sugimoto Takushū, *Indo Buttō no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1984), pp. 414–418.

58 See p. 96 of Rob Linrothe, 'Xia Renzong and the Patronage of Tangut Buddhist Art: The Stūpa and Ushinīshavijayā Cult', *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 28 (1998), pp. 91–121. The references given in this article are extremely useful for an understanding of much of the imagery with which we are dealing here, even though they refer to a later stage in the development of the cult concerned. I have also borrowed Linrothe's translation of the title of our text, more for its succinctness than its literal accuracy.

59 Boucher, 'Cult of the Relics', pp. 8–10.

60 Linrothe, 'Xia Renzong', p. 97, n.20.

61 Liu Shufen, '*Folding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* yu Tangdai zunsheng jingchuan de jianli: jingchuang yanjiu zhi yi' and 'Jingchuang de xingzhi, xingzhi he laiyuan: jingchuang zhi yanjiu er', *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 67.1 (1996), pp. 145–193, and 68.3 (1997), pp. 643–786, respectively.

62 For whom see Antonino Forte, 'Divākara (613–688), un monaco indiano nella Cina dei T'ang', *Annali della Facoltà di lingue e letterature straniere di Ca' Foscari*, 13.3 (1974), pp. 135–174. A convenient survey of the 'Crowning Victory' translations of this period by Misaki Ryōshū may be found in Makita Tairyō and Fukui Fumimasa, eds., *Tonkō to Chūgoku Bukkyō* (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1984), pp. 115–129.

63 *Foding zuisheng tuoluoni jing*, (no. 969), pp. 355b, 356b–c, in Taishō Canon, vol. 19.

64 *Foding zuisheng tuoluoni jing*, (no. 967), pp. 349b–c, in *ibidem*.

65 Zhisheng, *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 9, p. 565b5–8, in Taishō Canon, vol. 55, no. 2154.

66 For the sketch, see pp. 96–97 and the reproduction of the ms. P. 4049 p. 98 of Zhao Shengliang, 'Mogaoku di 61 ku Wutaishan tu yanjiu', *Dunhuang yanjiu* 37.4 (1993), pp. 88–107; for the popularity of this version of the text, see the survey by Misaki cited above, n.62.

67 Forte, *Political Propaganda*, p. 99.

68 Note the survey by Du Weisheng in Xu Ziqiang, *Beijing tushuguan cang shike xulu* (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1988), pp. 176–187, of calligraphic materials in his institution collected from pillars featuring this *dhāraṇī*.

69 Taishō Canon 19, p. 351b.

70 Antonino Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias in the History of the Astronomical Clock* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1988), pp. 233–243; the final page suggests the Aśokan link. See also e.g. Sugimoto, *Indo Buttō*, for more on the wider symbolism.

71 Liu Shufen, 'Jingchuang de xingzhi'.

72 Its relative dominance over other texts in this role during the Liao, at least in epigraphic situations, may be seen from Chen Shu, comp. and ed., *Liao wen cun* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), *juan* 9–12, pp. 220, 224, 230, 240, 245, 257, 280, 297, 305, 307, 314, 318, 324, 348, etc.

73 Liu's table at the end of the second part of the study, 'Jingchuang de xingzhi', cites the date from a brief mention of this monument in a report entitled 'Shaanxi suojian de Tangdai jingchuang:, *Wenwu* 1959, 8, pp. 29–30.

74 This is explained by Liu's earlier article in English, already cited above in n.14, which stresses not simply the benefits to the central state but also to local elites that might derive from the erection of Buddhist structures in rural society.

75 Barrett, *Taoism Under the T'ang*, p. 42.

76 Forte, *Political Propaganda*, p. 130.

77 Erik Zürcher, on pp. 25–27 of 'Prince Moonlight', *T'oung pao* 68 (1982), pp. 1–75, citing Taishō Canon, vol. 14, no. 545, p. 849.

78 *Fayuan zhulin* 100, p. 1026b4, gives the precise figures for the first reign alone of '46 canons, 132,086 volumes'; these two figures cannot be equivalents, since the contemporary canon contained six thousand and ninety-eight volumes, according to the standard history compiled by seventh century scholars, *Sui shu* 35 (Beijing; Zhonghua shuju, 1973), p. 1095. We should also add in some more for the second reign, though the figures given for this in the *Fayuan zhulin* would appear only to cover volumes conserved, not new products. It is all in all no wonder that this *Sui shu* bibliography chapter concludes (p. 1099) that the Buddhist literature in circulation at this time, thanks to popular emulation of the state's productivity, outweighed the Confucian classics by a factor of 'several tens of hundreds'.

79 The original, less threatening form of this ancient doctrine is explained in Collins, *Nirvana*, pp. 247–248; cf. Zürcher, 'Prince Moonlight', p. 28, for much more profound Chinese pessimism at this point.

80 The most recent research into the phenomenon is that contained in Kegasawa Yasunori, ed., *Chūgoku Bukkyō sekkyō no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Kyoto University, 1996), which has English summaries of relevant chapters on pp. 495–498: see also pp. 108–131 for a full survey in Japanese of the beliefs involved, by Odani Nakao. For an earlier assessment of the stone scriptures of the Northern Qi, see Yagi Sentai, 'Hokusei no kokkyō ni tsuite', *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 27.1 (1978), pp. 128–129.

81 Apart from the work of Kegasawa, mentioned in the preceding note, it is also possible to consult an English translation of a contemporary description from the *Mingbao ji* of Tang Lin in Donald E. Gjertson, *Miraculous Retribution* (Berkeley: Centers for South and Southeast Asian Studies, 1989), pp. 165–166, and a preliminary account of recent research by Lewis Lancaster, 'The Rock-cut Canon in China: Findings at Fang-shan', in T. Skorupski, ed., *The Buddhist Heritage* (Tring: The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1989), pp. 143–156: note in particular the inscription mentioned on p. 147 at n.13, *ibid.*

82 Forte, *Political Propaganda*, p. 202, nn. 112, 113; cf. Sima Guang, *Zizhi Tongjian* 203 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), p. 6421.

83 R. W. L. Guisso, *Wu Tse-t'ien and the Politics of Legitimation in T'ang China* (Bellingham, Washington: Western Washington University, 1978), p. 35.

84 Forte, *Political Propaganda*, p. 203; cf. pp. 208, 269.

85 For Korean traditions on the importation of relics as they existed at a much later point, see Iryŏn (1206–1289), *Samguk yusa*, 3, pp. 993a–c, in edition of Taishō Canon, vol. 49, no. 2039.

86 Wang Qinruo, *Cefu yuangui*, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), 964.9b, 10a.

87 Note that on pp. 136–137 of Kang Le, 'Zhuanlunwang guannian yu Zhongguo zhonggu de Fojiao zhengzhi', *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan yuyan lishi yanjiusuo jikan* 67.1 (1996), pp. 109–143, the measures taken by the empress in 693, which included the assumption of a title embodying a claim to universal monarchy of the Aśokan type, is seen as the culmination of Chinese trends conflating the separate 'world-ruler, world-renouncer' categories of South Asian thought. The best study of what the ideologists employed by the empress actually did, however, is still Forte, *Political Propaganda*, the third chapter of which teases out exactly how popular belief in a messianic Maitreya figure was preempted by having the empress take on this role within safe limits. For an earlier example of a 'pre-incarnation' of Maitreya, see Hsiao Bea-hui, 'Two images of Maitreya: Fu Hsi and Pu-tai Ho-shang', PhD dissertation, SOAS, 1995.

88 Barrett, 'I-ching', pp. 149, 150.

89 See Wang Bangwei, ed., *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan jiaozhu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), p. 11, and cf. Liu, *Silk and Religion*, pp. 34, 42.

90 Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, p. 96, and more fully, *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, p. 59.

91 For both techniques in the background to printing, see Li Shuhua, 'Yinzhang yu muta de qiyuan ji qi duiyu diaoban yinshua faming zhi yingxiang', *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 28 (1957), pp. 107–121.

92 Most notably in a story known in several versions in the seventh century and later, translated e.g. by Gjertson, *Miraculous Retribution*, pp. 162–163, in which a copyist is obliged to spend eight years in isolation in order to produce a particularly efficacious transcription of the *Lotus Sūtra*.

93 The full text of this prophecy, of which the original came in three copies, is printed e.g. in Jiang Liangfu, *Mogao ku nianbiao* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), p. 241. For Dīpaṃkara's emergence as a significant Buddhist figure, see pp. 68–70 of Richard Gombrich, 'The Significance of Former Buddhas in the Theravādin Tradition', in Somaratna Balasooriya et al., eds., *Buddhist Studies in honour of Walpola Rahula* (London: Gordon Fraser, 1980), pp. 62–72; John Lagerwey, 'Dingguang gufo: Oral and written sources in the study of a saint', *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 10 (1998), pp. 77–129, shows how the cult of a tenth century thaumaturge who adopted the name Dīpaṃkara has lasted into modern times; Nagai Masayuki, 'Jōkō butsu shinkō kenkyū shiron', in Nihon Bukkyō Gakkai, ed., *Bukkyō to takyō to no tairon* (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten; 1997), pp. 79–92, uses materials including some overlap with Lagerwey to suggest cogently a belief in hidden reincarnations of Dīpaṃkara, though his invocation of Manichaean influence fails to persuade.

94 Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias*, especially pp. 53 onwards, though the introductory study may also be construed as showing to what lengths Buddhists were prepared to go to compete with their Taoist rivals over sacred space: the visions of a normative ordination platform described relate much more to the use of platforms by Taoists, whereas the original Buddhist tradition was content to mark off ordination areas simply by ropes. Something of the standards which the Taoists set in this regard, on the basis of early imperial ritual, may be gathered from John Lagerwey, 'Taoist ritual space and dynastic legitimacy', *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8 (1995), pp. 87–94.

95 Wang Pu, ed., *Tang hui yao* 41 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), p. 873.

96 Wallace Johnson, *The T'ang Code* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 63–64.

97 Song Minqui, ed., *Tang da zhaoling ji* 113 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1959), p. 587. The given date of this document is the fifth month of 700, but this can only be correct if it was issued at the very start of the month: see Han Lizhou, *Tang wen kaobian chubian* (Xi'an: Shansi chubanshe, 1992), p. 209; otherwise we must probably assume that a year has been accidentally added, though in either case the month seems curiously disassociated from the timing of the festival.
98 S. F. Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988): see pp. 71–77 for a translated description of the event dated to seven years before the edict.
99 Michaelson, *Gilded Dragons*, p. 146, gives an illustration of these tiny transparent crystals, 'the size of butter beans'. An example of spontaneous multiplication is given below.
100 Wang, *Tang hui yao*, 227, p. 602.
101 David McMullen, 'The Real Judge Dee: Ti Jen-chieh and the T'ang Restoration of 705', *Asia Major*, Third Series, 6.1 (1993), pp. 1–81.
102 Sima Guang, *Zizhi Tongjian* 207, p. 6554.
103 See for examples, and for some background, the article 'Bussokuseki', in P. Demiéville, ed., *Hōbōgirin*, Volumes 2–3 (Tokyo: Maison Franco-japonaise, 1930, 1937), pp. 187–190, and n.9, p. 102, of T. H. Barrett, 'Exploratory Observations on Some Weeping Pilgrims', in T. Skorupski, ed., *The Buddhist Forum*, Vol. I (London: SOAS, 1990), pp. 87–110. Probably the fullest account of the background is Kanai Kasatarō; *Bussokuseki no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Nakayama shobō, 1971), pp. 238–324, though on the last two pages of this study he seems to take an unduly hostile attitude to the empress and her reign period.
104 Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias*, pp. 82–93.
105 Wang, *Tang hui yao* 49, p. 1003; *Fayuan zhulin* 37, p. 579b; cf. Strong, *Legend*, pp. 254–255.
106 Wang, *Tang hui yao* 49, p. 1005; the preceding pages carry the criticisms of other minsters, including Di Renjie, some of which are excerpted and translated by Forte, *Political Propaganda*, pp. 151–153.
107 Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, pp. 239, 240 and 243 respectively.
108 Huixiang, *Gu Qingliang zhuan*, pp. 1094a, 1099b, respectively.
109 See Gregory Schopen, 'Burial Ad Sanctos and the Physical Presence of the Buddha in Early Indian Buddhism: A Study in the Archaeology of Religions', in *Bones, Stones and Buddhist Monks*, pp. 114–147, originally in Religion 17 (1987), pp. 193–225. If, of course, the concept of 'ad sanctos' is capable of being extended to include relics in textual form, the whole use of texts in Chinese funerary practice might need to be considered.
110 See Dong Gao, ed., *Quan Tang wen* 228 (Beijing: Palace edition, 1818), p. 14a2–3. This practice could, of course, also explain the earlier minature pagodas found on the mountain, but we are told explicitly that in the seventh century they were not understood that way.
111 See the diagram on p. 191 of David McMullen, 'Bureaucrats and cosmology: the ritusl code of T'ang China', in David Cannadine and Simon Price, eds., *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 181–236.
112 Yanyi, *Guang Qingliang zhuan* A, p. 1106c, in edition of Taishō Canon, vol. 51, no. 2099.
113 Yanyi, *Guang Qingliang zhuan* A, p. 1107b.
114 Barrett, *Taoism Under the T'ang*, p. 62; cf. p. 64.
115 See p. 10 of Xiao Yu, 'Wu Zetian yu Wutaishan', *Wutaishan yanjiu* 6 (1986), pp. 7–10.

116 Note Rao Zongyi, 'Cong shike lun Wu hou zhi zongjiao xinyang', *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 45.3 (1974), pp. 397–418; and Barrett, *Taoism Under the T'ang*, p. 43.
117 See Howard J. Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk: Ritual and Symbol in the Legitimation of the T'ang Dynasty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 170–194, especially pp. 184–188.
118 Osabe, *Tō-Sō Mikkyōshi*, pp. 34–64. The materials drawn upon here are, as Osabe notes, hard to date, but the 'Prophecy of Dīpaṃkara' cited above (n.93) demonstrates that this merging of belief may safely be taken to date back in some forms at least to the time of the empress.
119 Chen Yuan, comp., Chen Zhichao, Zeng Qingying, eds., *Daojiao jinshi lue* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1988), pp. 56, 67; 79–80 and 80; and 81, 82, 93, 94 and 95 respectively.
120 Antonino Forte, 'The Maitreyist Huaiyi (d.695) and Taoism', *Tang yanjiu* 4 (1998), pp. 15–29.
121 See p. 89 of Russell Kirkland, 'Dimensions of Tang Taoism: The State of the Field at the End of the Millennium', *T'ang Studies* 15/16 (1997–8), pp. 79–123.
122 Barrett, *Taoism Under the T'ang*, pp. 44–45.
123 The text is published in Chen, Chen and Zeng, *Daojiao jinshi lue*, p. 93, but misprints the name of the officiant charged with the task, who was a very important provincial religious reformer of the age. The inscription as reported on p. 11 of 'Henan dixia wenwu xin faxian', *Zhongyuan wenwu* 19.3 (1984) reveals him to have been Hu [Fa]zhao, for whom see Barrett, *Taoism Under the T'ang*, p. 44; Li Fang, ed., Taiping guangji 313 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), p. 2495; Xiuzhen shihshu 36.8a–10b (HY text no. 263 in the Taoist Canon).
124 Isabelle Robinet, *Taoism: Growth of a Religion* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), p. 65.
125 For general accounts of Buddhist translation at this time, and this project in particular, see pp. 297–303 of Stanley Weinstein, 'Imperial Patronage in the Formation of T'ang Buddhism', in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds., *Perspectives on the T'ang* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 263–306, and Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism Under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 44–47.
126 Dong, comp., *Quan Tang wen*, 97.7a8–9.
127 On this phrase in South and East Asia, see Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time*, pp. 91–92, n.89; 106, n.111; p. 118.
128 The version carrying this preface is no. 1057 in Taishō Canon, vol. 20; for the order see p. 83c10. The cult of Guanyin in this form became remarkably popular during the Tang: see Kobayashi Taichirō, *Kobayashi Taichirō chosaku shū*, VII: Bukkyō geijutsu no kenkyū (Tokyo: Dankōsha, 1974), pp. 1–296, for a comprehensive study, though the brief mention of this preface on p. 89 simply takes the information given at face value and does not consider its historical background.
129 Since the appearance of my study, listed above in n.6, the passage in question has been translated by Florian C. Reiter, *The Aspirations and Standards of Taoists Priests in the Early T'ang Period* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1998), pp. 85–86.
130 Duan Chengshi, *Youyang zazu*, supplement, 5 (Beijing; Zhonghua shuju, 1981), pp. 249, 251.
131 *Baiqian yin tuoluoni jing*, Taishō Canon vol. 21, no. 1369, pp. 885c–886a.
132 Osabe, *To-Sō Mikkyōshi*, p. 26, n.13, commenting on Taishō Canon nos. 1080, 1082, 1083, and cf. pp. 27–28, n.21.
133 This is shown by a preliminary study of the topic by Hatsuzaki Shōjun, 'Emmei-hō ni kansuru Bukkyō keiten no kenkyū', *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 15.1 (1966),

pp. 225–9, though one of the texts he cites (p. 236) from Taishō Canon 20, p. 584, was translated in 693.

134 Cf. p. 9 of the translation of this information in D. T. Suzuki, *Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1930), pp. 7–10, drawing on p. 430b of Taishō Canon vol. 39, no. 1790.

135 Zhisheng, *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 9, p. 566a9 and 11, b25, c2.

136 Weinstein, *Buddhism Under the T'ang*, p. 46. The chronology does not quite work, unless (as is likely) 'fifteen' is a conventional figure alluding to the career of Confucius in Analects 2.4.1, and he was actually a few years older when he made this pilgrimage.

137 This source is explored in the article in *Chinese Science* 15 listed above, n.5; to the discussion of the date of the work in question given there may now be added A. Forte, *A Jewel in Indra's Net* (Kyoto: Italian School of East Asian Studies, 2000), pp. 66–68, which shows that it existed in some substantial form by 690, though it is of course impossible to guarantee absolutely that the passage I discuss was included at that date.

138 Cf. p. 332 of the translation of his 'Chapter on the Golden Lion' by Leon Hurvitz, in W. T. de Bary, ed., *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, Vol. I (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 329–333. For Weinstein's observation, see n.115 above.

139 Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn, Pŏpjang Hwasangjŏn, pp. 283b–284a in Taishö Canon, vol. 50.

140 *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing*, Taishō Canon no. 1024 in Vol. 19, pp. 717c–721b.

141 Taishō Canon, vol. 19, pp. 718b, 718c, 720c–721a.

142 For the total of 1551 administrative units before the rise of the empress, see Li Tai, comp.; He Cijun, ed., *Guadi zhi jijiao*, general preface (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), p. 5; the empire would have been slightly larger in her day.

143 Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, p. 116.

144 There is a good brief account of Wu-Yue, including an account of Qian Shu's religious activities, by Edmund H. Worthy, Jr., 'Diplomacy for Survival: Domestic and Foreign Relations of Wu Yüeh, 907–978', in Morris Rossabi, ed., *China Among Equals* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 17–44.

145 The text in question is no. 1022 in the Taishō Canon. Amoghavajra represents a later phase in imperial Chinese Buddhism, which may now be studied through Charles D. Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

146 As noted in Tsien Tsuen-hsuin, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. V.1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 157–158.

147 See Hwang Su-yŏng, ed., *Chŭngbo Hanguk kŭmsŏk yumun* (Seoul: Iljisa, 1981, third edition), p. 177, for the relic. For a recent summary of the extensive, simultaneously religious and diplomatic relations between Wu-Yue and Korea, see pp. 356–7 of Wang Tsui-ling, 'Sugyōroku no seiritsu', Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū 48.1 (1999), pp. 358–355 (reverse pagination).

148 There are several studies bearing on this episode: see e.g. Okazaki Jōji, 'Sen Kōshuku hachi man yon sen tō kō', *Bukkyō geijutsu* 76 (1970), pp. 111–125, and cf. Ishida, Bukkyō kōkogaku ronsō, 4, pp. 263–271.

149 Abe Jōichi, *Chūgoku Zenshūshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Seishin shobō, 1963), p. 96. I have not as yet located any earlier source that confirms this centralization and redistribution, but it would not seem to be intrinsically impossible.

150 Nor did the switch to Amoghavajra's text immediately lead to a complete abandonment of the *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing* as a text associated with relics: for an example of such a use from 1096, see Chen, *Liao wen cun*, 9, p. 252, though this

source, while mentioning 2,000 minature pagodas along with 20 grains of relics and five copies of the text, does not seem to be associated with any act of distribution.

151 Manuscript copies of the *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing* may be found among the Dunhuang manuscripts, mainly (seven) in the Beijing collection, but also two in London, S1634 and S4156, and one in Paris, P3916. Stephen F. Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiii Press, 1994), p. 99, notes that the Paris manuscript forms part of a small collection of texts in a notebook, a format which to judge from other similar examples suggests the regular use of the text by a ritual practitioner. He also gives on the preceding page a well-known example of a text (the *Diamond Sūtra*) often copied in manuscript in the tenth century from a printed exemplar—this, however, only becomes detectable with the rise of commercial printing, since the copyists faithfully copy in the printer's colophon. What happened in the case of the *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni* can only remain hypothetical. Whether the copies of our text listed by Japanese pilgrims to China in the ninth century were manuscripts or not is an even trickier problem, which is here dealt with in an Appendix, below.

152 Dong, *Quan Tang wen* 269.9a5; this is the source used by Forte and dated below, n.154. For Yang, see the rather contradictory images presented in Zhang Zu, *Chaoye qianzai* 2 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), p. 36, and 6, p. 142; D. C. Twitchett, *Financial Administration Under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970; second ed.), p. 86 for the context of the former, more negative remarks.

153 Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian* 208, p. 6596, converted into the Western calendar.

154 This we know from the renewal of protest against it: see Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias*, pp. 69–70, where he uses the protesting memorial for its review of earlier schemes; he suggests (n.63) 28th December for the edict reviving her plans for the statue.

155 For the time scale of rituals determining rebirth, see Stephen F. Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* p. 23–25, and Michihata Ryōshū, 'Chūgoku Bukkyō to shichishichisai', *Shūkyō kenkyū* 34 (1961), pp. 85–86: though later rituals envisaged memorial services at fixed intervals, forty-nine days was probably the time limit uppermost in contemporary minds.

156 Schopen, 'Burial Ad Sanctos', p. 121, and n.32, p. 142, making the explicit connection with the earliest East Asian printed materials.

157 The inscription and the other contents found in the reliquary are analysed in Umehara Sueji, 'Kankoku Keishū Kōfukuji tō hakken shari yōki', *Bijutsu kenkyū* 156 (1950), pp. 31–47; cf. Hwang, *Hanguk kŭmŏk yumun*, pp. 140–141.

158 See p. 65 of Kayamoto Somato, 'Nissen jōdai jiin no shari shōgongu ni tsuite', *Bukkyō geijutsu* 32 (1958), pp. 52–81.

159 As is made clear by the study of Kayamoto (see preceding note), and cf. Chōsen sōtokufu, ed., *Chōsen kinshi sōran*, vol.1 ('Heijō': Chōsen sōtokufu, 1919), p. 55, no. 29; Hwang, *Hanguk-kŭmsŏk yumun*, pp. 161, 166, 172.

160 Wu and Han, *Famensi digong Tang mi mantuluo zhi yanjiu*, p. 70.

161 Wang, Tang hui yao 41, p. 867; the saying, from Daode jing 36, is itself diplomatically blunted by most translators: Michael LaFargue, *The Tao of the Tao Te Ching* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), pp. 158, 159, is one exception.

162 There is a useful summary of Fujieda's work in Jean-Pierre Drège, *Les bibliothèques en Chine au temps des manuscrits* (Paris: ÉFEO, 1991), pp. 85–86.

163 The broader background, which I have ignored for present purposes, may be found in Constance R. Miller, *Technical and Cultural Prerequisites for the Invention of Printing in China and the West* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1983).

164 Thus, apart from the Maitreyanist leader Xue Huaiyi and the Taoist reformer Hu Fazhao, whom we have already encountered, the empress also gave credence to a nun who claimed to be a Buddha and her associates, even though they are accused by the historians of having 'misled the masses', a propensity which all emperors tended to regard with some alarm, despite the willingness of many of them to listen to all kinds of holy men who flattered them with more personal attention to their longevity, good fortune, etc. See Sima, *Zizhi Tongjian* 205, pp. 6494–5, dated to 694. Of course, as we have seen, 'co-opting' just as frequently meant forestalling such movements by posing as some form of messiah herself.

165 Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, p. 118, n.9, gives four apparent references to printed matter listed in such catalogues, which are all to be found in volume 55 of the Taishō Canon.

166 For examples of listings of our text in these sources, see Taishō no. 2161, p. 1063b; no. 2165, p. 1074c; no. 2166, p. 1076c; no. 2167, p. 1032c; p. 2168, p. 1091a; no. 2172, p. 1098c.

167 Taishō no. 2167, p. 1084c; cf. no. 2176, p. 1132a, for a later mention of the second object, which may perhaps be read to mean a pagoda formed of clay from a matrix, though this seems unlikely. The exact metal used in the former object is also a little unclear from the dictionary references I have consulted.

168 Taishō Canon, no. 2168, p. 1090c.

169 Taishō Canon, no. 2174A, p. 1110a.

170 Ibid., p. 1111b

171 Taishō Canon, no. 2176, p. 1131c. This is not mentioned by Kornicki, who is concerned only with books.

99

THE LIFE OF SHINRAN SHONIN

The journey to self-acceptance

Alfred Bloom

Source: Bloom, Alfred (1968) *The Life of Shinran Shonin: The Journey to Self-Acceptance*, Revised Edition, Berkeley: Institute of Buddhist Studies, pp. 1–80.

Introduction

Shinran's life has great historical interest because it was the chrysalis within which a new and distinctive form of Buddhist piety and thought developed. His religious experience gave him a penetrating insight into the defiled nature of human existence which became the foundation for his understanding that salvation is through faith alone. Just as this perception is historically significant, the life out of which it arose also gains in historical significance. The course of his life has a direct relation to the thought which he formulated for it is quite unlikely that, had he not been separated from his master Hōnen, or chosen to live a life among the peasants of the eastern provinces, would he have contributed to the development of Pure Land tradition in such a creative manner as his thought reveals.

As is natural in the case of influential personalities, stories grew up which have the purpose to stress his greatness in overt ways. In the case of religious teachers it is not uncommon to illustrate points of doctrine in events of the teacher's life. Thus numerous tendentious tales may appear.

The life of Shinran is not exceptional in this regard. Hence it is a primary aim of this study to sift the materials relating to his biography in order to provide a reasonable account of the course of his career. It is not the intention of this work to criticize scholars of Japanese religions for accepting, even though tentatively, stories given in the tradition about great leaders, since in many cases direct knowledge of the Japanese language and the availability of critical studies has been lacking. It is hoped that this study can fill some lacuna in a critical inquiry into the life and thought of Shinran.

In addition to sifting the various stories concerning Shinran in the tradition, our inquiry will also be concerned with presenting information on certain significant problems of Shinran's life which have attracted the attention of recent Japanese scholars. Among these are the marriage of Shinran and Eshin-ni

and his family; the nature of religious heresies in Kanto and the tragic separation of father and son, and the social composition of Shinran's disciples.

The information which we glean from the various traditions and historical sources reveals four basic periods in Shinran's life. The first period concerns his entrance into the monastic life and his stay on Mount Hiei. It was during this time that his spiritual conflict, uncertainty and dissatisfaction arose. The second period centers about his conversion to Hōnen's teaching. This was the time of discovery. The third begins with his exile in Echigo and includes the later period of preaching in the Kanto region. Here his insights into the meaning of Pure Land doctrine deepened, and new and original concepts were forged. The fourth period covers the time after he retired to Kyoto to devote himself to writing and interpreting the faith for his disciples. This last period may be called the time of definition and clarification.

Shinran is believed to have been born in 1173 as the son of Arinori and related to the Fujiwara clan through the Hino family, according to tradition.[1] While his mother's name and clan connections are completely unknown, tradition claims she was Kikko, the daughter of Minamoto Yoshichika.[2] It appears that he was the eldest of four or five brothers whose names appear in the *Sompibummyaku* genealogy.[3] According to certain traditions, he was raised by his uncles Noritsuna and Munenari,[4] because he lost his parents as a young child. However, the lack of detailed and reliable information concerning his family relationships prevents us from giving a more connected account of his earliest life.

While it is impossible to assess the genealogies afforded us by tradition, and while it may have been the intention of the biographers to furnish Shinran with an aristocratic background in order to commend him to the nobility, the character of his personality revealed in his writings and the intellectual nature of his teaching, as well as the events surrounding his exile, indicate that he was not strictly peasant or warrior in origin.

The motivation and ocassion for Shinran's entrance into the monastic life of Mount Hiei are also obscure, though various suggestions appear in traditional sources. According to the tradition of the *Denne*, he was destined to obtain a position in the court following the footsteps of his father.[5] However, he turned his back on such prospects because he had a desire to prosper the Buddhist teaching and to work for the salvation of all beings. At the age of nine, he is said to have requested his uncle Noritsuna to accompany him to the monastery. In a later work, the *Saishukyōju-e-ji*, the motivation is attributed to his deep sense of the transiency of life after the loss of his parents.[6] There also exists a tradition in which Shinran's mother requested on her death bed that he become a monk.[7]

Although it is impossible to determine precisely the motivations behind his retirement to the monastery from the traditions, there is information which may provide a clue. As we have already pointed out, Shinran may have been the eldest of four or five brothers. Two of these brothers are clearly known to history. They were also monks. Further, Shinran's father apparently had become

a monk and is referred to in the Honganji genealogy as Mimurodo Daishin Nyūdō.[8] Against the theory of Arinori's early death there is the reference by Zonkaku to a sutra dedicated to Arinori by Shinran and his brother Ken'u on the occasion of memorial service after Arinori's death.[9] In the light of these facts scholars have generally rejected the traditional accounts and sought for other possible motivations whereby a father and at least three of his sons retired to the religious life. Some point to a great family problem,[10] while others look to the background of turmoil and upheaval at the end of the Heian for the reason. Examples of other mass retirements have been mustered to indicate that it was a common custom for the nobility to take up religious life in order to stabilize their political or economic existence.[11] However, none of these illustrations, though suggestive, are sufficient to determine the precise reasons in the case of Shinran and his father and brothers.[12]

Whatever may have been the cause behind his retirement, there is no doubt about Shinran's presence of Mount Hiei and his involvement in the religious discipline of that institution. The traditional accounts, however, provide us with little reliable material on the basis of which to give an objective view of the character of his study there and the sources of his spiritual dissatisfaction. The course of his stay there, according to traditional narratives, is designed to glorify his achievements and wisdom, and thus provide a dramatic background of the radical turn which his life took when he renounced Mount Hiei to become a disciple of Hōnen.

The *Denne* relates that in 1182 Noritsuna took Shinran to Shōrenin which was then headed by the famous priest Jichin (Jien). Shinran was accepted into the Tendai order and was given the name Hannen-Shōnagon-no-Kimi.[13] The various references in tradition to this period of twenty years in which Shinran studied Buddhism on Mount Hiei are primarily concerned with his religious experience. They emphasize his great knowledge and understanding of doctrine in order to make it clear that he had thoroughly weighed Tendai thought and practice and found that salvation could not be achieved through it. Generally his experience is telescoped into a few descriptive, formal statements, though the *Shōtōden*, coming from the Tokugawa period, gives a more detailed and chronological account of his activities there.

According to the tradition, Shinran studied at Yogawa Ryōgon on Mount Hiei which signified that he stood in the line of the Pure Land tradition that had evolved through Genshin, Ryōnin and Hōnen.[14] Matsuno Junko particularly stresses the influence of Genshin's thought on Shinran, and implies this influence comes from the period of his stay on Mount Hiei.[15] Tradition also asserts that he had attained a complete understanding of Tendai philosophy.[16] His understanding included the exoteric and esoteric teachings of Buddhism and especially the Tendai principle that the "three truths are one truth,"[17] as well as Shingon mysticism.[18] As the result of meeting various great teachers, learning many doctrines, and practicing many forms of meditation, Shinran is said to have equaled Hōnen in his understanding of Buddhism.[19]

In evaluating such traditions we must remember that their purpose was to exalt the founder by praising his wisdom and spiritual insight. The only basis in fact which gives any support to these traditions is the fact that he was scholarly and his writings reveal a considerable knowledge of Buddhist works and an understanding of basic Buddhist doctrine. Many of his writings are anthological in which he gathered texts to support his views. How much of this material he acquired on Mount Hiei, we cannot say. This period, together with his residence in Yoshimizu with Hōnen, could have provided him with ample opportunity to gather and read many texts which he could not have done later in the provinces.

According to the *Shōtōden*, Shinran's achievements on Mount Hiei go beyond purely scholastic attainments. It claims that he so impressed Jichin that at the age of twenty five he was appointed the Abbot of Shōkōin.[20] As Jichin's assistant, he gave lectures and conducted services, and is even reputed to have constructed a library for the Buddhist canon at the west Pagoda.

Despite the wealth of legends and stories concerning his abilities, the period of Shinran's residence on Mount Hiei is hidden in obscurity except for one ray of light which illumines the darkness. In a letter to her daughter Kakushin-ni, Shinran's wife, Eshin-ni, relates that he was a *dōsō* on Mount Hiei.[21]

The *dōsō* were priests of fairly low status in the organization of Mount Hiei and probably served either in the Jōgyōzammaidō or the Hokkedō.[22] Though they have been confused with the *doshu*, another type of servant priest, it now appears that they were especially concerned with the ceremonies of the Continuous Nembutsu (*fudannembutsu*) performed in the Jōgyōzammaidō. As such they were particularly important because of their intimate connection to the development of Pure Land doctrine and practice. Ryōnin, the founder of the Yūzunembutsu teaching in 1103, is an outstanding example of *dōsō*.[23]

The knowledge that Shinran was a *dōsō* and intimately involved in Pure Land thought already during his stay on Mount Hiei provides a context for understanding the religious anxiety and dissatisfaction which he experienced. As a *dōsō*, he was exposed to Pure Land concepts concerning the evil character of the age and human existence. He was probably confronted frequently with the transiency of life, because of the Continuous Nembutsu services were sponsored by individuals mainly to acquire merit which could be transferred to a relative to insure his good destiny.[24] In this way Pure Land teachings penetrated Shinran's mind and contributed to the deepening of his religious sensitivity.

We have no specific evidence, however, for the source of Shinran's anxiety and dissatisfaction. The *Denne* briefly suggests that he had a desire to retire, that is, to take up the practice of nembutsu, at the age of twenty nine.[25] No reasons are given for this, but the *Shōtōden* gives a detailed account of his success at court and his rejection of fame.[26] The *Tantokumon* relates that he was troubled by his passions and was hindered by them in the practice of meditation.[27]

All the traditions agree that Shinran become deeply troubled because he was not able to obtain an assurance of his salvation. No matter what discipline he attempted, he was obstructed by his passions. There is some historical basis for

this fact. In one of Eshin-ni's letters she tells of his concern for his destiny as the reason for his spiritual quest.[28] Shinran himself had declared on one occasion that "as I am a person for whom any discipline is difficult to attain, hell will certainly be my destination."[29] Thus while it is impossible to determine precise causes for his profound sense of defilement, there can be no doubt that he experienced a deep sense of spiritual failure, frustration, or inadequacy which awakened him to the futility and vanity of Buddhist practices traditionally believed to enable an individual to gain Buddhahood.

Shinran may also have been influenced by the decadent and corrupt conditions which he could have observed on Mount Hiei. The violent activities of the rowdy monks frequently disturbed the peace and quiet of Kyoto, and the continuing strife between the students (*gakushō*) and the priests (*dōshū*) was not conducive to a contemplative atmosphere. The Buddhist Order had become a refuge where monks could compete for fame and power. Thus Shinran, in the same manner as Hōnen, Dōgen, and Nichiren, became perturbed and uncertain about the way of salvation.

Whatever the psychological or social reasons may be which lay behind Shinran's religious development, it is possible that he was simply an individual who was constitutionally unsuited for the rigorous practices of meditation of the Tendai system. After years of serious study and sincere attempts to achieve some degree of spiritual insight, he experienced frustration and inner conflict. There are evidences that his rejection of Mount Hiei was grounded in a deep sense of defilement which must have developed through the years of his training. The very nature of his thought indicates that it was an attempt to face up positively to his corrupt nature. He came to view the existence of passion in men as a sign of Amida's mercy and the earnest that salvation was assured. The development is only intelligible on the background of the disillusionment suffered on Mount Hiei.

As Shinran became more aware of his own personal evil and the decadent character of his age, he became more and more anxious about his own destiny. Tradition records that he visited the various shrines on Mount Hiei in an effort to discover a solution to his inner conflict. Unsuccessful in his quest, he went to Kyoto to the Rokkakudō and began a vigil. All texts agree that he secluded himself there and that it was a most significant experience. They disagree on the chronological relation of that event and his conversion to Hōnen's teaching.[30] Nevertheless, our most certain source for determining the importance of the event is the brief statement of Eshin-ni that he left Mount Hiei and went to the Rokkakudō where he secluded himself for one hundred days. On the ninety fifth day, he received a vision which included a message relating to Shōtoku Taishi. The following morning he set out for Hōnen's hermitage and listened to his teaching faithfully. He was so attracted by this doctrine that he ignored all criticism and said that he would accept doom, since he was already doomed.[31]

The period of discovery, 1201–1207

From the Rokkakudō, as we have noted, Shinran attended Hōnen's hermitage in Yoshimizu. The new phase which was opening in his life was to be the most decisive and perhaps critical in his whole religious development. It was his meeting with Hōnen that marked Shinran's rejection of the elaborate disciplinary and philosophic approaches to Buddhist enlightenment taught on Mount Hiei. It symbolized the rejection of the decadent, aristocratic, confusing religion of the age and his identification with the virile, vital and popular teaching of Hōnen which brought clarity to religious thought and faith through the stress on the singlehearted recitation of the name of Amida Buddha. The occasion had such great meaning for Shinran that he long remembered it. In the epilogue of the *Kyōgyōshinshō* he remarked on his experience:

> But I, Gutoku Shinran, in the year 1201, abandoned the difficult practices and took refuge in the Original Vow.[32]

The brief phrase with which Shinran describes this momentous decision is pregnant with the spirit of reform within Buddhism for which this period is famed, and it shows that he shared the same general outlook as the other reformers of his time.

That Shinran turned to Hōnen's teaching on this occasion is also worthy of note. Hōnen, more than any other Buddhist thinker to this point, had brought to the fore the problem of the self and its degenerate nature. Through Hōnen's teaching individuals burdened with guilt and sin could devote themselves to the simple recitation of Amida Buddha's name in the faith that they would gain birth in the Pure Land despite their spiritual incapacity. It is recorded that he attracted to himself samurai, robbers, prostitutes, fishermen, and the like. He enabled these people, excluded from deliverance by traditional concepts, to aspire for the fruits of Buddhahood though bound as they were to their passion-ridden existence. It was undoubtedly this new emphasis on Amida Buddha's compassion which attracted Shinran and led ultimately to his accepting the teaching.

In Yoshimizu it is clear that Shinran comprehended the meaning of Pure Land teaching for the common mortal bound by ignorance and passion. He had come to this understanding through the kindly instruction of Hōnen, and through his life he steadfastly maintained that he was but his earnest disciple. He believed firmly that if Hōnen's teaching were not true then there was no possibility of salvation.

> For me, Shinran, there is nothing else to do other than to believe, as I have received the words of the good man (Hōnen) (when he said) "You can be saved by Amida doing only the nembutsu." I do not know at all whether the nembutsu may be truly the seed by which we are born into the Pure Land, or is the karmic act by which we can fall into hell.

> Even though I should fall into hell because I was deceived by Hōnen and practiced the nembutsu, I would not repent at all. But, I probably would have regrets that I was deceived if, indeed, I were one who could become a Buddha by being diligent in the (practice of the) discipline, (for the sake of) myself and others, and yet descended into hell through saying the nembutsu. However, since I am one who cannot attain to any discipline, hell is probably to be my determined dwelling place in any case.[33]

After Shinran's discovery of the meaning of Pure Land teaching and his attainment of an assurance of salvation even as a sinful person, he devoted himself to the close study of Hōnen's thought. In 1943 texts of the *Kammuryōjukyō* and the *Amidakyō*, to which Shinran had added notes as he read, were discovered in the Nishi Honganji storehouse. The study of these texts and the works quoted by him indicate that they were probably made while he resided in Yoshimizu.[34]

Shinran's study and growth in the understanding of the Pure Land teaching in the few short years he lived in Yoshimizu were rewarded by Hōnen's granting him permission to copy the *Senjakushū* and allowing him to draw his portrait. For Shinran, these gifts marked the high point of his spiritual experience and testified to his close relation with his teacher. In glowing terms he related these incidents and what they meant to him many years afterward:

> In 1205, by his kindness, I copied the *Senjakushū*. On the fourteenth day of the seventh month in that same year, Hōnen wrote with his own pen title *Senjakuhongannembutsushū* together with the phrase "Namu Amida Butsu (is) the act for Rebirth; the Nembutsu is the foundation," and (my name) "monk Shakkū." On the same day, I was given permission to draw a portrait of Genkū (Hōnen). On the twenty ninth day of the seventh month, he wrote a title on the picture and with his own brush he penned (the phrase) "If I become Buddha, and all beings who call my name even down to ten voicings are not born (in the Pure Land), may I not obtain true enlightenment. Now he has become Buddha, and we know that his profound Vow was not false. Beings who pronounce and think on his name shall certainly attain birth (in the Pure Land)." Further according to a dream, he changed the characters of my name Shakkū and wrote that name with his own brush. At this time our teacher, the Shōnin, was seventy three years old.
>
> The *Senjakuhongannembutsushuū* was compiled through the instruction of the Regent in retirement (Tsukinowa-dono Kanezane whose religious name was Enshō). Contained within it are the essentials of Shinshū and the inner principles of the nembutsu. Whoever reads it will find it easy to understand. It was rare, most excellent and beautiful passages. It is unsurpassed among treasured texts. Years pass;

> days pass, and those who receive his teachings go into the millions. Whether one was intimate or distant, those permitted to see or copy this book were very few. But I have already copied the work and drew his portrait. This is the effect of the right act of the sole practice of nembutsu. It is a sign that (my) birth is assured. Suppressing my tears of joy and sorrow, I recall the events of that time.
>
> Oh, how happy I am. My mind is established in the Buddha Land of the profound Vow. My thought is set afloat on the sea of the inconceivable doctrine. I have experienced the Tathāgata's compassion (Amida Buddha's) deeply, and I sincerely cherish the kindness of my teacher.[35]

Shinran's testimony to his close relationship to Hōnen became the basis for the growth of a variety of legends in the Shinshū tradition which attempt to amplify this relationship. On the one hand, there are legends which attempt to portray him as the correct exponent of Hōnen's faith in contrast to erring disciples. Here distinctive tenets developed by Shinran later are represented as the views of Hōnen himself. The polemical background of the tales is obvious. On the other hand, there is the legend concerning Shinran's marriage to Tamahi at the suggestion of Hōnen. This legend clearly aims at justifying the institution of marriage for Shinshū clergymen following Shinran's example.

The legends concerning Shinran's faithfulness to Hōnen's teaching while he resided in Yoshimizu are interesting because they reflect the growing gulf at a later time between Pure Land schools and the Shinshū group founded by Shinran. The differences center on the nature of faith and the character of Hōnen's doctrines.

In this vein Kakunyo, author of the *Denne* (1, 6) related that many people were attracted to Hōnen's Pure Land teaching, but very few earnestly followed his doctrine. When Shinran became aware of this situation, he came to the teacher and proposed a test. Hōnen agreed. Shinran divided the disciples into two groups by asking them whether they believed that faith or practice was the foundation of salvation. As a result, three hundred persons revealed their misunderstanding, because they sought salvation in practices. However, Seikaku, Hōrembō, Shinran and the lay disciple, Hōriki, placed themselves on the side of faith. The climax of the incident came when Hōnen took the side of faith and confirmed Shinran's view.[36]

In two other incidents Hōnen is shown confirming Shinran's point of view. One occasion arose when Shinran claimed his faith was identical with Hōnen's. Hōnen agreed to this assertion of the novel view (actually developed by Shinran) that faith was in actuality a gift of Amida Buddha to good and evil mortals alike.[37] In another instance, Hōnen agreed with Shinran against other Pure Land disciples that devotees gain the status of rebirth into the Pure Land in the present life and need not wait to the end of life for assurance of salvation.[38] This doctrine was actually taught by Shinran and is one of his creative contributions to Pure Land thought.

One of the most important legends concerning Shinran's activities in Yoshimizu is the account of his marriage to Tamahi, the daughter of the Regent Fujiwara Kanezane. The first appearance of the story is in the *Shōtōden*. According to this text, after Shinran had become a disciple of Hōnen, he received a vision in the Rokkakudō (as we have discussed above). In this vision the Bodhisattva Kannon appeared to him in the form of a monk wearing a white kesa and seated on a white lotus. Addressing him by the name Zenshin, the Bodhisattva Kannon made a pledge:

> Even though you violate a woman because of past karma
> I will take the form of a beautiful woman and be violated
> During your life you will be able to adorn (the doctrine),
> When you die, I will guide you to the Pure Land.[39]

After the message had been given, Bodhisattva Kannon declared: "This is my vow." Shinran was then urged to declare what he had learned in the vision to all beings.

The narrative continues by recounting that in the tenth month, the fifteenth day, in 1201, Regent Kanezane came to Yoshimizu. After the evening sermon, he questioned Hōnen:

> Among your many disciples, Kanezane is a layman. Is there a difference between the nembutsu of sages and our nembutsu?

Hōnen replied:

> It is clear that the Original Vow is for all beings good or evil and common mortals will attain birth.

Kanezane then requested that Hōnen have one of his monks take a wife and this would become a model for the birth of laymen into the Pure Land. Hōnen complied and chose Shinran for this marriage. When Shinran hesitated, Hōnen recalled to him the vision he had had in the Rokkakudō in which the Bodhisattva vowed to be his wife. Shinran, unable to refuse the master's request, returned home with Kanezane and married his seventh daughter Tamahi who was just eighteen years old at the time.[40]

Although the story derives from a late tradition, it gained very wide currency and generally appears in almost all accounts of the life of Shinran in modern works. Marriage of the clergy became a distinctive feature of the Shinshū community. It was of course not the first time that clergy were known to be married, but it was the first time that a theoretical basis for the marriage of priests was formulated. According to Shinshū belief, the attainment of salvation does not require the abandonment of the secular life, but is to be achieved within the framework of common mortal existence.[41] That Shinran married is no histor-

ical problem since we possess the letters of Eshin-ni, but it is a question whether he really married during the residence in Yoshimizu.

We must point out here that although no reputable scholar presently accepts the account of Shinran's marriage given in the *Shōtōden* and outlined above, Shinran's marriage during this period is still an open question. A suggestion that he may have married here is found in the appearance in certain letters of two mysterious individuals named Imagozen-no-haha and Sokushōbō.[42] While there is no information by which to identify these people precisely, Shinran's letters imply that they have a close relation to him on the basis of which he appealed for aid in their behalf from the Kanto disciples. Because of the close relation reflected in the letters, scholars have theorized that Imagozen-no-haha may have been his wife whom he had to abandon in Kyoto when he was sent into exile. On his return later in life he found her and her son there in destitution. Being poor himself, Shinran asked his disciples for help. However, this theory has not been accepted because of the obscurity of the individuals involved.[43]

The most important evidence against Shinran's marriage in Yoshimizu is the fact that in 1204, he signed the seven point pledge drawn up by Hōnen in which he promised that his disciples would observe monastic discipline. Point four of the series of pledges declares:

> You must not, in the name of the *Nembutsu* which you say requires no precepts, encourage people to indulge in meat eating, wine drinking, or impure sexual intercourse. Never say of people who strictly practice the religious discipline proscribed by their sect, that they belong to the so-called "miscellaneous practice people," nor that those who trust in the Buddha's Original Vow need never be afraid of sin.[44]

Hōnen further reinforced the pledge by a personal letter which he sent to Abbot Shinshō of Mount Hiei:

> If anyone disseminates distorted views and empty lies, he deserves to be severely punished, in accordance with the strictest judgment, and I hope and trust that such will be so dealt with.[45]

In face of the mounting criticism and pressures which Hōnen was receiving from Mount Hiei and Nara, it is unlikely that he would have tolerated, much less permitted, Shinran to marry in Yoshimizu. That Shinran himself signed the pledge makes it rather unlikely that he was married at this time.[46]

Shinran's fellowship and study under Hōnen came to an abrupt end in 1207 when Hōnen and his leading disciples were sentenced to exile and two others were beheaded. As early as 1204 there were signs of opposition when the monks of Mount Hiei complained to Hōnen about the irreligious behavior of his disciples.[47] In addition, the monks also appear to have petitioned the court to abolish Hōnen's community because his disciples were extremely irreverent towards the

gods of the nation.[48] Hōnen attempted to appease the authorities on Mount Hiei by drawing up the seven point pledge which he had all his disciples sign.

Attention has been called to the fact that the discipline of Hōnen's followers was really an internal matter for the Tendai order, since Hōnen was supposed to be living according to Tendai regulations. It was quite natural that the abbot of Mount Hiei would be concerned lest the order be brought into disrepute. However, Hōnen's doctrine transcended the limited sphere of Tendai discipline. In his writings, Hōnen had placed the schools of Nara and Mount Hiei into the category of the Holy Path. He directed his criticism to all schools.[49] Consequently he faced not only opposition from the Tendai order, but in 1205, the priests of Kōfukuji in Nara petitioned the court to punish Hōnen's evil followers. They charged Hōnen with nine specific errors such as the establishment of a new school of Buddhism without government permission, the drawing of a new mandala in which the evil man is shown receiving the light of Amida Buddha, making light of Sākyamuni Buddha, rejecting virtue, rebelling against the gods, obscuring the truth about the Pure Land, giving a wrong interpretation to the Pure Land teaching and confusing the nation.[50]

Little appears to have been done to meet the demands of these petitions, because Hōnen had strong supporters in the court such as Regent Kanezane who had even written to the monks of Mount Hiei in defense of Hōnen.[51] The opposition was crystallized when two indiscreet monks, Anraku and Jūren, converted two court ladies without the permission of the retired Emperor Go-Toba. When the retired Emperor returned from his pilgrimage to Kumano shrine, he was told of the incident in a way which led to the suspicion of immoral relations between the monks and the women. In 1207 the two monks were beheaded and Hōnen and his followers were defrocked, reduced to laymen and then banished to distant provinces.[52] Hōnen was given the secular name Fujii Motohiko, and Shinran received the name Fujii Yoshinobu. Hōnen was sent to Tosa on Shikoku, and Shinran to Kokubu in Echigo to the north. The justice of the persecution can be questioned, and it is severely condemned in the traditional accounts of the Pure Land school.[53] In the epilogue of the *Kyōgyōshinshō*, Shinran relates the incident and expresses his own critical attitude.[54]

In the short period between 1201 and 1207 Shinran had found spiritual release and faith in the Pure Land doctrine. He progressed rapidly as a disciple of Hōnen to whom he attributed the blessings of assurance and peace. Recognized by Hōnen as a close disciple, Shinran was permitted to make a copy of the *Senjakushū* and to draw a portrait of the teacher. Ever after, those privileges were regarded by him as a sign of his deliverance, and they inspired him to continual praise of Hōnen. However, the frail human bond was broken, and when Shinran departed for the north, he could not know that he would never see the master again; that whatever questions arose in his mind he would have to find solutions on his own. The experience with Hōnen had shown Shinran the direction to go, the exile and the new life would mature and deepen the insights he had received.

The period of deepening insight and evangelism: the sojourn in Echigo, 1207–1212, and in Hitachi in Kanto, 1212–1235 (?)

The Significance of the Echigo Exile for Shinran: The Exile and Shinran's Spiritual Development. The causes of the break up of the Yoshimizu community lay in the enmity and anxiety of the established religious orders who feared the loss of their power through the growth of the Pure Land teaching.[55] However, the ultimate result of their endeavor to suppress his doctrine and its leaders, was its greater popularity. When Hōnen and his disciples were banished to various parts of the country, they had great opportunity to continue to spread the teaching in areas hitherto neglected by the dominant schools. Frequent attempts were made to restrain the movement, but they failed. Hōnen had declared it was impossible to stop it,[56] and in the *Denne*, Shinran is portrayed as accepting the exile as a fortunate event:

> If the great teacher Hōnen Shonin were not sent into exile, I, too, would probably not have gone into exile. If I did not go into exile, how would the beings in the remote places be saved? This was by the grace of our sainted teacher. In other words he was a manifestation of the Bodhisattva Seishi and Shotoku Taishi was the embodiment of the Bodhisattva Kannon . . .[57]

The period of exile was particularly important for Shinran, not only for the possibilities that appeared to spread the Pure Land doctrine, but it was in this time that the insights which he had gained in association with Hōnen were given the opportunity to develop freely. We know little of his actual life during this time, but it was here that the interpretation of Pure Land doctrine which has given Shinran his lasting religious significance began to mature as he faced the problems of establishing a new life in the northern area of Japan.

In order to assess the importance of the Echigo sojourn for the development of Shinran's thought, we must recall that during the Yoshimizu period, he had gained a firm assurance of his deliverance which overrode his awareness of a sinful, passionate nature. Once retaining release from his spiritual anxiety, he devoted himself to Hōnen's teaching and became thoroughly indoctrinated and conversant with it. However, a historical problem arises when we study Shinran's teaching itself. There we find a distinct difference from Hōnen on very important points of doctrine. Shinran made a thorough reinterpretation of the traditional Pure Land doctrine, and his thought diverged sufficiently for him to be excluded from later accounts of the Yoshimizu community in the traditional Pure Land School.

When we come to consider the reasons for the radical transformation of Pure Land doctrine which we can observe in Shinran's thought, the Echigo sojourn, despite its obscurity, appears as the key to the problem. Shinran's own

personality and his experience during this time of exile became the basis for the new formulations which he made.

The chief contribution of the period of exile to Shinran's spiritual development was the fact that it brought him face to face with the hard realities of the life of the common people which he had not known when he lived apart as a monk pursuing the path of Buddhist studies. In this new situation he had the opportunity to observe the life of the people at close hand. In fact, he shared that existence and took a wife as well as abandoned monastic disciplines. His experience was perhaps even more radical than that of an ordinary peasant because of the painful transition which he must have undergone when he was abruptly thrust out of the pleasant confines of the capital and found himself surrounded by the rigorous life of the villager. He said of himself: "I am neither priest nor layman."[58] This phrase sums up his basic problem. He had to merge his religious life with his new secular existence. He had lost his priestly privileges in the eyes of the state, but he could not entirely cast aside his religious training and interests because he was now merely a layman. Just as he was a priest without privilege, he was a layman without experience.

Inferring from the nature of his doctrine, the fact of his marriage, and what we can surmise of this new life which he was forced to lead, we can conjecture that through his experience in lay life, Shinran came to realize that the common people could also attain Buddhist ideals in their ordinary life. He was led through his difficulties and hardships to look deeply into the nature of human existence, and he became acutely aware of the strength and indispensability of the passions and instincts in the struggle for existence. He saw that people were inextricably bound by their passions, which were necessary to maintain life. Thus, Shinran could not think with the traditional monastic schools that the life of passion was merely to be cast aside in futile attempts to purify the self. For him the Buddhist analysis of the human situation ceased to be mere poetic or theoretical scheme to justify the monkish practices and privileges. He viewed the human predicament with existential clarity as he lived it himself, and as it was also illumined by his deepened understanding of the compassion of Amida Buddha which he had learned in Yoshimizu. Shinran rejected completely the duality of religious and lay life. He took the principle "Samsara is Nirvana" as something to be applied concretely to the common life. Existentially and philosophically Shinran united the secular and religious life.

Shinran's Marriage and Family. Apart from the actual formulation of Shinran's thought, his marriage in Echigo provides us with a suggestion of the probable direction of his thought as we have interpreted it above. His marriage and the problems of raising a family furnished Shinran with a stimulus for his understanding of the human condition. Thus we must give some consideration to the information we have concerning his marriage.

There have been a variety of theories concerning the time and number of wives Shinran may have had. However, the only one that is clearly known is Eshin-ni whom he may have married soon after his arrival in Echigo and his

initial experience with the new life there.[59] He undoubtedly soon learned that the requirements for earning a living in that environment required a wife as a helpmate and companion. This companionship he found in Eshin-ni.

Little is known of Eshin-ni herself except that she came from Echigo and may have been related to a family of some status in the community.[60] Various bits of information have been garnered by scholars in order to determine her education and wealth. Among these, fragments of sutras which she copied and letters to her daughter Kakushin-ni reflect some degree of education. It is possible that she also had some wealth because she appears to have possessed some servants, made plans for a gravestone, and was concerned for her grandchildren's education. According to the *Hino-ichiryū-keizu*, she was related to Miyoshi Tamenori. Umehara observes that this family had considerable influence in both Echigo and Kanto The relation may have affected Shinran's decision to go to Kanto. In the *Gyokuyō* of Regent Kanezane reference is made to a Miyoshi Tamenori whom some scholars believe was Eshin-ni's father.[61]

While there are evidences that Eshin-ni was related to a family of some influence, there are also indications which can be interpreted to show that she may have only been a servant. She referred to herself as "Chikuzen," a type of familiar name which she may have received when she was employed. It has also been pointed out that she was twenty-six when Shinran went to Echigo and her marriage was fairly late for a girl of aristocratic connections. In her later years she moved from place to place in Echigo and the inferior character of her main place of residence called Tobita-no-maki also casts doubt on her relation to a wealthy family. Her robust handwriting, indicating a strong body, and her familiarity with servants appear to point to a bond of relation with them. Thus some scholars conclude that she may have been a servant of the Miyoshi family, but this is not necessarily to be construed that she herself was from a low class. Servants were frequently related to the class they served.[62]

It appears reasonable to suppose that Eshin-ni lived in close relation to a family of status and in some way shared the benefits of that status, though her own is open to question. Whether the relation was based on kinship or service is not clear. Nevertheless, she appears in Shinran's life as a woman of considerable ability and character.

Concerning Shinran's family, the *Honganji -keizu* genealogy lists seven children under his name.[63] Of these seven, the first, Han-i, is reputedly a son born between Shinran and Tamahi, the daughter of Regent Kanezane. However, since this marriage is generally regarded as legendary, the birth of this son is also discounted. It has been suggested by some that Han-i be replaced by Sokushōbo as the eldest son, because he appears to have a close, but obscure, relation with Shinran.[64] Leaving aside Han-i and Sokushōbō, the *Kudenshō* notes that Eshin-ni was the mother of six children.[65] Of these six, three were girls, Kakushin-ni, Oguronyobō and Takanozen-ni, and three were boys, Zenran (Jishin), Masukata (Yūbō), and Shinrembō. All are known to history except Takano-zen-ni who is rejected by some scholars.[66] Eshinni's letters are all addressed to Kakushin-ni

who was her youngest daughter. Kakushin-ni was Shinran's devoted nurse and attendant in his last days. Oguronyobō apparently died young and the care of her children fell to Eshin-ni.[67] Masukata, also called Yūbō, is referred to in connection with the dreadful famines which made life difficult for Eshin-ni's family in Echigo.[68] He went later to Kyoto, in place of his mother, to be with Shinran in his last moments.[69] Shinrembō appears in Eshin-ni's account of Shinran's travels to Kanto which took place when Shinrembō was four yours old.[70] On another occasion Eshin-ni wrote that Shinrembō became a heretic when he sponsored a service of Continuous Nembutsu for his father.[71] Zenran only appears in Shinran's letters when he became the center of a controversy among the Kanto disciples.[72]

From these indications we can see that Shinran had a full family life and responsibility which undoubtedly contributed to his own religious development.

Shinran's Evangelistic Activity in Kanto: The Departure from Echigo and Emigration to Kanto. Apart from our knowledge of Shinran's marriage and his family which he acquired in Echigo, and our inferences regarding his spiritual development, we have no knowledge of his secular or religious activities there. Though he remained convinced of the truth of Pure Land doctrine, he does not appear to have engaged in any direct evangelistic activity. Only one disciple, Kakuzen, is recorded from this region.[73] Shinran lived a quiet and thoughtful life preparing himself for his future task.

In 1211, at the end of five years, Hōnen was pardoned. In the next year, after he returned to Kyoto and took up residence in the western foothills of Higashiyama, he died.[74] The *Denne* states that Shinran, also pardoned, remained in Echigo in order to preach.[75] However, the *Shōtōden* relates that he desired to return to Kyoto. After some delay and the death of Hōnen, Shinran reached Kyoto and mourned at the teacher's tomb. The journey also included a trip to Ise.[76] Scholars, however, are inclined to discount the story of the *Shōtōden*, because knowledge of Shinran's activities and family condition would seem to rule out such a journey.

Shinran delayed his departure from Echigo about two years. It is probable that his family situation prevented him from leaving as soon as he was pardoned. The *Denne's* suggestion that he also stayed in order to preach is not warranted by the number of disciples from that region. Rather we may imagine that he had become immersed in lay life as a family man and supporter of his wife and children. Shinrembō was born in the third month of 1211, and with the possibility of three children under the age of five, the difficulties of a change of residence were great. The problem of transporting a whole family would certainly have hindered him from making a move to Kyoto and then to Kanto. Instead, he had to choose his place of residence carefully and make proper preparations for the journey. Such a task may easily have required two extra years after the end of the exile. In the year 1213 Shinran with his family departed for the Kanto region.[77]

Shinran's Evangelistic Motivation. Although Shinran avoided direct propagation of his Pure Land faith for political or economic reasons in Echigo, it is quite clear from his activity on the way to Kanto that he had not at all forgotten his initial religious impulse, and his desire to help all beings gain enlightenment. Rather, the experience of lay life intensified his desire to declare the faith to those persons ignored by the traditional schools.

There are a variety of possible political, social and religious reasons which may have dictated his choice of Kanto as the area of his endeavor rather than returning to Kyoto which he knew so well. From the political standpoint, the Pure Land teaching was still prohibited in the capital. Shunjo, Hōnen's biographer, notes that edicts restricting the doctrine were issued at various times from 1213 to 1239. The attitude of the priests of Mount Hiei was so adamant that in 1227 they attempted to destroy Hōnen's tomb and seize his body.[78] The conditions in the capital naturally prevented the free spread of the faith. Of all Hōnen's disciples, only Shōku of the Seizan school returned to teach there.[79] Shinran may also have been encouraged to go to the Kanto region by groups of farmers who may have emigrated from Echigo in search of better agricultural conditions.[80] It has also been pointed out that he would need an economic basis for his family when he went to a new area. Hitachi in Kanto appears to fulfill this requirement and it is coincidental that Miyoshi Tamenori is said to have been a landowner not only in Echigo but also in Hitachi.[81]

Perhaps the most important consideration in Shinran's decision was the religious. During the Echigo exile he had lived close to the common people. He nurtured a desire to share his faith with them. Unable to return to Kyoto and unwilling to compromise his convictions, he turned his eyes to the newly developing region. The *Denne* ascribes a strong evangelistic impulse to his decision and interprets the vision which Shinran received in Rokkakudō in relation to this mission. In the course of the vision he saw the great masses of people in eastern Japan to whom he must declare the message that would assure them salvation.[82] The *Tantokumon* interprets the term Gutoku which was adopted by Shinran as part of his name in relation to this mission. The term signified the mode of humble living of the peasants which, according to Shinran, was the true mode of Buddhist wisdom in the degenerate Last Age (*mappo*). Thus he desired to live on the same level as the peasants who worked in the fields.[83]

In the light of his inner transformation which wiped out all priestly and monkish ways which he had known for over twenty years, Shinran was probably attracted to the Kanto region as the most fertile field for the proclamation of his new religious standpoint. It is thus possible to regard his decision as based on an evangelistic purpose rooted deep in humanitarian regard for the spiritual condition of the multitudes of people destitute of education and understanding. Some evidences of this concern may be seen in the postscript of his *Yuishinshōmon'i'* This passage parallels the concern for the common man revealed in the *Jōei Formulary*. The Formulary states:

> . . . we have written the Formulary in such a way that even the most illiterate fellows can understand its meaning. The old laws are like complicated Chinese characters, the new laws like the simple syllabary (*kana*).[84]

In similar vein Shinran wrote:

> Because the peasants (country folk) do not know the meaning of (*kanji*) characters and their pitiable ignorance is boundless, I have often written the same thing over and over so they may understand easily. Those who are intelligent may think it is ridiculous, and they may scoff. However, I have written with the single purpose (to permit) the dull person to understand easily. I do not take notice of the criticisms of those people in general (who have knowledge).[85]

Shinran's desire to bring salvation to the multitude in the eastern regions is revealed in an illuminating experience that transpired as he traveled from Echigo to Kanto in 1213.[86] At that time, he made a vow to benefit beings through the recitation of the thousand parts of the Pure Land sutras. However, after beginning to fulfill the pledge, he reconsidered it and came to the conclusion that the true way to requite the compassion of Amida Buddha was to cause others to believe what he believed himself. In other words, he felt a strong urge to witness to his faith directly to the people in order to have them share in the joy and peace that he knew himself. In addition, the recitation of the sutras was a practice which was believed to assist in the cultivation of faith in the Pure Land School. Such a practice implied that reliance on the name of Amida Buddha alone was not entirely sufficient for salvation.

The incident reveals two points concerning Shinran's spiritual development at the end of the Echigo period. In the first place we observe the appearance of his strong evangelistic impulse which reflects the intensity of his own faith. Secondly we notice that he rejected all subsidiary practices, once and for all, and relied only on the way of recitation of Amida Buddha's name. In this rejection the central theme of Shinran's view of faith begins to appear. Nevertheless, his thought was still in a state of evolution, but it is clear that he was coming to some far reaching conclusions about Pure Land doctrine.[87]

Shinran's Disciples. When Shinran arrived in Kanto, he made his center at Inada in Kasama.[88] During his residence there, he appears to have made journeys into neighboring areas at Hitachi, Shimoso, Shimozuke and Musashi. He attracted a body of followers from the upper and lower classes, and from clerical and lay groups. There are many legends of temples he is reputed to have established.[89] Even some opposition is indicated in the legend of the conversion of the monk Myohōbō who was a yamabushi, a type of monk engaged in severe ascetic practices such as sleeping in fields, prostrating on mountains in order to gain merit and spiritual insight.[90] This mode of religious devotion represents the

utmost in self power practice, but according to the legend, Shinran was successful in converting him.[91]

Disregarding the legends which emphasize Shinran's success, we can be certain that he did create a considerable following. There are various lists of disciples such as the *Shinran-monryo-kōmei-chō*,[92] and the *Nijuyonhai-chō*, as well as a list of fifty one persons given in the *Shōtōden*,[93] and the mention of various people in his letters. According to the *Shinran-monryo-kōmei-chō*, forty eight disciples are given with their locations. A summary indicates that twenty lived in Hitachi, five in Shimoso, six in Shimozuke, one in Musashi, six in Iwashiro, one in Rikuchu, and one in Echigo. Added to the Kanto disciples, eight are listed from Kyoto. When repetitions are deleted, the *Nijuyonhai-chō* yields six names. The letters of Shinran present twenty more disciples. Thus a total of seventy four disciples are clearly known in the tradition. Five of these became heretics reducing the total to sixty nine true disciples. Three were women and sixty six were men. The distribution of the disciples shows that his work centered about the area of Hitachi. Further the number of followers includes probably only the leading ones, and like Chū Tarō of Ōbu who was a leader of some ninety people, they represent a far greater base among the people.[94]

More important than the number of disciples that Shinran gained during his residence in Kanto is the character and general social class of those people. From what we have already seen of his views and attitudes we know that he intended to identify himself closely with the multitudes of ordinary people in the eastern provinces. He was also critical of contemporary Buddhism and implicitly of the society that supported it. Because of his intention, his critical attitude and the general nature of his teaching, it has been thought that he was a religious spokesman for the lower classes as opposed to the upper, propertied class. Consequently, Shinran's doctrine and activity have been closely scrutinized for indications of the particular segment of Kanto society to which he appealed. It is to be noted also that modern issues pervade the discussion. Modern Japanese scholars are attempting to assess Shinran's religion in its social dimension, and therefore to determine the significance of that doctrine for present day problems in Japan. With this extra-historical interest, it is to be expected that the theories of scholars may be influenced by their judgment on contemporary issues. It will be helpful here if we take into account some of the leading theories. Such scholars as Hattori Shiso, Ienaga Saburo, Kasahara Kazuo and Akamatsu Toshihide are important writers on this problem. They are particularly concerned to discover the social class of the disciples and to define Shinran's concept of nationalism. We shall attempt to determine the social character of the few fellowships, and in a later section we shall take up the question of Shinran's nationalism.

The discussion of the social status of Shinran's followers has been enlivened by Hattori Shiso's views which are dictated by Marxist considerations and the assumption of a class struggle. He asserts that the chief support for Shinran came from the "new farmers" who had emigrated from Echigo to Kanto.[95] These farmers were distinguished from the original farmers in the land, and they

suffered from heavy exactions and demands of the land-owners. Hattori sees behind Shinran's teaching the basic division of society into rulers and ruled. For him, Shinran's attitudes and teachings were all conditioned by the fact that "Shinran was earnestly with the farmers."[96]

According to Hattori, the social conditions of Japan in that time were parallel with those in Europe when Luther appeared. Japan had its own Rome, pope and clergy. The nobles, and heads of clans and manors, exploited the farmers at every turn.[97] However, Shinran rejected this basic social organization and its political theory. Hattori states:

> Shinran's doctrine did not stress at all "Submission" to absolute mundane authority. He made the concept of human sin and evil the basis of his view just as Luther did. It was Kakunyo and Rennyo who intruded the concept that "Imperial Law is the foundation" into the doctrine of the founder (Shinran). It is not in Shinran's doctrine. On the contrary "The Imperial Law is the foundation" is a watchword of the old orders of Hieizan and Nara. By it the mundane basis of the temple-manorial system was maintained. Shinran rejected both temples and temple possessions.[98]

These views have aroused stimulating studies and views into the nature of society and Shinran's community. In consequence of these investigations, other scholars have sought to show that Shinran's teaching could appeal to other segments of Kanto society besides the poor, ignorant farmers. An interesting example of the new approach to this problem is Ienaga Saburo who agrees with Hattori on many points.[99] Ienaga raises the question whether Shinran's religious content can be defined as Hattori does simply by determining its social basis. For Ienaga, the attraction of Shinran lay in his individuality He maintains it is not sufficient to view Shinran in terms of the social conditions alone. This is useful for historical study, but it cannot exhaust the significance of his teaching.

In line with this thought Ienaga attempts to show that Shinran was in touch with people of various classes when he lived in Kanto. While the farmers may have been the most numerous, he feels it is an error to maintain that Shinran always judged things from the side of the farmer against the lords of the land. To generalize on a specific situation is an error. He calls attention to the fact that the appearance of such men as Shimushi Nyūdō Dono and Shōnenbō in Shinran's letters indicates that he also had relation to the class of warriors. He claims that there were some men of considerable means and wealth in the fellowship.

Questioning Hattori's theory that Shinran represented the farmers alone, Ienaga begins with an analysis of the concept of the evil man and his salvation formulated by Shinran. He assays by this study to discover which class might have had this consciousness of evil, and would be attracted to him. Rather than the farmers, Ienaga suggests the warriors:

> The reason is that since the connection of the self awareness of the evil man and faith in rebirth grew within a process of development in the religious existence of the warrior (*bushi*) class, we may expect that even Shinran's theory that "the evil man is the true cause (or object of salvation)" was not unrelated also to that stream of thought.[100]

It is his contention that the warrior life assisted the formation of the theory of the primacy of the evil man in Shinran's thought, but he does not intend to infer that the theory was aimed chiefly at that class. The existence of such a class and the struggles that embroiled the age were the foundation for the appearance of the thought.[101]

In a manner similar to Ienaga, Kasahara Kazuo sees elements of truth in Hattori's views. He agrees that the farmers were in opposition to the lords of the land,[102] and also contends that it would have been impossible for the rulers to accept Shinran's teaching since that doctrine with its emphasis on Lay Buddhism (*zaike bukkyō*) and centered in a place of practice (*dōjō*) was a unifying factor among the farmers. The egalitarian tendency and the implicit denial of the traditional gods of the land appeared as a threat to the position of the rulers. He adds that if men of status had been attracted in any large numbers, persecution would have been impossible. Rather than the "new farmers" proposed by Hattori, Kasahara suggests that the basic foundation of Shinran's fellowship were the resident farmers, along with their servants, who had little hope of bettering their circumstances in that society.[103]

In contrast to these views which seek the basic component of Shinran's religious community in one element of society, Akamatsu Toshihide suggests that Shinran's fellowship embraced diverse elements. He agrees that the sense of sin might be stronger among warriors, fishermen, and hunters than among farmers, but he would not exclude the farmers. In addition, he points out that the community probably included persons of the merchant class. This conclusion is based on the fact that several of Shinran's disciples had means to travel to Kyoto. He thinks that the *dōmin*, who were once thought to refer to the permanent, residential farmers, may also have included merchants.[104]

Akamatsu's investigation of the social status of particular members of Shinran's fellowship shows that farmers, retainers, warriors, servants, and merchants participated. He notes that those individuals who were able to read and understand Shinran's writings, and hold positions of leadership must have been persons of higher than ordinary status.[105]

As these theories indicate, Shinran's teaching had aspects which attracted men of various classes. The teaching itself does not manifest the national, social foundations that inspired it. Through the diversity of scholarly opinion we are able to observe the implicit universalism of his thought. It also reveals that social definition does not assure the complete understanding of a system of thought.

While it is not possible to ascertain that Shinran was allied with one class

against another, and while his doctrine transcends class distinctions, this does not mean that it cannot by made to serve the interests of some class[106] or that it is without social implications.

From the study of the various theories concerning the social foundation of Shinran's community of faith, and the general nature of his teaching, we may conclude that his followers in large part were probably from the lower classes. Japanese society was governed by a strong class consciousness and a clear distinction between the ruler and the ruled. In such circumstances, it is highly unlikely that Shinran's principle of equality before the Vow of Amida Buddha would be supported by the upper classes when it was translated into social reality. Egalitarian movements frequently receive support from the lower classes, though the spokesmen of the movement are often men of high ideals from the upper classes. The simplicity of worship, ecclesiastical organization in the earliest Shinshū community implies a lower class following since the economic problems of elaborate ritual and clergy are absent. Shinran never established a temple, and the original place of worship appears to have been a modified home.[107]

In conclusion we can state that Shinran's teaching does not evidence particular class consciousness, but his teaching of the universal compassion of Amida Buddha and the requirement of faith alone naturally attracted followers from the lower classes who had nothing to offer except their devotion. It was his earnest desire to bring spiritual help to the multitudes of his time. Though he was not politically or socially inspired, his deep identification with the peasants and ordinary citizens conditioned the formulation of his doctrine.

The Kyōgyōshinshō Compilation. During Shinran's period of residence in Kanto he compiled the *Kyōgyōshinshō* which is a monumental anthology of passages drawn from sutras, treatises, and commentaries to illuminate the basic teachings of Pure Land thought.[108] Probably since the day of his conversion to Hōnen's teaching and throughout his activity as a teacher, he had been stimulated to clarify his faith to himself and to organize it. The notes mentioned earlier which he made to the sutras indicate his scholarly nature.[109]

There are many theories about the time and place of compilation, but it is safe to say that it was the result of a long process. No specific date can be attached to it, since Shinran himself did not date it as he had done his other writings. However, scholars have generally agreed that the date 1224, which appears in the last volume in relation to the calculation of the onset of the period of the Last Age in the decline of the Dharma, must have an intimate relation to the production of the work itself. According to a tradition given in the *Shōtōden*, this time is considered the time when Shinran set down the whole work.[110] While the scholars see the importance in the date, they have different views on what was written at that time.

Many motives have been ascribed to Shinran which led him to writing the book. It is not certain, as some scholars hold, that he intended to criticize heretics among Hōnen's followers,[111] or that he aimed to pronounce judgment on

the legalistic Buddhism which constantly obstructed the Pure Land teaching.[112] Nor is it certain that Shinran intended the work purely for his own benefit in which he overcame anxieties about the truth of his teaching by gathering passages from various texts which he could use to support his ideas. All of these suggestions have some insight and can find some justification in the work itself. However, they do not appear to be the dominant motives which led to its formation. There are several indications that the *Kyōgyōshinshō* was Shinran's attempt to give adequate expression to the Pure Land teaching which he had received from Hōnen and which had brought peace and joy to his own life. Testimony to this intention can be found in all sections of the work. The term *Kyōgyōshinshō* is a shortened title, and one given to the work by later writers. The name given by Shinran was *Kenjōdoshinjitsu-kyōgyōshō-monrui*, that is, an anthology expounding the true teaching, practice, and attainment of the Pure Land (school). Attention is drawn to the term *ken*, in Japanese, *arawasu*. It means to reveal, express, exhibit, or prove.

In the preface to the work Shinran exclaimed:

> O, how happy I, Gutoku Shinran, now am. The sacred books of India and the commentaries of the teachers of China and Japan are hard to meet, but I have now been able to meet them. I reverently believe in the teaching, practice and attainment of the true teaching, and I have particularly known the deep things of the Tathagata's virtue and grace. Thus, I rejoice at what I have heard and praise what I have received.[113]

This passage makes clear Shinran's sense of obligation to Amida Buddha and the teaching of the former sages of the Pure Land tradition. In order to praise the compassion of the Buddha, he brought together the teachings of the masters and through them organized his own teaching. He constantly declared that his work was simply an expression of his gratitude.[114]

It is clear that Shinran's main intention for compiling the work was to express and organize Pure Land teaching in line with his evangelistic purpose. While he was aware of opposition to Pure Land teaching, his concern was not merely one of refutation.

As a literary document, we have pointed out that the *Kyōgyōshinshō* is an anthology of passages from various sources. He may have chosen this method of giving an exposition of Pure Land thought rather than making a commentary on Hōnen's *Senjakushū*, because he felt a need for a fuller exposition of that teaching than Hōnen's work provided.[115] Undoubtedly, he must have been aware of the contradictory elements in traditional Pure Land thought.

Though Shinran employed an abundance of quotations to which he added his few comments, it is evident that he desired to present a unified theory of Pure Land teaching. The quotations he used were those that had attracted him in his wide reading. Once inserted within his system they became his own words and ideas In many cases he was able to make the passages conform to his reading

because of the flexibility of Chinese grammar and the Japanese method of reading Chinese texts. Such changes are referred by scholars to his individual creative insight through which he was enabled to make significant alterations in a text in accordance with his subjective awareness of faith.

Shinran's special contributions to the organization of Pure Land doctrine in the *Kyōgyōshinshō* was his expansion of the traditional system of Teaching, Practice, and Attainment to four principles with the interposition of Faith between Practice and Attainment.[116] Through this change in organization, Shinran sought to make clear the importance and indispensability of faith in the realization of birth in the Pure Land. It was the exaltation of faith which became the basis for the epochal developments which Shinran brought to Pure Land thought.

As many scholars have pointed out, the *Kyōgyōshinshō* was essentially an unfinished work. Shinran continued to add new texts, make alterations and revisions in order to give stronger support to his teaching. It became the source book which was the basis for his other writings. Though different in form, the other writings were all dependent on this work. The text of the *Kyōgyōshinshō* was initially written in kambun, the Chinese style. However, in order to make its teaching accessible to those with little education, Shinran also copied it in nobegaki form. His wasan, hymns, popularized its themes so that they could be sung and become a part of the consciousness of the lowliest individual.

We may conclude this section on Shinran's work in Kanto by pointing out the great achievements he made. He left behind him an enduring body of disciples devoted to him and his teaching. While he made no impression on the larger stream of history that surrounded him, the seeds that he had sown were destined to bear fruit in a later age when the ecclesiastical organization was established. His teaching had spoken to the lives of these disciples, because he had lived with them and his doctrine filled a spiritual need. As we have seen from our discussion of the *Kyōgyōshinshō*, Shinran also gave an initial formulation to his teaching. It seems clear that he arrived at the basic outline of his doctrine and had become aware of the meaning and role of faith long before he returned to Kyoto where he gave himself to defining and explaining his teaching. The themes that he developed in his correspondence with the new disciples and the heresies which he condemned were not entirely new to him in Kyoto. He had taught these ideas and he had encountered heresy even while in Kanto. Thus the Kanto period was a very productive and fruitful time for him. His ministry of some twenty years came to an end, however, when he decided to return to Kyoto to spend the last years of his life.

Shinran returns to Kyoto: the period of definition of doctrine, 1235(?)–1262

Shinran's Return to Kyoto. Shinran's later years in Kyoto are a significant and integral part of his total career. Though it is often termed a retirement, it does

not mean a period of complete inactivity. The literary evidences indicate that he changed his mode of teaching, not that he stopped teaching. In terms of the future, it might be said that these were the determinative years, because he placed in writing, and hence in permanent form, those teachings which are distinctive of Shinshū. The comparative leisure and ease that he enjoyed permitted him to engage in this work. The various historical and religious questions which arise during this period form the background and context for the literary activity.

Shinran returned to Kyoto in, or around, the year 1235 when he was sixty two or sixty three years old.[117] The precise reasons for his return were probably various and now obscure. We may suppose that somehow he yearned for the life of the capital from which he had been separated for so many years. The literary output of these years suggests that he envisioned such activity in contrast to the direct teaching which had absorbed his time in Kanto. It has also been suggested that perhaps he wished to avoid becoming the center of a large organization as its leader, or that he may have felt that the time was ripe to leave the community of believers under the guidance of the close disciples. This would give him the opportunity to develop his own spiritual life. Somewhere within him a change of heart is seen which caused him to turn his back on the thriving fellowship. Nowhere does he explain his reasons, and scholars have speculated on every possibility such as a family rupture,[118] the need of a daughter for assistance,[119] persecutions in the east,[120] or to avoid some internal conflict in his own group.[121] Perhaps the most plausible focuses attention on his literary efforts.[122]

Whatever the motive may have been, and none of the above theories has universal acceptance, it must have fallen into the category of Shinran's mode of life or religious situation. From the matrix of conditions involved in his work, we may conclude that he saw some of the benefit for himself and for his followers if he returned to Kyoto. The availability of source materials for study, the escape from direct persecution, the desire to avoid fame and authority, as well as to deepen his own spirit, may all be possible reasons for his return.

Shinran's family probably accompanied him on his long road to Kyoto. While there is no mention specifically of their going there and later they were all living scattered, there is reason to believe that they all made the journey. Eshin-ni's reference to Ue-no-kindachi,[123] that is Kakue, Kakushin-ni's eldest son, and later inquiries about people near to Kakushin-ni such as Saisho-dono, Wakasa-dono, Kako-no-mae, and Jorenbō[124] have been interpreted to mean Eshin-ni knew them well because she was at sometime in Kyoto. Reference was also made by Eshin-ni to a picture of Shinran which she had apparently seen before and desired.[125] Kakushin-ni married Hino Hirotsuna, and when he died, she spent her time caring for her aged father in Kyoto. Zenran was also there, and his son Nyoshin played on his grandfather's lap.[126] Zenran was sent as Shinran's emissary to the Kanto disciples.[127] At some time Kenchi of Takada had witnessed a discussion between Zenran and Shinran in Kyoto.[128]

Since Eshin-ni, Kakushin-ni, and Zenran appear to have lived in Kyoto with Shinran, it is reasonable to suppose that the other children such as Masukata

who came to visit Shinran on his death bed, Shinrembō, and Oguronyobō had also lived there. It has been suggested that economic reasons caused the children to disperse to Echigo. Shinran may not have been able to provide for them all in Kyoto. If they were dependent at all upon the disciples for aid, it is more logical that they went to Echigo from Kyoto and from Kanto where there were more disciples.[129]

Shinran's living conditions were not ostentatious or extremely affluent, but it is probable that he had sufficient means to meet his needs. The evidence is ambiguous so that theories of both poverty and wealth have arisen.

The basis of the theory of poverty has been found in the letters which relate to the occasional gifts from the Kanto disciples. Further, the earlier identification of Iyaonna with Kakushin-ni gave rise to the theory that Shinran had to sell his daughter into servitude.[130] Another evidence was sought in the request of Shinran on behalf of Imagozen-no-haha and Sokushōbō. It appears in that instance that he was not able to do anything for them himself.[131] Finally, he had to rely on the kindness of his brother and was without fixed residence. This poverty is laid in part to the loss of property and wealth of the Hino family in the Shokyū disturbance (1219–1221).[132]

On the other hand, there are indications that Shinran may have been fairly well off. The opinion of almost all scholars at present rejects the identification of Iyaonna with Kakushin-ni. This removes the theory that he sold his daughter into servitude. Rather, Iyaonna is a servant girl, and thus an evidence of economic sufficiency.[133]

The request of aid for Imagozen-no-haha has also been challenged. She has been identified with Kakushinni by some scholars, and the letter seeking aid as a last request by Shinran to his disciples just before he died.[134] Thus the request for aid is not considered from the standpoint of poverty, but from the fatherly concern of Shinran for his daughter who will be left behind.

Some indications of more affluent circumstances may also be seen in the portraits which were made of Shinran when he was alive. The most famous are the *Anjo-goe* and *Kagami-goe*. They depict him in his everyday attire. The clothing and the setting do not indicate poverty.

Another evidence is found in the fact that the paper which Shinran used to write to the disciples was of good quality and written only on one side. In that time the use of both sides was common and economical because paper was expensive.[135]

The gifts given by followers were substantial, since there were probably wealthy merchants and people of other classes who could give considerable amounts. The frequency of gifts, however, cannot be determined, but it may be assumed that there were more than those which are recorded. Since they were voluntary, the amount would not be stabilized, but it is fair to assume in the light of Japanese respect for the obligation that the teacher-pupil relationship would involve also some concern and provision for the aged master. The voluntary aspect is reflected in Shinran's deep gratitude for their kindness.

After all the evidences have been mustered, there is no clear evidence that Shinran himself was very wealthy, but it is certain that he had sufficient resources to maintain himself and to carry on his study and writing. He was not poor, but not ostentatiously rich. He lived dependent on disciples, and whatever independent income he may have had cannot be determined.

Something of a religious and moral aspect enters into the discussion also. Those who wish to emphasize the simplicity and austerity of his life are likely to stress his poverty. Those who object to the idea that he would sell his daughter into servitude in order to exist seek for evidence of wealth.

Literary Activity in Kyōto. After Shinran became settled in the capital, he took up his pen to give lasting form to his thoughts.[136] Just when we should consider the beginning of his literary production is not entirely clear. He made copies of important Pure Land texts, the *Yuishinshō* of Seikaku in 1235, 1241, and 1246, and the *Jiriki-tariki-no-koto* of Ryūkan also in 1246. His own first datable literary creations were a series of poems, the *Jōdo-wasan*, extolling the Pure Land, and the *Kōsō-wasan*, praising the patriarchs of the Pure Land tradition. These were produced around 1248. It can be seen from the chronology that there was a period of some ten years in which no text appeared. It has been suggested that this was the time that he devoted his attention to the completion of the *Kyōgyōshinshō*.

From the beginning of the appearance of these texts Shinran carried on a continuous activity of writing from his seventy sixth year, 1248, to his eighty eighth year, 1260. Besides texts of his own composition and copies, he also carried on correspondence with his Kanto disciples.

Throughout his teaching career Shinran endeavored to relate himself to the traditional Pure Land teaching. In the course of his dealings with the disciples he had occasion to refer to several works and to make copies of them for their use. We have already mentioned the *Yuishinshō*, first copied in 1235, and then later in 1241, 1246 and 1254. Together with this he composed a type of commentary on the text called the *Yuishinshō-mon'i* which appeared which appeared in 1251 and copied again in 1256 and 1257. Ryūkan's *Jiriki-tariki-no-koto* was copied first in 1246 and was followed by the *Gosemonogatari*, usually attributed to Ryūkan in 1254 and the *Ichinen-tannen-fumbetsu-no-koto* by Ryūkan in 1255. Commentary to this later text, called either *Ichinentannen-mon'i* or *Ichinen-shōmon*, was composed in 1257. Other works which he copied ranged from a *nobegaki* copy of Shan-tao's parable on the two rivers in 1254 and several pieces of Hōnen's writings such as the *Saihō-shinan-shō*, 1257, *Sambukyō-daii*, 1258, and the first volume of the *Senjukushū* in nobegaki, 1259. He also made a copy of Shōtoku Taishi's biography in 1257, entitled *Jōgutaishi-goki*.

Shinran's own writings are the *Kyōgyōshinshō* whose earliest copy was made by Sonren in 1247. The *Jōdomonrui-shishu-shō* appeared in 1252. In his eighty third year, 1255, he produced the *Gutokushō, Jōdo-sangyō-ōjō-monrui*, *Songō-shinzō-meimon* and the *Kōtai-shi-shōtoku-hōsan*. In 1256 he wrote the *Nyūshutsu-nimon-ge*, and in 1257 he penned the *Shōzōmatsu-wasan* as the result

of a dream. In the eighty sixth year the famous *Jinenhōni-shō* appeared and in the eighty eighty year the *Midanyorai-myōgo-toku* was written. Many of these works were copied and given to various disciples in the Kanto area for the purpose of teaching and to prevent heresy.

Parallel with this literary activity, Shinran carried on a considerable correspondence with his disciples. Through his letters he was able to answer specific questions or to deal with problems that arose occasionally in the various fellowships. The letters afford us some insight into the activities of his latter years, but more than that, they reveal more clearly the mind and personality of Shinran himself. A leading scholar of Shinran studies has given an apt summary of the true significance of these letters:

> The later thirty seven letters were given to all the disciples. The leaders of the "place of practice (*dōjō*)" who stood between Shinran and the disciples inquired of him about unclear points of doctrine or reported the tense social relations. Shinran responded to their requests for instruction and taught them gently. These letters relate, clearly and concretely, the fundamental thought of Shinran's religion. Through them the nature of faith was clarified for the leaders and disciples as they desired. It is well to study the *Kyōgyōshinshō* in order to know Shinran's religion as a doctrine or as a system and tradition. To get it in just a word, we can repeatedly read the *Tannishō*. However, in order to know what kind of counter influences the gospel of absolute Other Power (*tariki*) brought about in those who accepted it, and how that influenced Shinran's action and thought, in other words, when we try to make clear the constitution of Shinran's religion historically and socially, we must, above all, study his letters.[137]

As this scholar indicates, there is a difference between the general writings of Shinran and his letters. The writings lack the controversial and tendentious character which appears in the letters, though there were elements of heresy and contention in the background. The writings aim merely to set forth the doctrine itself for the purpose of edification, instruction, and exposition. As many are simply anthological in character, they are designed to provide the bases and supports for his essential insights They do not reveal as clearly the personality of Shinran himself. However, the letters are directed to specific persons and problems, and there we meet the individual Shinran attempting to guide, warn, or encourage his followers.

The extant letters which Shinran wrote and are now collected into various groupings indicate that he carried on a fairly active correspondence concerning doctrinal problems, and also some personal matters. Though the epilogue of the *Ketchi-myaku-monshū* records that there were ninety letters,[138] there now remain only forty three of which eleven are original copies and the rest are copies made by other individuals.

The forty three letters which are generally recognized as belonging to Shinran are gathered into five collections. The two major assemblies are the *Mattōshō* which has twenty one entries and the *Shinran-shōnin-goshōsoku-shū* which has ten entries. Other collections and the *Zenshōbō-goshōsoku-shū* with seven letters, the *Ketchi-myaku-monshū* with five letters, and the *Ishū-shinseki-goshōsoku-shū* with six letters. Since the same letter may appear in more than one collection, we get a total of forty three discounting duplicates.[139] Apart from these letters, Washiyama calls attention to the letter of disowning written to Zenran and later copied by Kenchi, a patriarch of the Takada school, and two letters addressed to one Shinjōbō which belonged to the Senjuji of the Takada school.[140] Shinran's earliest correspondence is placed by scholars in 1243 with a letter to Ōgozen concerning Iyaonna, his servant girl. Since this letter has no date appended to it, such a date can only be conjectured.[141] A letter referring to one Shōamidabutsu and one to Kakushin-ni appearing in other collections are placed in 1243 and 1250 respectively. These letters also have no date indicated. The major period for Shinran's letters, if we exclude the conjectured daten gives here, extends from 1251 to about 1262 when he died.[142]

From 1251 to 1254 or 1255, Shinran's disciples were troubled by a heresy designated as "Mindfulness versus Mindlessness." Both of these extremes were regarded as erroneous by Shinran. Other errors that appeared were antinomianism and the problem of the single recitation of Amida Buddha's name versus the multiple recitation of the name. Nine letters were devoted to these doctrinal problems.

The letters from the period 1255 to 1256 relate chiefly to the Zenran incident in which Shinran finally had to disown his eldest son because he had disrupted the fellowship. In this connection we also gain insight into the persecution of Pure Land teaching by the Kamakura Shōgunate, and Shinran's general attitude to persecution. The complex problem of Zenran's activity and the persecution become clearer when the chronological order of the letters is determined. Deducing from the contents, the order has been worked out by scholars with some little variation.[143] Hattori's analysis of the thirteen letters provides us with a general outline and background of the problem.

A third group of letters coming after 1255 includes thirteen letters which deal mainly with doctrinal problems. The questions raised by the disciples center on some relatively new doctrines which Shinran had begun to teach. One of these concerned the fact that salvation is assured in the present life because it is entirely dependent on the work of Amida Buddha. It appears in these later years that Shinran must have given considerable reflection to the meaning of the life of faith and the destiny of believers. He applied the full implications of his understanding of faith to all areas of the believer's experience.

When the letters of Shinran have been surveyed and organized they yield a fairly comprehensive view of the activities of his later years in Kyōto. We shall direct our attention to Shinran's relation to his disciples, to the various problems and questions they addressed to him, and to the situation resulting in the tragic

rejection of Zenran. In connection with this last problem we shall be able to observe Shinran's view concerning religious persecution.

Shinran's Relation to His Disciples. One of the outstanding indications of the high regard in which Shinran's disciples held him is the fact that they sent him gifts of money from time to time in order to give him material support. His letters indicate that he received at one time three hundred *mon*,[144] at another twenty *kanmon*,[145] two hundred *mon* from *Kyōnimbō*,[146] five *kanmon* from Zenran,[147] and another unspecified amount.[148] Their willingness to help and respond to Shinran's requests can be implied when he did not hesitate to request some assistance for Imagozen-no-haha.[149]

While the sharing of material possessions is a good sign of the bond of fellowship which existed between the disciples and Shinran, the disciples also expressed their sentiments in letters. One such personal expression was written by the disciple Kyōshin:

> Indeed, although I was in the capital (Kyoto) for some time, I was always in a rush. I deplore the fact that I could not spend time quietly. How I desire that I might purposely come to Kyoto and spend at least five days with you (Shinran). It is because of the (Buddha's) grace that I say this.[150]

Most of all, the determination of Kakushimbo to reach Kyoto shows the deep affection which the disciples had for Shinran. Kakushimbo left Kanto for Kyoto with some other disciples. On the way, Kakushimbō fell ill. Even though his life might have been spared had he remained where he was or returned home, his only thought was to die by the side of the master if he must die. Shinran was greatly affected by this display of devotion. Renni wrote:

> I asked him (Shinran) if there was (anything) wrong in this letter. When he read it through he said, "There is nothing in error, it is fine." He wept especially (when he read the part) concerning Kakushimbō. (It seemed) to me that he felt very sad.[151]

Shinran also received visits from a Gento Shiro,[152] Myōkyōbō,[153] Shōshimbō,[154] Shimbutsu, Kenchi, and Senshimbō.[155] There were numerous other unidentified visitors such as those who reported to Shinran of the misunderstanding of his teaching about equality with Maitreya.[156] On another occasion some disciples had made a long trip to inquire about Shinran's view of the Pure Land teaching. This may have been in connection with Zenran's claim to have special teaching from his father.[157] These few references give us indication of considerable coming and going, and desire for fellowship and instruction by Shinran's disciples.

On Shinran's side, we can observe great warmth and affection toward the disciples. He expresses sympathy with the problem of a disciple and offers kind

counsel.[158] In his instruction there is humility and tact.[159] Nevertheless in important matters there is firmness.[160]

The personal element in the relation with disciples spans the great distance of separation. There are greetings to the Lady Nun of Totomi,[161] and Kuge.[162] He welcomes Senshimbō's residence nearer Kyoto.[163] He gives a direct answer to a personal question of a disciple.[164] To Yūamidabutsu he expresses his desire to meet him in the Pure Land if he cannot meet here.[165] He is happy when Shōshin has completed his case successfully in Kamakura, but is concerned with Nyūshin's long stay there.[166]

Shinran's Response to Disciples' Questions. The major portion of Shinran's letters is devoted to the answers which he composed to deal with the varied inquiries concerning the fine points of doctrine which the individual disciple had no authority to define himself. These questions were prompted either by difficulties in completely comprehending particular doctrines of Shinran or by confusions arising when Shinran's thought was interpreted in terms of doctrines of other sects such as Shingon, Zen, or other Pure Land schools. There were also specific heresies arising within Shinran's order which he was called on to judge.

Clarification of Doctrinal Issues. The definition of doctrine is the main theme of several of Shinran's letters. When confusions had given rise to disputes, the disciples sent to Shinran in order to obtain a judgment.

It appears that there was some confusion among the disciples as to the precise meaning of Shinran's teaching that the believer in this life is equal to the Tathāgata (that is one who is already enlightened, a Buddha) or to the Bodhisattva Maitreya who is destined to be the Buddha of the next era. The problem arose from the similarity of this idea to the concept of *sokushinjōbutsu* which means that one can become a Buddha in this life through the various disciples of meditation and purification. For Shinran, the difference between the two doctrines lay in the fact that what he taught was based on the work of Amida Buddha and did not require an individual to undergo the rigorous disciplines, but only to rely on faith.[167]

In another exchange with the disciple Jōshin, Shinran sympathizes with his doubts on religious questions. Apparently Jōshin likes things in ordered conception, but Shinran feels this may end in some presumption on his part. The faith is inconceivable; it stands beyond attempts to enclose it in the framework of human distinctions and logic. The attempt to rationalize brings doubt and confusion as when people try to distinguish the concept "the desire to flee this world" from the concept "the cause to be born in the Pure Land" both of which are essentially one thing.[168] A similar situation arises in Kyōmyōbō's inquiry about the relation of the Vow and the name. Here Shinran contends that faith is not the product of reasoning, and when the believer once has faith one should not become entangled in endless discussions and debates.[169]

In an exchange with Kakushimbō, Shinran explained the relation of practice and faith, stressing their inseparability,[170] while on yet another occasion, he rejected the extreme of single recitation versus multiple recitation of the name of

Amida Buddha, maintaining that deliverance takes place with one thought or recitation, but it is not limited to that alone. Whatever practices a person undertakes, they all are to represent one's gratitude to Amida Buddha for his salvation.[171]

A general letter to clarify the position of Shinran's thought was directed to the followers in Kasama.[172] In this letter he defined such basic doctrines as the meaning of self power and Other Power, the principle of "assertion as non-assertion," the salvation of the evil man, the scope of the Vow, and the principle of equality with the Tathāgata. He also urged his followers not to speak ill of other teachings, but to be sympathetic with those who do not believe. They were to be aware of the great obligation which they owed Amida Buddha themselves.

A study of the background of the Kanto region would reveal various religious trends. Shinran's disciples often ran into opposition with other groups and sometimes converts from other sects would bring with them the viewpoints of their previous connection which caused misunderstanding among Shinran's followers. The leading disciples would report these ideas to the master, for though they had the ability to think for themselves and understood the doctrine, they had no authority to give final judgment on any question. Hence they submitted all questions to Shinran.

The problem of the "importation" of alien influences into Shinshū doctrine can be observed in the questions about equality with the Tathagata which could be interpreted along Shingon lines, and the issue of "Mindfulness versus Mindlessness" which reflected Zen influence. The problem of the single and multiple recitation has a background of conflict among other Pure Land schools.[173]

Signs of opposition can be seen in the letter of Yūamidabutsu concerning the allegation that devotees are only born in the border land of the Pure Land rather than attaining the highest goal.[174] Shinran maintained that believers attain the highest bliss. In another exchange he denied that believers had to wait for the last moment before death for assurance of their future attainment of birth in their present life, and this is what it means to be equal to the Tathāgata.[175]

Specific Heresies Arising in Shinran's Fellowship. The letters of Shinran indicate that the persecution which his fellowship experienced hinged on two charges. Antinomianism and defamation of the gods furnished the excuse for the officials to restrain this teaching. He appears to have encountered these errors even while he lived in Kanto, but they may have become more widespread after his departure. In no uncertain terms he dissociated himself from these aberrations. At one point he disclaimed any relation to the ringleader of such activity, Zenshōbō of Kita-no-Kori.[176]

The antinomian heresy was based on the teaching that the wicked person may be saved despite his/her evil nature, and it opened the door to loose ethical action.[177] Shinran had taught that the central concern of Amida Buddha's compassion was the defiled person, but he denied that he was the source of this erroneous interpretation.[178] He maintained that it was foolish merely to take a poison because there was an antidote.[179]

In the face of this heresy, Shinran urged his disciples to keep evil persons at a distance[180] and to be careful not to give the teaching to persons not versed in the scriptures or the mind of Amida Buddha. Caution must be observed in teaching unprepared minds.[181] The attitude of a true believer is just the opposite of the careless, evil way:

> It will be a sign that one truly despises the world when the individual, who believes both in the vow and lives to say the nembutsu, desires together with that not indeed to do evil (deeds) as his mind desires.[182]

Whether or not Shinran was really the source of misunderstanding of the concept of the deliverance of the evil common mortals, it is clear that he taught ideas which came perilously close, for he had taught that Amida Buddha's compassion accepted a person despite the evil which one performs in order to allay the fear and guilt to those who may have thought they were beyond the possibility of any deliverance. However, he never intended this consoling teaching to be taken as an ethical directive to permit a person to pursue a self indulgent existence.

Against the tendency of the believers to despise their enemies[183] and to defame the gods and other teachings,[184] Shinran repeatedly reminded them of their obligation of gratitude to Amida Buddha and to the other Buddhas through whom their salvation had become possible.[185] Gratitude in Shinran's thought is the foundation of the ethical life.

Together with having the proper attitudes and behavior, Shinran repeatedly encouraged his disciples to read recommended texts in order to clarify and to avoid pointless debates and arguments.[186] Among these recommended texts were the *Yuishinshō*, the *Jirikitariki-no-koto*, the *Gose-monogatari* and the parable of the Two Rivers. Other authoritative works were T'anluan's commentary on the *Jōdoron*, Shan-tao's *Hanjuzammai-gyōdō-ōjō-san*, (also called the *Hanju-san*), *Midakyō-gishū Kangyōshō-Sanzengi*, the chapter on the Sincere Mind, the *Hōjisan*, and Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū* as well as such works as the *Muryōjukyō, Muryōjukyōnyoraie* and the *Mokuren-shomongyō*.[187]

The authority of Hōnen as the basis of his teaching is frequently invoked by Shinran, though it is noticeable that he does not specifically recommend any text of Hōnen's.[188] The recommendation of the *Yuishinshō* and the *Jiriki-tariki* which were written by disciples of Hōnen is due to the fact that Shinran believed they reflected Hōnen's thought.[189] He stressed that those who understood Hōnen's thought best were all in basic agreement, while those who disagreed had all advanced their own individual views.[190]

By such means and counsels Shinran attempted to indicate the clear line of teaching. However, despite his reference to other teachers and literature and appeals to Hōnen's authority, the nature of his letters shows that it was his own influence and leadership which held the key to the solution of these problems.

The Zenran Affair. The disowning of Zenran, his oldest son, was the last

major event which occurred in Shinran's lengthy life. It was also the most tragic and disheartening experience that he must have faced in all his years. The tragedy was, of course, that his oldest son appeared to have conspired against the authority of his father in an attempt to assume control of the religious fellowship. The discouraging thing for Shinran was that he finally had to resort to the extreme measure of disowning Zenran when he came to understand the situation fully.

We can begin our inquiry into the event by first arranging the relevant letters in proper order and tracing the series of events. We can thus reconstruct the situation and determine more precisely Zenran's character and the doctrine he is alleged to have taught.

The first letter which relates to this problem comes from 1255, the ninth month, the second day, and is addressed to all the followers. The background of the letter is the continuing persecution of the teaching by the government. Shinran expresses his belief that the charges that the believers defame the gods and live in loose ways are only excuses to restrain the movement. In light of these charges, Pure Land devotees must be especially careful not to be irreligious or to speak ill of any person. He urges his followers not to believe that it is permissible to commit sins just because they are born evil. Finally, he exhorts them to pray for their enemies.[191]

Shinran wrote this general letter for all followers of Zenran. It was a response to a letter from his son concerning the mistaken views of one Shingambō. He expresses in the reply his disappointment at Shingambō and simply states that it just doesn't sound like him. In a postscript Shinran asks Zenran to let Shōshin and the others read the text. He is disturbed because Shōshin, and possibly Shingambō, had met with him in Kyoto to discuss this problem, but it persisted. Now Shingambō, a leading disciple, is deeply involved. It is significant that Shinran accepted Zenran's report as truthful though he found it hard to believe.[192]

The letter to the Kasama brethren of the tenth month, the third day, has a background of persecution on the basis of which Shinran set forth basic themes of his teaching. Again he stressed that there was no reason on the part of the believers to defame the gods, slander other sects or the enemies of Pure Land faith.[193]

In a letter whose date is uncertain, Shinran expressed his consternation at a report from Zenran accusing Shimbutsu, Shōshin, and Nyūshin of heresy. These had all bee intimate followers of Shinran, and he simply confessed his disappointment and sorrow at the suggestion.

He realized, however, that it is not possible to make people all think the same way. Since there appeared to be no agreement, there was nothing to discuss. One trace of suspicion can be found when Shinran cautioned about criticizing other people. The reports were so hard to believe that he had to reflect also upon the source of the charges.[194]

Sometime between the ninth month, second day and the eleventh month,

ninth day, Shinran received a report from another source beside Zenran. This news concerned the activity of Zenran, and it related that he had told the people of Kanto that their previous mode of Pure Land devotion was useless. According to the report, Zenran claimed to have received a special teaching from Shinran when he had come down from Kyoto.[195] With this claim to a special doctrine he had caused ninety people to leave the congregation of Chū Tarō of Obu and follow him.

In his letter to Zenran dated eleventh month, ninth day, Shinran asks him how he could have taught such things. In answer to the charge that he, Shinran, had been partial, he declares that he had copied and sent the *Yuishinshō*, the *Gosemonogatari*, the *Jiriki-tariki* and the parable of the Two Rivers (*Nigebyakudō*) by Shan-tao to the disciples. The disappointment is deep.[196] Nevertheless it is significant that Shinran does not sever his relation with Zenran at this time. He is well aware, however, that Zenran has somehow brought strife into the fellowship. From this point he is not so trustful of Zenran.

The withdrawing of faith in Zenran is clearly revealed in Shinran's letter to Shinjōbō, dated the first month, the ninth day.[197] In it he sympathizes with Shinjōbō on account of the difficulties he has met in teaching the Pure Land doctrine. However, he warns him against seeking the help of people to prosper the faith of the ground that all true believers should entrust everything to the Buddha. The source of the idea that they should seek the aid of human forces to spread the doctrine appears to have been Zenran, and this suggests that he may have formed some political alliance in the community in order to strengthen the doctrine and to restrain anti-social elements in the fellowship. Shinran relates his surprise that Shinjōbo had believed the claims of Zenran concerning the special doctrine. He clearly criticizes and dissociates himself from the teaching given by Zenran.

The culmination of the relationship between Shinran and Zenran appears in the letter dated the fifth month, twenty ninth day of 1256. Previous to this time, Shinran had received several reports about Zenran and what he had been teaching. At this time also Shōshin had been called before the authorities in Kamakura to state the position of Shinran's followers. The singling out of Shōshin marked him as a very high ranking member of Shinran's fellowship in the Kanto region. This status made the tragedy more poignant when it is recalled that Zenran had placed doubts in Shinran's mind concerning Shōshin. On top of this, Zenran had also accused his mother of some injustice and had insulted her in a letter to a certain lady of Mibu. The extremity of the situation made Shinran feel that there was only one solution. He must disown and completely break off from Zenran. It was not only a way of punishing Zenran and protecting the fellowship, but, more seriously, it was an attempt by Shinran to witness to all the brethren that he was sincere in not giving special teaching to one that he did not give to all, and that there is only one teaching which he gave. It is a measure of self-defense and an apology for the misunderstanding and misuse of his authority.

On the same day as he resorted to the letter of disowning, Shinran also sent a

similar letter to Shōshin. He requested that this letter be sent to all the followers so they might know clearly where he stood in the matter. He called the gods to witness his avowal that there was no secret teaching given Zenran. Further he praised the *Shinshū-monshō* written by Shōshin, possibly in relation to his defense at Kamakura. He ended the letter by completely denying any connection or knowledge of a certain Aimimbō who had also been using Shinran's name as his authority.[198]

Sometime previous to the fifth month, twenty-ninth day, Shōshin had probably been summoned to give an account of Shinshū teaching at Kamakura. At the conclusion of a successful defense, he was permitted to return home, whereupon he penned a letter to Shinran. This letter is dated the sixth month, the first day and it arrived in Kyoto on the seventh month, ninth day. Shinran replied immediately expressing his gladness for the safe return. He assured Shōshin that the case was not his alone, but that he represented all the Pure Land believers. He maintained that it was a great error for them to ridicule Shōshin or blame him for their troubles. Shinran praised the way he had stated his case and agreed fully that Pure Land devotees may recite the name of Amida Buddha for the sake of their country to show their gratitude to the Buddha and their desire for peace in the world and the spread of Buddhist teaching.[199]

When Zenran had been excommunicated, Shōshin and the other disciples were restored to their former trust, and the persecution began to subside,[200] Shinran was once again approached on doctrinal problems such as equality to the Tathagata and the principle of the "assertion as non-assertion." The letter of Shōshin of the ninth month, seventh day (of 1256) ended with a statement that he heard reports about conditions among the followers, and he was at ease. He rejoiced at the reports which Shimushi no Nyūdō-dono Shōnenbō had brought him.[201]

Later in the tenth month, tenth day of 1257, Shinran sent a letter to Shōshin discussing in detail the terms "Company of the Truly Assured," the "State of True Enlightenment," and "Equality with Maitreya" which refer to the condition of "Being Accepted and Not Rejected" by Amida Buddha in this life. A similar letter was sent at the same time to Shimbutsu.[202] In these letters Shinran is expressing his deep confidence in the disciples by conveying to them his deepest spiritual insights.

From the enumeration of the aforementioned events described in these letters, we can reconstruct in some measure the circumstances of Zenran's heterodoxy and thus perhaps come to understand his character and Shinran's position in the affair.

As we know from the earlier letters of Shinran, in 1252 there were people such as Zenshōbō and Shinkembō who were centers of disturbance in the fellowship. While we do not know the specific content of their doctrines, there may have been anti-social elements which caused individuals to reject the traditional gods and Buddhas that stood as supports for the social life of ancient Japan. Such teachings would very likely arouse opposition and persecution. He knew of

such people, and when persecution came, he recognized that such disorderly persons should be restrained.

Shinran also realized that these heretics could bring the whole movement into disrepute. Over and over in his letters he cautioned his followers not to defame the gods and Buddhas or speak ill of any opposition. They must not give the least excuse to the authorities to restrain the Pure Land teaching.

In order to help them in this matter, Shinran dispatched his eldest son Zenran to the Kanto area. Apparently Zenran was given some authority to try to bring the disturbing, heretical faction into line. This instruction was perhaps reflected in the report of Zenran that later reached Kamakura to the effect that Shinran told him "to attack"[203] the Hitachi Pure Land followers.

When Zenran reached Kanto, he began to send Shinran reports about the various disciples. In the course of the correspondence he accused the leading disciples to Shinran. Shinran was in great consternation because he had trust in Zenran, and he was far removed from Kanto. Possibly due to Zenran's attempt to restrain the anti-social aspects of Shinran's teaching, some connection may have been made with local leaders who were interested in Pure Land teaching, but who wished to see it purged of its radical elements. These local leaders, maybe at Zenran's suggestion, sent a report to Kamakura relating the conditions in the area. As a result, Shōshin and Nyūshin were summoned to Kamakura to defend their teaching. Shōshin made a good defense, but for some reason Nyūshin was detained longer. When he returned home, he wrote to Shinran about what he had said in reference to the Pure Land followers and their attitude to the state.

While Shōshin was in Kamakura and the situation was seemingly becoming critical, Shinran received some disturbing reports about Zenran. He had been using the authority of Shinran to break up congregations, by claiming a special teaching which only he, Zenran, had received from his father. He may have considered strengthening the fellowship by bringing it into line with the popular demands of the time. When Shinran became aware of this activity of Zenran, he immediately severed relations with him. When he realized his misjudgment of Shōshin, and the slander of Eshinni, he had only one course to take. As a consequence he sent letters to both Zenran and Shōshin disclaiming Zenran.

After the excommunication of Zenran and the successful defense by Shōshin, the fellowship could once again continue to develop and prosper under the capable leadership of Shōshin, Shimbutsu, and others. The later letters of Shinran reflect the change in the situation from a hectic, divisive period of turmoil to a tranquil period of growth. The doctrines of this later period show development of interest in the status of the believer in this life after being assured of rebirth by attaining faith. Shinran's own thought contemplating these questions reached new heights.

Zenran's character and the nature of his teaching in this affair have been largely based on conjecture in past inquiries into the subject. He has been rather maligned by traditional Shinshū scholars who maintain that it was his ambition

to take over the community as a second Shinran.[204] They claim he was filled with nothing but seething ambition. In consequence of his pride, they relate, he resorted to falsehood by declaring that he had a special teaching from his father. The way in which he is said to have insulted his mother has also been adduced as evidence of his low moral character.

There are, however, things to be said on Zenran's behalf. It does appear that he had been sent to Kanto by Shinran with some special instructions to deal with the chaotic conditions in the fellowship. In some ways Zenran's use of this authority came into question either through his own zealousness or through misrepresentation. He was faced with the problem of restraining anti-social elements which threatened the existence of the community. It is quite possible that he followed his father's instructions with undue severity, and sought to sanction this activity by appeal to Shinran's authority and particularly by the appeal that he had special instructions given to him alone. It was on the basis of this claim that he had been able to divide Chū Tarō's congregation and to accuse leading disciples of heresy.[205]

Recent studies of Zenran's activities by Shinshū scholars have drawn a different picture of him in contrast with the traditional view given above. According to Miyaji Kakue, Zenran was a man whose personality was somewhat legalistic, and he favored practices of purification. Against the Pure Land devotees whose doctrines encouraged antinomianism, Zenran asserted that the virtue of faith should be accompanied by adherence to the Buddhist precepts. It was apparently his view that the belief in Amida Buddha's compassion which saves evil beings is not meant to deny the need for cultivation of virtue. It is thought that the precepts he encouraged were the practices of the Shingon school current among the masses of people in the region.[206]

To reinforce Miyaji's interpretation of Zenran's character we may call attention to the study by Matsuno. He has pointed out the existence of a tendency among Shinran's disciples to relate the subsidiary practice of good deeds to Shinran's doctrine. This development is traced in Shōshin and later, Kenchi. Also Shimbutsu's *Kyōshakumon-bunsho* illustrates the tendency to emphasize that "faith is the mother of all virtues." In this view nirvana was to be attained through an undoubting mind of faith and the cultivation of the three treasures, together with the practice of good deeds.[207] This trend among Shinran's disciples is said to have its roots in his doctrine itself, and was particularly stimulated by his copying the *Saihōshinanshō* of Hōnen.[208] The possibility of uniting faith and good deeds became the foundation for the popularization of Shinran's teaching, and it has its background in the influence of Zenran.

There appears to have been two aspects to Zenran's teaching itself. On the one hand, he strove for the stabilization of the fellowship, and on the other hand, he seems to have attempted a popularization of Shinran's teaching. Traditionally, Zenran has been pictured as trying to make an accommodation with popular tendencies of the day. In the *Boki-e-ji* he is presented as a leader of a group of fortune tellers or sorcerers. He had somehow combined his Pure Land

teaching with these popular superstitions. Inferring from this possibly legendary account, scholars suggest that in this activity he desired to broaden the base of the doctrine. In this way he may have hoped to stabilize the fellowship and to bring it in line with contemporary sentiments and standards of religion.

In our estimation of these theories we can point out that they go far to redeem the character of Zenran's religious activity. However, the fact remains that whatever high purpose he had, it still became necessary for Shinran to disown him, and thus consign him to oblivion. There seems to have been considerable misunderstanding throughout the whole affair in which all those involved were placed in the unfortunate position requiring decisive and painful action. It may also be pointed out that the allegation that Zenran may have conspired to take over leadership of the community does not seem plausible since he probably would have been elevated shortly anyway after the passing of Shinran. We may thus conclude on this subject that Zenran was acting in accord with his understanding of the needs of the community, but that he may have been too severe and domineering.

In the case of Zenran's insult to his mother which Shinran referred to in connection with his rejection, we have little ground to form a precise judgment. Zenran has charged that he had been cheated by his "stepmother." Shinran countered that this was false. Some scholars have asserted that since Eshin-ni was Zenran's real mother, the insult extended to the term "stepmother" and the charge that he was cheated. Others have maintained that she was his stepmother in fact and that the charge of falsity related to the alleged cheating. It is here a problem of the grammar and natural sense of the letter.[209] However, we have no details of Zenran's charge, nor do we know Eshin-ni's side of the argument. Matsuno believes that the whole incident was rooted in economic difficulties which eventually caused Shinran's family to disperse.[210] Since Shinran did not have property, this would not have been a good basis for argument. The question remains open, since all we know is that Zenran was deeply offended, and Shinran denied the charge.

The Persecution of the Pure Land Faith and Shinran's Attitude Toward the State. In the background of the Zenran affair there appears the effort of the government in Kamakura to restrain Pure Land teaching and its anti-social implications. There is the suggestion that is some way Zenran had contributed to this persecution by appealing to the authorities in Kamakura against those he thought were perverting the true teaching. Hence Shōshin, as we have already seen, was summoned to Kamakura to present a defense of his teaching. Consequently, in the course of the affair Shinran found it necessary to consider the justice of the charges against the teaching and to advise his disciples on the attitude they should take in the face of opposition.

The attitude which we discover in Shinran's letters concerning persecution and the state has become a topic for serious discussion among Japanese scholars. The discussion has arisen because Hattori Shiso argued that Shinran had no nationalistic tendencies in his thought. While Japanese scholars might

concur with Hattori in his basic thesis, they have taken exception to his connection of Shinran's attitude with the class struggle which he asserted was shaping the age.

The starting point of Hattori's discussion comes from the fact that Shinran's criticism of the state which appears in the *Denne*[211] and the epilogue of the *Kyōgyōshinshō*[212] was deleted from the traditional *Hōonkō* services when the *Denne* was read during the war because it contained anti-nationalistic elements. He also points out that in contrast to this, the letter to Shōshin dated seventh month, ninth day of 1256 reveals that Shinran agreed with him that the Pure Land devotee could recite Amida Buddha's name for the sake of his country. This passage could be interpreted nationalistically.

Hattori, however, rejected the nationalistic interpretation of this letter and other related passages. He challenged all traditional views with his own.

In view of the problem proposed by Hattori, and in the light of recent studies of Shinran's nationalism growing out of the Zenran affair, we shall attempt to survey his thought in relation to the specific event which we can glean from his letters.

Shinran was very cautious when he wrote in his letters about the persecutions that his followers suffered. He avoided the strong language of criticism which can be found in the *Kyōgyōshinshō* against the legalistic Buddhism of his day. Rather he counseled caution and care on all sides, because he was well aware of the factions and erroneous views held by some of his followers. He strongly advised them to avoid defaming the gods and Buddhas and thus deprive the authorities of any excuse to restrain the teaching.

In the first letter which introduced the problem of persecution (ninth month, second day, 1255) Shinran tried to show that those who were aware of the grace of the Buddha should not criticize the popular religion. The reason is that the salvation of Pure Land devotees came to them through the activities and efforts of all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. In accordance with traditional Japanese thought, he affirmed that the gods of Japan are the protectors of the Buddhists, and they are not lightly to be rejected. Thus, there could be no reason for antisocial behaviour.[213]

Further, Shinran not only urged respect for the gods and Buddhas, but he maintained that the devotee should not criticize the authorities on account of the persecutions. Rather, they were to have sympathy for them and recite the Buddha's name as a means to save the persecutors.[214]

The reason that Shinran advised caution on the part of his followers, and the positive attitude of sympathy and pity, was that the persecution was a natural consequence of the fact that they were living in the degenerate age. During this period when the Buddhist doctrine was eventually to disappear, there were many evils running rampant in the world. He called attention to Sākyamuni Buddha's description of the people of this age as "eyeless" and "earless." They cannot understand the truth. He quoted a passage from Shan-tao which also described the state of the age:

When the five defilements flourish,
There is much doubt and slander.

The clergy and lay dispute each other,
And do not heed.

When they see those practicing (the discipline)
The poison of anger arises.

With means and destruction vying,
They give birth to hatred.[215]

With these prophecies in mind, and his own experience of persecution vivid in his memory, Shinran did not regard the recurrent persecutions with any surprise.

However, Shinran was also well aware that there were among his followers individuals with radical ideas who could bring about action by the authorities to restrain the teaching. Thus he wrote that it was shameful that there were reports which revealed the misdeeds of Pure Land devotees. They should have been more mindful of the Buddha's grace and the debt they owed for their salvation. But he held that only the individuals in error should be held responsible and not the entire group.[216]

Despite his warnings against evil-doers and wrong views, Shinran fully realized that those who desired to hinder the spread of Pure Land faith will take advantage of any charge, true or false. Consequently, he, on occasion, voiced doubts concerning the charges made by the authorities.[217] In view of this situation it was necessary for the devotee to refrain from any appearance of evil.

The attacks on the Pure Land teaching came not only from the civil authorities, but as in earlier times, they were probably stirred up by religious competition. The Buddhists of the established schools may also have had a hand in keeping the government alerted to the social menace of this teaching. In the face of opposition, Shinran maintained that no one could injure the Buddhist doctrine. When the Buddhists attempt to do it, they are like worms that live in the lion and destroy the animal from within. He saw that the Buddhists of his day were perhaps the greatest enemies of Buddhism. Of course, he meant by opposing the Pure Land teaching they were in effect opposing the true Buddhism for that age. He believed that while no one could injure Buddha's teaching, Buddhists, themselves, being eyeless and earless, could virtually destroy it by placing obstacles in the path of Pure Land faith.[218] This comment on his view of contemporary Buddhism was also echoed in the *Shōzōmatsu-wasan*:

In the age of the five defilements
Clergy and lay together struggle.
Seeing one with faith in the nembutsu
Doubts, and slander and destructions flourish

All who do not attain *bodhi*
Do injury to the sole practice of the nembutsu.
As a sign of their destruction of the sudden doctrine
Endless will be the great sea of births and deaths.[219]

From these passages in Shinran's letters and verses, we may observe that he believed that persecution was appropriate to the evil age and it was to be accepted as inevitable. However, he also recognized that the charges made by the civil and religious opponents were generally without basis and false. Still he knew enough of his own followers to realize that misunderstandings and rumors could arise because of careless disciples. He did not think that the errors required or justified the restraining of the entire fellowship. Nevertheless, when persecution appeared, he urged his followers to avoid retaliation and simply to pray for the salvation of the persecutors.

It can readily be seen from the considerations above that Shinran's view of the state was governed completely by religious considerations. He was not interested in politics in and for itself, but only in the advancement of Pure Land faith in order to bring salvation to all beings.

In order to accomplish the goal of declaring the way of deliverance to beings it was necessary that conditions of peace and tranquillity prevail. Consequently, Shinran agreed with Shōshin that Pure Land devotees could pray for the sake of the nation to promote harmony which would enable Buddhism to flourish. He was not interested in the conditions of society, but in the conditions which would contribute to the growth of Buddhism. He urged that his followers keep mindful of the Buddha's grace and desire to help others as the basis for producing harmony. It appears that on the twenty fifth of each month a service was held in honor of Hōnen's death during which Amida Buddha's name was recited specifically for the purpose of saving sinners and the opponents of the teaching.[220]

While Shinran did not have a strong social awareness on the basis of which he strove to reform society, he was aware that there were great evils in the society of his day which he set forth in various places in the *Kyōgyōshinshō*, the *Gutoku-hitan-jukkai-wasan*, and the *Shōzōmatsu-wasan*. However, he did not reject the state and its structure. We have previously noted also in connection with the discussion of his disciples that his teaching was notably free of class dissension, and that his disciples represented various classes. It would appear from this study that those who have tried to read nationalism into his thought, or out of it, have been more influenced by the later usages of the texts than what the texts themselves say. Shinran did not indicate in any manner the belief that Buddhism was chiefly designed for the protection and prosperity of the state. His basic position has been described well by Mitsuyuki Ishida:

> All Pure Realm schools arose from the masses. They have always demanded freedom of worship, and the government which assures it they consider to be a correct government. Accordingly, it is felt that

> religion should not be used by the government for its own ends, nor should religion subvert the state. Shin has insisted upon this freedom of worship through all its history, but has not recklessly opposed the state—indeed it has at times been too cooperative. At all times it has sought to preserve the unique characteristics of the Shin position.[221]

The Last Years. The final years after the suit against the Pure land teaching had subsided and the fellowship attained tranquillity, Shinran spent his last years in relative peace in Kyoto. He carried on his usual activities of writing letters to disciples, copying works which he considered important, and penning some of his own. He received visits from his followers as before. He must have become conscious of his age as he indicates in a letter to Jōshimbō his awareness that death could come at any moment, and he grieves over the deaths of those he had known in the past years.[222]

According to the *Denne*, in his last days Shinran stayed with his brother, Jin'u, who was a Tendai priest. This residence was the Zenbo-in in the area of Oshi-koji and Made-no-koji, according to the *Denne*, while the *Shōmyōden* and *Shōtōden* give it as Sanjo-Tomi-no-koji.[223] There he was attended by Kakushin-ni, his daughter. In the very last days Masukata, another son, came, as well as Kenchi and Senshin, disciples from Kanto. The *Denne* narrates briefly the last days of Shinran:

> Towards the latter part of mid-winter in the second year Kocho (1262) the Shonin showed the symptoms of a slight indisposition, and after that his talk never referred to earthly things, dwelling only on how deeply grateful he was to the Buddha; he uttered nothing but the name of Amida, which he constantly repeated. On the twenty eighth of the same month, at noon, he laid himself on his right side with his head toward the north and his face towards the west; and when at his last recitation of the name of Amida was heard no more, he expired. He was just then completing his ninetieth year.[224]

It is not the province of this study to inquire into the development of the fellowship after the death of Shinran, except to say that soon after his passing his ashes were placed in a tomb in the Otani area in the Higashiyama section which belonged to Kakushin-ni. In time this tomb became the center of devotion and remembrance of Shinran, and those who administered it and the memorial services there became the center of the Honganji sect which united the major body of his followers. The mode of leadership was hereditary which became a distinctive mark of this school. We cannot mention here the problems the succession occasioned, nor the problems arising from those who did not favor this method and formed the Takada school. They derived their teaching through Shimbutsu and Shōshin who represented a spiritual lineage. In addition, there were many

problems relating to the connections of the Shinshū community to the orthodox Pure Land schools in the Middle Ages in Japan. It was not until the time of Rennyo, the eighth patriarch (1415–1499) that the Honganji sect emerged as a fully independent group. It continued to develop to the present day when it claims to have some 21,024 temples and 9,046,357 believers comprising the two major branches. It is to be noted that there are ten schools tracing their lineage to Shinran.

Finally, though Shinran is a man of yesterday, his thought and faith are of today. In consequence of his spiritual impulse the great complex of Shinshū doctrine and schools have emerged. In the post-war period, Shinshū studies have resumed with greater vigor in an attempt to release the spirit of Shinran into Japanese society in the hope that his idealism and faith will invigorate and contribute to the reconstruction of Japan.[225]

Notes

1 *Honganji Shōnin Shinran Denne* (hereafter given as *Denne), Shinshū Shōgyō Zenshō* (hereafter given as *SSZ.*), III, 639. Commentary in Kasuka Murin, *Shin-ran Denne*, 262–3. For historical discussions see Umehara Ryusho, *Shinranden no Shōmondai*, 15–34. Nakazawa Kemmyo, *Shinshū Genryu-Shiron*, 174–7.

2 No mention is made of Shinran's mother in the *Denne*, but in the *Shōtōden* of the Takada school of Shinshū, she is said to be of Minamoto origin. See *Shinran Zenshū*, V, 172. Yamada Bunsho, *Shinran to Sono Kyōdan*, 36–39. Hirose Nanyu ("Shinran Shōnin no Shusse," 195) points out that there are great chronological difficulties if Kikko is accepted as Shinran's mother. She must have been born before 1110 when Yoshichika was put to death. Therefore she would have been at the improbable age of sixty when he was born.

3 Yamada, op. cit., 36–7.

4 *SSZ.*, III, 639, 661. Yamada. op. cit., 37. Kemmyo Nakazawa, "Shinran no Tanjō to Kekei." *Shinran Zenshū*, I, 63–4.

5 Kasuka, op. cit., 263–4.

6 *SSZ.*, III, 821.

7 Yamada, op. cit., 40. Yamabe Shugaku, *Waga Shinran*, 80–1.

8 Ibid., 34.

9 Ibid., 38–9. Umehara, op. cit., 35–42.

10 Nakazawa Kemmyo, *Shinshū Genryūshiron*, 176–7. According to the *Sompibummyaku* Arinori had four sons of whom Shinran was the eldest. They are Jin'u, Ken'u, and Yu-i. There are theories concerning a fifth son, Gyōken, who appears in the *Honganjitsūki* as the fourth in order. His existence is disputed. However, they were all clergy. See *Shinshū Daijiten*, I, 30; 319.

11 Yamada, op. cit., 38.

12 Ibid., 40.

13 *SSZ.*, III, 639. On the chronological problem of Shinran's relation to Jichin see Nakazawa Kemmyo, *Shijō no Shinran*, 54. Fujiwara Yusetsu, *Shinshūshi Kenkyū*, 76. Umehara, op. cit., 51–2.

14 Matsuno Junkō, "Shinran o meguru Shomondai," Kasahara Kazuo (ed.), *Shinshū Kyōdan no Tenkai*, 321.

15 Matsuno Junkō, *Shinran*, 5–16.

16 Takakusu Junjiro, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, 133–4, for aspects of Tendai teaching.

17 William Edward Soothill, Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, 76–7. The three are void, provisional and middle; their unity is the fundamental standpoint of Tendai doctrine.
18 The term *yugayugi* refers to Shingon teaching. *Shinran Zenshū*, I, 134, note 16.
19 *SSZ.*, III, 780.
20 *Shinran Zenshū*, I, 181.
21 *SSZ.*, V, 106.
22 Yamada, op. cit., 52. Sato Tetsuei, "Eizan ni okeru Shinran ni tsuite," *Shinran Zenshū*, I, 73.
23 Inoue Mitsusada, *Nihon Jōdokyō Seiritsushi no Kenkyū*, 205. On the Continuous Nembutsu, ibid., 85–8.
24 Yamada, op. cit., 45–6.
25 *SSZ.*, III, 639. *Shinran Zenshū*, I, 151, note 8.
26 *Shinran Zenshū*, I, 184.
27 *SSZ.*, III, 661.
28 Ibid., V. 104.
29 Ibid., II, 774.
30 Compare accounts in *SSZ.*, III, 661, 821–2 and in *Shinran Zenshū*, I, 187–9, 193, 195.
31 *SSZ.*, V, 104–5.
32 Ibid., 202.
33 Ibid., 774.
34 For discussion of these texts see Kasuka, op. cit., 147–50, Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyōshi, Chūseihen*, 402–3, and Karasawa, Tomitaro *Bukkyō Kyōiku Shisō no Kenkyū*, 165–6.
35 *SSZ.*, II, 202–3.
36 Ibid., III, 643–5.
37 Ibid., II, 690–793, for another version of the same incident.
38 Ibid., III, 22–23.
39 Ibid., 640–641. Same vision related in *Shōtōden, Shinran Zenshū*, 193. The *Denne* version makes no mention of marriage as does *Shōtōden*.
40 *Shinran Zenshū*, I, 198–199. Kanezane's daughter is mentioned in Jitşugo's *Ōtani-ichiryukeizuas* the mother of Han'i. This geneaology dates from 1541, 279 years later and is not regarded as reliable. Matsuno Junko. *Shinran*, 168.
41 Anesaki Masaharu, *History of Japanese Religion*, 182.
42 *SSZ.*, II, 725–726. Also Ogushi Tsuko, *Shinran Zenshū*, II 259–260.
43 Miyazaki Enjun, *Shinran to Sono Montei*, 20–22. Kurata Hyakuzō, *Hōnen to Shinran no Shinkō*, 97–99. Ienaga Saburo, *Shinran Shōnin no Gyōjitsu*, 10.
44 Harper Havelock Coates and Ryugaku Ishizuka, *Honen, The Buddhist Saint*, IV, 551.
45 Ibid., 533.
46 This pledge does not mean that no disciple of Hōnen had married. In fact Seikaku and Ryūkan, two leading followers, were married. See Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyōshi, Chū-seihen, op. cit.*, 392–395. Matsuno, *Shinshū Kyōdan no Tenkai*, 315–6.
47 Coates and Ishizuka, op. cit., IV, 550–2.
48 Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyōshi, Chūseihen*, II, 318–9.
49 Tamura Encho, *Hōnen*, 157.
50 Ibid., 157–67. See also Coates and Ishizuka, *op. cit.*, IV, 557–8, 562, note 15, and Yamada, op. cit., 99–103.
51 Coates and Ishizuka, op. cit., IV, 554–557.
52 *SSZ.*, II, 794–795. Also Coates and Ishizuka, op. cit., IV, 599–600.
53 Coates and Ishizuka, op. cit., 598–599. See also *SSZ.*, II, 701, 532–41, verses 59–75, 517–518, verse 13, 14.
54 *SSZ.*, II, 201–202.

55 Yamada, *op. cit.*, 95.
56 Coates and Ishizuka, *op. cit.*, IV, 601.
57 *SSZ.*, III, 641.
58 Miyazaki Enjun, "Shinran no Tachiba to Kyōgyōshinshō no Senjutsu," *Kyōgyōshinshō Senjutsu no Kenkyū*, Sato Tetsuei, ed., 14. According to Miyazaki, Shinran, being neither priest nor layman, was in a position to free Buddhism from its social bondage and permit it to be shared by all the people.
59 Ienaga, *Shinran Shōnin Gyōjitsu*, 13. Matsuno Junko, *Shinran*, 162–78. He takes up in detail Shinran's marriage, identification of Eshin-ni, her social status and ownership of servants. For a concise summary of the problems surrounding Shinran's marriage see Matsuno Junko. *Shinran: Sono Kōdō to Shisō*, 137–9.
60 Umehara Ryusho, op. cit., 216–9. Hattori Shisō, *Shinran Nōto*, 21, denies Eshin-ni was descended from a family of status.
61 We must call attention here to the fact that the name Tamenori in the genealogy referred to is written [為教] and in the *Gyokuyō* it appears as [為則].
62 Miyazaki, op. cit., 36–40.
63 Umehara Ryusho, op. cit., 212.
64 Miyazaki, 40.
65 *SSZ.*, III, 19.
66 Umehara Ryusho, op. cit., 213–5.
67 *SSZ.*, V, 104.
68 Ibid., 103–4, 109.
69 Ibid., 1–6.
70 Ibid., 101–2.
71 Ibid., 115.
72 Ibid., II, 727–9.
73 Ienaga, *Chūsei Bukkyō Shisōshi Kenkyū*, 190. Ienaga, *Shinran Shonin Gyōjitsu*, 118. Umehara Ryūshō, "Echigo Hairyū Jidai no Shinran," *Shinran Zenshū*, I, 82–4.
74 *SSZ.*, II, 202.
75 Ibid., III, 648.
76 *Shinran Zenshū*, I, 212–5.
77 This date is based on calculations made from information in Eshinni's letter, *SSZ.*, V, 101.
78 Coates and Ishizuka, op. cit., IV, 684–8.
79 Umehara Ryusho, op. cit., 230.
80 Ibid., 231–236. Miyazaki, op. cit., 41–3.
81 Kasahara Kazuo, "Tōgoku ni okeru Shinran," *Shinran Zenshū*, I, 86.
82 *SSZ.*, III, 640–1.
83 Ibid., 662.
84 George B. Sansom, *A History of Japan to 1334*, 397.
85 *SSZ.*, II, 683, 619–20.
86 Ibid., V, 101–2.
87 Kasawara Kazuo ("Kyōgyōshinshō no Seiritsu," *Shinshū Kyōdan no Tenkai*, 20–4) stresses the role of Shinran's anxiety in relation to his faith to the development of his thought. The incident related by Eshin-ni is seen in the light of this continuing anxiety, and he infers that Shinran arrived at his view of faith early.
88 *SSZ.*, III, 648.
89 Yamada, op. cit., 119–23.
90 Hakuju Ui, *Bukkyō Jiten*, 1068.
91 *SSZ.*, III, 649.
92 Yusetsu Fujiwara, "Shinran Shōnin Montei no Chiriteki Bumpu," *Shinran Zenshū*, II, 134. Ienaga, *Shinran Shōnin Gyōjitsu*, 116–30.

93 Ibid., I, 219–0.
94 Ibid., II, 135–9.
95 Hattori, op. cit., 126.
96 Ibid., 85.
97 Ibid.
98 Ibid., 68.
99 Ienaga Saburo (*Chūsei Bukkyō Shisōshi Kenkyū*, 201–9) notes that Hattori has presented a clear explanation of the social background of Shinran, and he further agrees in distinguishing the thought of Shinran and the later views and actions of the Honganji organization. He credits Hattori with the epochal theory that Shinran rejected completely the idea that religion exists merely for the sake of the protection and prosperity of the state (*Gokoku Shiso*).
100 Ibid., 204, 206.
101 Ibid., 207.
102 Kasahara Kazuo, *Shinran to Tōgoku Nōmin*, 282.
103 Ibid., 286–97.
104 Akamatsu Toshihide, *Kamakura Bukkyō no Kenkyū*, 71.
105 Ibid., 69–71. Also, Akamatsu Toshihide, "Shinran no Shokan ni essay "Shinran to Deshitachi," 125–33, Akamatsu gives details on the lives of the disciples.
106 See *Living Buddhism in Japan* Bulletin of the International Institute of the Study of Religions, Vol. 6–2 (May 1959), 19–20. An incident is related in which the president of a silk thread company made the women say the Nembutsu in gratitude for various gifts from the employer, rather than being concerned over low wages.
107 Miyazaki, op. cit., 154–5. Yamada, op. cit., 118–25.
108 Yuki Reimon, "Ken-jōdo-shinjitsu-kyōgyōshō-monrui ni tsuite," *Shinran Zenshū*, VI, 4. *Shinshu Yōgi*, II, 90.
109 See above p. 11.
110 *Shinran Zenshū*, I, 223.
111 Nakazawa, *Shinshū Genryūshiron*, 245.
112 Kasahara, *Shinran to Tōgoku Nōmin*, 204–15. For discussion of various aspects of possible motivation see Shugaku Yamabe and Chizen Akanuma, *Kyōgyōshinshō Kōgi*, I, 19–24.
113 *SSZ.*, II, 1.
114 Ibid., 43, 203.
115 Yuki Reimon, *Shinran Zenshū*, VI, 19–23.
116 Yuki Reimon, "Kyōgyōshinshō Shinkan Bessenron no Yōshi," Sato Tetsuei, *Kyōgyōshinshō no Senjutsu no Kenkyū*, 80–2, argues from the title of the work *Ken-jōdo-shinjitsu-kyōgyōshō-monrui* that Shinran originally projected a work following the traditional scheme of three principles, but later in Kyōto put it together with the volume on Faith which had been produced separately at a different time.
117 The time of return has not been precisely recorded. See Ienaga, *Shinran Shōnin Gyōjitsu*, 28. Umehara Ryusho, op. cit., 274–80. Miyazaki, op. cit., 53–4.
118 Miyazaki, op. cit., 54–5.
119 Yamada, op. cit., 146.
120 Matsuno, *Shinshū Kyōdan no Tenkai*, 339.
121 Fujiwara, *Shinshūshi Kenkyū*, 146–50.
122 Miyazaki, op. cit., 73, 75–6. Yamada, op. cit., 147–8.
123 *SSZ.*, V, 113.
124 Ibid., 114–5, also 110–1. See Matsuno, *Shinran*, 407–8.
125 *SSZ.*, V, 103.
126 Ibid., III, 825. Matsuno, *Shinran*, 408.
127 Ibid., II, 705.

128 Ibid., III, 782, 842.
129 Matsuno, *Shinran*, 407–10. Also Matsuno, "Kirakugo no Shinran Ikka," *Shinran Zenshū*, I, 106–7.
130 Nakazawa Kemmyo, *Shijō no Shinran*, 163. Hattori, op. cit., 98–9. Miyazaki, op. cit., 111–2.
131 *SSZ.*, II, 725–7. Miyazaki, op. cit., 85–103.
131 *SSZ.*, II, 725–7. Miyazaki, op. cit., 85–103.
132 Yamada, op. cit., 151.
133 Miyazaki, op. cit., 113.
134 Akamatsu, op. cit., 3–28.
135 Miyazaki, op. cit., 114–6.
136 Ienaga, *Shinran Shōnin Gyōjitsu*, 32–95, gives detailed chronology of these texts.
137 Akamatsu Toshihide, "Shinran no Shokan ni tsuite," *Shinran Zenshū*, 7–8.
138 Washiyama Jushin, "Goshosoku ni shinobu Bannen no Shinran Shōnin (1)," 55.
139 The numbering here follows that of the *SSZ.*, II.
140 Washiyama, op. cit., 56.
141 Ibid., 57. The authenticity of these letters is also uncertain.
142 Ibid., 58–62. Washiyama presents a detailed chart which gives the pertinent chronological data and relates the letters to other writings of Shinran. Other attempts to determine the chronology may be found in Gyoshin Hosokawa, "A Study of the Epistles of Shinran," II-2: 645–7, III-1: 203–5, III-2: 579–81. Hattori, op. cit., 110–4. Yamada, op. cit., 159–60. Akamatsu, op. cit., 29–59.
143 Hosokawa Gyoshin, "A Study of the Epistles of Shinran," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū*, III-1, 203, offers eight letters. Hattori, op. cit., 110–4 offers thirteen and Yamada, op. cit., 160 gives seven.
144 *SSZ.*, II, 671–2. A *mon* is an ancient coinage said to be one thousandth of a *kan* which is equivalent to ten *sen*. It is also given as a farthing.
145 Ibid., 683.
146 Ibid., 698–700.
147 Ibid., 705–6.
148 Ibid., 689–93.
149 Ibid., 725–6.
150 Ibid., 676.
151 Ibid., II, 680.
152 Ibid., 710–1.
153 Ibid., 689.
154 Ibid., 705.
155 *Mikawa-nembutsu-sosho-nikki, Shinran Zenshū*, I, 253.
156 *SSZ.*, II, 678.
157 Ibid., 773–5.
158 Ibid., 670–1.
159 Ibid., 668–9, 685–9.
160 Ibid., 685–9.
161 Ibid., 793–4.
162 Ibid., 705.
163 Ibid., 671.
164 Ibid., 666–8.
165 Ibid., 672–3.
166 Ibid., 710 and 708 respectively.
167 Ibid., 666–8, 680–1.
168 Ibid., 670–1.
169 Ibid., 670.

170 Ibid., 671–2.
171 Ibid., 698–700.
172 Ibid., 658–61.
173 Hosokawa, "A Study of the Epistles of Shinran," II-2, 646–7.
174 *SSZ.*, II, 672–3.
175 Ibid., 685.
176 Ibid., 682.
177 The Apostle Paul had a similar difficulty with the radical implications of his teaching. He wrote in Romans 6:1, "What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? . . ."
178 *SSZ.*, II, 682.
179 Ibid., 690–1.
180 Ibid., 692.
181 Ibid., 683.
182 Ibid., 691.
183 Ibid., 681–3, 685–9, 689–93, 703–5; also 696–7, 700–3, 710–1.
184 Ibid., 658–61, 700–3.
185 Ibid., 660, 696–7, 698–700, 700–3, 710–1.
186 Ibid., 685–9, 695–6, 698–700, 705–7, 707–9.
187 Ibid., 658–61, 661–2, 666–7, 673–4, 674, 674–80, 681–3, 684–5, 689–93, 693–4, 700–3, 703–5, 711–3.
188 Ibid., 658–61, 666–7, 711–3; also 665.
189 Ibid., 686.
190 Ibid., 687.
191 Ibid., II, 700–2.
192 Ibid., 703–5.
193 Ibid., 658–61.
194 *Ibid.*, 706–7.
195 It is uncertain just when Shinran sent Zenran to Kanto as his emissary to help restrain the spread of heresy. He was there probably before the letter dated ninth month, second day of 1256. Before he went he may have received special instructions for dealing with errant disciples. It is his use of his authority and his relation to Shinran that became the source of trouble.
196 *SSZ.*, II, 705–6.
197 Ibid., 707–9.
198 Ibid., 727–9 (letter of Disowning); 717–9 (letter to Shōshin).
199 Ibid., 696–7.
200 Ibid., 710–1.
201 Ibid., 720–1.
202 Ibid., 661–2; 662–3.
203 Ibid., 729. The term sonjiru (Colloq.) has the sense "damage, hurt, injure, impair" (*Kenkyusha's New Japanese English Dictionary*). The word is quite strong and may reflect only Shinran's sentiment of chagrin at the action of Zenran, rather than a direct report of Zenran's words.
204 Yamada, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
205 Fujishima Tatsuryo, "Sono Go no Kantō Kyōdan to Zenran no Igi," *Shinran Zenshū*, I, 115–6. For a detailed analysis of the competition among the leading disciples in relation to the Zenran affair see Kazuo Kasahara, *Shinran to Tōgoku Nōmin*, 331–7, 347–51. Yamada, op. cit., 162–4.
206 Miyaji Kakue, "On Zenran's Heterodoxy," 232–5. Yamada, op. cit., 167–71. Matsuno Junko, "One Doctrinal System of Shinran's Followers," 206–9. Matsuno, *Shinshū Kyōdan no Tenkai*, 342.

207 Matsuno, *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū*, III–1, 207.
208 Ibid., 206.
209 Umehara Ryusho, op. cit., 193–4, sets forth the theory that Zenran was the real son of Eshinni. The term stepmother is the insult. Seikichi Kawakami (*Gutokufū*, 189–92) accepts that theory that Shinran had three wives, and feels that it is far-fetched to claim the term "stepmother" as an insult. See also Yamada, op. cit., 161–2.
210 Matsuno, *Shinran Zenshū*, I, 107–9.
211 *SSZ.*, III, 647–8.
212 Ibid., II, 201.
213 Ibid., 698–700.
214 Ibid., 703–5, 696–8, 658–61.
215 Ibid., 701.
216 Ibid., 700–1.
217 Ibid., 701.
218 Ibid., 705.
219 Ibid., 517–8.
220 Ibid., 710.
221 Mitsuyuki Ishida, in *Path of the Buddha*, 339.
222 *SSZ.*, II, 664–5.
223 *Shinshu Daijiten*, II, 819–20.
224 Ibid., II, 653. Tr. from *Buddhism and Jodo Shinshu*, 177–8.
225 For a study of Shinran's doctrine see author's *Shinran's Gospel of Pure Grace* (Tucson: Arizona University Press, 1965). 97 pp.

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CLICHÉS CANONIQUES BOUDDHIQUES DANS LES LÉGENDES SUR LES DÉBUTS DU BOUDDHISME AU JAPON*

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Je souhaiterais présenter ici quelques résultats d'une étude menée avec des étudiants de l'Université d'Osaka sur certains des plus anciens textes racontant l'introduction du bouddhisme au Japon. Nos lectures de textes furent faites dans un esprit moins historique que—si l'on peut dire—littéraire: nous étions surtout à l'affût de traces, dans ces textes, d'influence des écritures bouddhiques.

Avant tout, il nous fallait nous demander si une telle lecture "littéraire" était légitime. La meilleure manière de s'en assurer était de comparer les récits japonais avec des récits sur l'adoption du bouddhisme dans d'autres régions. Il en existe un grand nombre et, pour chaque pays, les versions sont loin d'être uniformes. Le récit le plus élaboré est peut-être la légende de l'introduction du bouddhisme à Sri Lanka. Sa version la plus connue est celle, versifiée, du *Mahāvaṃsa*,[1] une histoire nationale composée par un moine bouddhique, Mahānāma. Le *Mahāvaṃsa* se présente à nous avec des caractéristiques d'ouvrage d'édification et d'ouvrage ecclésiastique. Sans nous étendre sur les raisons de ce fait, bornons-nous ici à remarquer que l'influence de la communauté bouddhique (*Saṃgha*) est évidente sur cette sorte d'épopée qu'est le *Mahāvaṃsa*. De telles œuvres narratives, produites par le *Saṃgha* et centrées sur le *Saṃgha*, incluant en outre une histoire du bouddhisme depuis son origine, semblent être monnaie courante dans l'historiographie traditionnelle en Asie du Sud-Est.

Quoique dans mon séminaire à l'Université d'Osaka, il ait fallu se limiter à des textes écrits en chinois, il fut possible de ne pas laisser l'Asie du Sud-Est complètement en dehors du tableau. En effet, comme nous allons le voir, il existe dans le Canon bouddhique chinois (dans l'édition "Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō" abrégée dorénavant en T.) une version en chinois de la conversion au bouddhisme de l'Ile de Laṅka.

Le temps ne nous a pas permis d'introduire dans notre enquête des textes

concernant l'introduction du bouddhisme en Asie centrale quoique le Canon bouddhique chinois ne soit pas dépourvu de données à ce sujet. Qu'on se reporte, par exemple, au texte sur la conversion du Khotan (Li-yul), mieux connue dans sa version, d'ailleurs plus développée, en tibétain.[2]

La première année du séminaire à Osaka fut consacrée à une étude comparée de textes relatant en chinois des épisodes de la conversion de Sri Lanka, de la Chine, de la Corée et du Japon. La deuxième année fut plus spécifiquement consacrée au Japon: à l'histoire des événements des premières décades de l'adoption du bouddhisme dans ce pays et à l'évolution du traitement historiographique ancien de ces événements.

Les textes qui firent l'objet de notre étude comparative sont les suivants:

I. L'histoire de la conversion de Laṅka, telle qu'elle apparaît dans la traduction chinoise (T. 1462) de la *Samantapāsādikā*, commentaire du *Vinaya* pāli.[3] Ce récit repose sur la même tradition que le récit, mentionné plus haut, du *Mahāvaṃsa*.

II. L'histoire de l'introduction du bouddhisme en Chine, que nous avons examinée à la lumière de l'étude classique d'Henri Maspero sur le sujet.[4]

III. L'histoire de l'adoption du bouddhisme dans les Trois Royaumes de Corée, spécialement dans le Royaume de Silla. Nous avons utilisé la compilation tardive (XIII[e] siècle) du *Samguk Yusa* (T. 2039)[5] pour la comparer avec les données utiles du recueil des "Vies des moines éminents de Corée" (T. 2063), traduit et annoté par Peter Lee.[6]

Enfin, nous sommes arrivés aux récits japonais sur la pénétration du bouddhisme dans leur propre pays. La source principale, le *Nihon Shoki* 日本書紀 ou *Nihongi* 日本紀,[7] est bien connue en Occident grâce aux traductions de Florenz[8] et d'Aston.[9] C'est une histoire nationale à structure annalistique comme les Histoires dynastiques chinoises.

Nous avons examiné aussi quelques chroniques ecclésiastiques au caractère plus bouddhique que le *Nihon Shoki*: I. le *Jōgū Shōtoku Hōō Teiselsu* 上宮聖徳法王帝説 (abrégé dans la suite en *Teisetsu*),[10] une sorte d'aide-mémoire centré sur le Régent *Shōtoku* Taishi 聖徳太子 (574–622), le personnage qui fut considéré comme le fondateur du bouddhisme japonais; et II., le *Shōtoku Taishi Denryaku* 聖徳太子傳歴 (abrégé dans la suite en *Denryaku*),[11] une biographie populaire et très détaillée du Régent Shōtoku. Les deux ouvrages subirent l'influence du *Nihon Shoki*, mais le *Teisetsu*, composé au Monastère Hōryūji 法隆寺 des environs de Nara, comprend également des éléments archaïques antérieurs à ceux provenant du *Nihon Shoki*.

Je répète que notre ambition n'était pas du tout une tentative de reconstruction historique des événements. Nous souhaitions seulement détecter les influences bouddhiques dans tous ces récits. Il pouvait s'agir de référence à des points de doctrine aussi bien que d'apparition de thèmes mythologiques ou hagiographiques.

Dans le domaine japonais, où notre étude fut la plus détaillée, il fut souvent possible de distinguer 1° un canevas historique ou historiographique, 2° des

clichés apparemment d'origine japonaise, 3° des stéréotypes bouddhiques, qui apparaissaient sous deux formes: a. des citations, parfois textuelles, de *sūtra*, avec ou sans indication de source; b. des épisodes semblant empruntés à des écrits bouddhiques.

Avant d'envisager ces récits japonais, deux observations générales doivent encore être faites: d'abord, le lecteur ne doit pas s'étonner de voir ces récits traiter presque exclusivement de figures haut-placées comme des rois, empereurs et tout particulièrement un prince régent. Une donnée commune à tous les pays pourvus d'une tradition historique nationale est l'élaboration d'une version officielle des événements qui conduisirent à l'adoption du bouddhisme. Ces versions officielles présentent toujours l'introduction du bouddhisme comme prenant son départ au sommet de la hiérarchie sociale: par les bons offices du roi ou de l'empereur. C'est le cas dans le récit de la rencontre entre Mahinda, prince devenu religieux, fils du roi Asoka, et Devānampiya Tissa, roi de Laṅka, comme c'est aussi le cas dans les évocations du rêve de l'empereur Ming 明 de la dynastie Han 漢 en Chine. Dans les relations de l'auto-sacrifice d'Ichadon 異次頓 en faveur du roi Pŏp-hŭng 法興 de Silla et dans les relations, au Japon, des échecs et succès du bouddhisme à la cour avant et durant la régence du prince Shōtoku, nous retrouvons ce même schéma. Au Japon, il existe aussi une discrète tradition[12] concernant des cultes bouddhiques importés par des immigrants du continent avant leur introduction "officielle" par l'ambassade envoyée par Sŏng Myŭng 聖明, souverain du royaume coréen de Paekche 百濟. Cette tradition n'a heureusement pas été détruite, mais seulement recouverte par la version officielle des événements.

Une deuxième observation préliminaire va répéter ce qui a déjà été dit à propos de l'Asie du Sud-Est. Dans la plupart des cas, les auteurs de récits officiels sur l'introduction du bouddhisme étaient des moines bouddhiques. Même si en Chine, en Corée, au Japon, il n'y a pas de versions officielles codifiées par le *Saṃgha*, comme ce semble avoir été le cas en Asie du Sud-Est, il n'est pas surprenant que, vu la qualité de leurs auteurs, ces récits d'Extrême-Orient aient subi la marque de motifs littéraires dérivés de la littérature bouddhique.

La légende officielle racontant l'introduction du bouddhisme au Japon commence avec l'acceptation sous condition de la religion étrangère par un empereur présenté comme étant Shikishima 志發嶋, alias Kinmei 欽明, à une date controversée: 538 (12ᵉ jour du 10ᵉ mois de l'année *tsuchinoe-uma* 戊午 de Shikishima) dans le *Teisetsu* (III, 2) ou 552 (10ᵉ mois de la 13ᵉ année de Kinmei) dans le *Nihon Shoki*.

L'histoire de cette acceptation sous condition est l'objet d'une notice exceptionnellement longue dans le *Nihon Shoki*. Le message du roi de Paekche à Kinmei contient une mention de la diffusion du bouddhisme dans la direction de l'est, qui est la reprise d'un *locus classicus* des *sūtras* de *Prajñā-pāramitā*.[13] Cette mention figurait déjà dans la relation sur la diffusion du bouddhisme en Chine et a été reprise, avec référence à l'empereur Han Ming-ti 漢明帝, dans la relation sur le roi Pŏp-hŭng de Silla.[14]

Dans le message du roi de Paekche, le panégyrique du bouddhisme contient en outre des citations presque textuelles de la traduction du *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra* par Yi-tsing 義淨.[15] Cet emprunt, non déclaré mais significatif, avait déjà été remarqué par les premiers scoliastes modernes du *Nihon Shoki*.[16] Récemment, dans l'histoire du bouddhisme de [l'époque] Asuka (*Asuka Bukkyō shi kenkyū* 飛鳥佛教史研究),[17] TAMURA Enchō a signalé, en relation avec cet emprunt, une influence possible du moiṇe Dōji 道慈 (675–744). Dōji est surtout connu comme membre de l'équipe de rédaction du *Nihon Shoki* publié en 720. Avant cette date, Dōji avait séjourné dix-sept ans, de 702 a 718, en Chine. A Tch'ang-ngan, il résidait au fameux monastère Si Ming sseu 西明寺, le centre de traduction où Yi-tsing a justement réalisé en 703 sa traduction du *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra*.

Nous pouvons déceler un nouveau cas de fabrication littéraire dans l'évocation de la persécution du bouddhisme qui conclut la longue notice de 552 dans le *Nihon Shoki*. Cette évocation semble un doublet anticipant des événements décrits sous trois entrées de l'année 585 dans le même *Nihon Shoki*: celles du 24ᵉ jour du 2ᵉ mois et des 1ᵉʳ et 30ᵉ mois durant la 14ᵉ année du rène du successeur de Kinmei, l'empereur Bidatsu 敏達.

Nous voyons donc que la fameuse notice de 552 du *Nihon Shoki* sur la première acceptation du bouddhisme semble bien être une assez douteuse combinaison d'événements anti-datés (552 par rapport à 585) et post-datés (552 par rapport à 538) liés ensemble par des rappels, reconnus ou camouflés, de *sūtras* bouddhiques. A propos de la date de 552, Tamura[18] a en outre émis l'hypothèse que cette année a été choisie, peut-être par Dōji, afin de coïncider avec l'une des spéculations chinoises sur l'année inaugurale de la période de déclin de la Loi (*mappō* 末法), un thème remontant à la prédication ancienne du Buddha.[10]

Ensuite, il semble que le sort du bouddhisme au Japon a été fixé par une bataille qui eut lieu en 587 (7ᵉ mois de la 2ᵉ année du règne de Yomei 用明, successeur de Bidatsu; en fait, déjà sous le rène du successeur de Yomei: l'empereur Sujun 崇峻). Dans le *Nihon Shoki*, la narration de la victoire du clan probouddhique Soga 蘇我 sur le clan anti-bouddhique Mononobe 物部 est axée sur la légende d'une intervention, quelque peu anachronique, du prince impérial destiné à devenir sous le nom de Shōtoku le symbole national et œcuménique de l'acceptation au Japon du bouddhisme et de la civilisation chinoise. Dans cette narration, nous trouvons à nouveau une référence au *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra* dans la traduction de Yi-tsing.[20]

Remarquons ici qu'avant l'introduction de cette traduction de Yi-tsing, relativement tardive, d'autres traductions de ce *sūtra* étaient déjà connues au Japon. Il semble qu'il s'agissait même d'un des *sūtras* Mahāyāniques les plus populaires.[21] Il était spécialement fameux pour sa propagation du culte des quatre dieux-rois gardiens.[22] En dehors des témoignages littéraires, la popularité de ce *sūtra* se manifeste aussi dans les oeuvres d'art: plusieurs statues des quatre dieux gardiens remontant à la période Asuka (552–645) et la célèbre illustration d'un

Jātaka[23] narré dans ce *sūtra* que l'on voit peinte sur un panneau de l'autel *Tamamushi Zushi* 玉蟲厨子 du Hōryūji.

Plusieurs esquisses biographiques anciennes sur *Shōtoku Taishi* ont récemment fait l'objet de monographies spécialisées. Pour n'en mentionner que quelquesunes, citons l'édition annotée du *Teisetsu* par IENAGA Saburō 家永三郎[24] et le travail sur le *Hoketsuki* 補闕記 par SHINKAWA Tokio 新川登亀男.[25] Nous manquons cependant encore d'un examen général exhaustif de toute l'historiographie concernant Shōtoku. Il est intéressant de noter que la tentative la plus détaillée poussée dans cette direction a été faite, il y a quarante ans, non en japonais mais en allemand. L'ouvrage encyclopédique, généralement inconnu, "*Shōtoku Taishi*" par Hermann Bohner,[26] quoique insuffisamment critique selon les normes d'aujourd'hui, reste très utile et est injustement négligé.

Parmi les nombreux problèmes auxquels est confronté le chercheur étudiant ces biographies anciennes, nous mentionnerons ici ceux qui concernent les fragments de traditions autonomes de temples ou monastères. Le bouddhisme japonais primitif était étroitement lié aux destinées de quelques monastères illustres. Comme l'a montré récemment HAYASHI Mikiya 林幹彌,[27] on peut distinguer, parmi les sources sur *Shōtoku Taishi*, celles qui sont liées à la tradition du Shitennōji 四天王寺, "monastère des quatre dieux-rois [gardiens]", dans la ville contemporaine d'Osaka, et les sources qui sont liées au Hōryūji, "monastère de la prospérité de la Loi", dans le voisinage de Nara. Un troisième monastère, le Hōkōji 法興寺, monastère du triomphe de la Loi, qui est à présent appelé Asukadera 飛鳥寺 dans le village contemporain d'Asuka, semble avoir joué un rôle important du vivant de *Shōtoku Taishi* et durant quelques décades après sa mort.

La destinée du Hōkōji fut inséparable des vicissitudes du clan Soga. Il est possible qu'on trouve un témoignage de son importance dans la trace, dans une inscription de 623 commentée dans le *Teisetsu* III, 2, 3, de l'usage d'un nom d'ère bouddhique qui semble avoir été usité au moins jusqu'à la mort de Shōtoku en 622. Cette ère porte le nom de "triomphe de la Loi" (Hōkō 法興); peut-être est-il dérivé du nom du monastère Hōkōji. "Triomphe de la Loi" était un nom auspicieux et significatif en ces siècles. Nous avons déjà rencontré Pŏphŭng, la prononciation coréenne de ce terme, qui était le nom posthume du roi de Silla qui adopta le bouddhisme sous son rène (514–540).

Comme Claude Maître[28] l'a déjà indiqué, 591, la I^re^ année de l'ère japonaise "triomphe de la Loi", ne correspond à aucun événement bien connu de l'histoire du bouddhisme japonais, mais le même Claude Maître, dans un ouvrage plus ancien,[29] nous avait mis en garde contre une trop grande confiance en la datation du *Nihon Shoki* jusqu'à la fin du règne du successeur de Sujun, l'impératrice Suiko 推古 (593–628). La relation entre ère Hōkō et monastère Hōkō est loin d'être claire, mais on remarque que le *Nihon Shoki* date avec emphase le début du bouddhisme au Japon en 585 (9^{e} mois de la 13^{e} année de Bidatsu). Cet établissement du bouddhisme correspond, dans l'esprit du *Nihon Shoki*, à la découverte d'une relique miraculeuse (*shari* 舎利 = sk. *śarīra*) et à son installation solennelle dans un sanctuaire du clan Soga. Ensuite, le *Nihon Shoki* mentionne

le vœu de construire le Hōkōji pris par Soga Umako 蘇我馬子 après la bataille de 587 entre son clan et le clan Mononobe. Le *Nihon Shoki* donne encore des informations précises sur la construction de ce monastère. C'est en 593 (1re année de Suiko) et non en 591 (1re année de *Hōkō*) que le Hōkōji est virtuellement consacré par le dépot d'un *shari* du Buddha dans la pierre de base du pilier axial du *stūpa*, appelé ici *satsu* 刹, du Hōkōji. Nous pouvons ajouter ici que cette discordance chronologique entre 591 et 593 n'est pas la seule dans les chroniques anciennes traitant de Shōtoku Taishi.

L'adoption de Shōtoku Taishi dans la tradition historique des monastères les plus prestigieux du bouddhisme japonais ancien n'exclut pas des associations avec des temples moins fameux ou plus récents. On pourrait parler d'une convention dans la littérature des "fondations de temples et sanctuaires" (*Jisha engi* 寺社縁起) qui consistait à annexer l'illustre personnalité de Shōtoku dans les innombrables légendes de fondation. Il existe déjà des traces de cette tendance dans le *Nihon Shoki*.

A Shōtoku Taishi furent également attribués des commentaires sur trois *sūtras* le *Vimalakīrti-nirdeṣa*, le *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* et la *Ratnamālā-devī-paripṛcchā*. Avec le *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra* déjà mentionné, ces trois textes semblent avoir été parmi les *Mahāyanasūtras* les mieux connus en Extrēme-Orient durant la période de développement de l'érudition bouddhique, avant la vogue du Tantrisme. En Chine, le *Vimalakīrti*, le *Saddharma* et la *Ratnamālā* avaient déjà été l'objet. de lecture publique (sin.-jap. *kō* 講) par le fameux empereur Wu 武 de la dynastie-Leang 梁 qui régna de 502 à 549.[30] La protection que cet empereur, inspiré par l'example du roi Aśoka, accorda au bouddhisme semble avoir influencéses contemporains coréens,[31] déjà mentionnés plus haut, le roi Sŏng Myŏng 聖明 de Paekche (règne 523–554) et le roi Pŏp-hŭng de Silla (règne 514–540), et, un demi-siècle après la mort de Leang Wu ti 梁武帝, le régent japonais Shōtoku.

L'idée traditionnellë selon laquelle les trois commentaires de sūtra furent: composés dans l'entourage de Shōtoku Taishi n'est pas encore à exclure. L'adversaire le plus tenace de la théorie de leur attribution à Shōtoku, le Professeur FUJIEDA Akira, a projeté de nouvelles lumières sur le caractère typiquement chinois du VIe siècle du commentaire de la *Ratnamāḷā* en le comparant avec un texte analogue provenant de Touen-houang.[32] De ces commentaires, seul celui du *Saddharma* subsiste à l'état de manuscrit. Des autres, nous ne connaissons que des éditions imprimées tardives. Le contenu du commentaire du *Saddharma*: est médiocre mais pourrait être assez archaique. Sa belle calligraphie, dont l'attribution à la main de Shōtoku Taishi est des plus douteuses, a valu au Régent la réputation de maître calligraphe.[33]

Le *Teisetsu*, II, 3 présente ces commentaires comme révélés à Shōtoku par un homme d'or qui lui serait apparu en rêve. Le rêve de l'homme d'or était déjà l'élément principal de la légende de l'attrait du bouddhisme sur l'empereur Ming dans l'historiographie chinoise. Une tradition tardive a identifié cet homme d'or au bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara "Sauveur du monde" (Guse Kannon

救世観音).[34] Une statue de Guse Kannon, de l'époque Asuka, est encore à présent le principal objet de culte (*honzon* 本尊) dans le Pavillon du rêve (*Yumedono* 夢殿) au Hōryūji.

On attribue également à Shōtoku Taishi la paternité de la *Constitution en XVII articles* telle qu'elle est citéc dans le *Nihon Shoki* en 604 (3e jour du 4e mois de la 12e année de Suiko). Dans ce texte moralisant, nous trouvons à côté de nombreuses références aux classiques chinois, une allusion assez inattendue aux quatre types de naissance (sk. *yoni*) comme nous les connaissons d'après les *Āgamas* bouddhiques.[35]

Déjà dans les entrées biographiques du *Nihon Shoki* à propos de Shōtoku Taishi, on peut discerner quelques éléments hagiographiques qui semblent des emprunts et des adaptations de l'hagiographie de Śākyamuni. C'est le cas, comme nous le verrons plus loin, pour les circonstances de la naissance de Shōtoku. Ici, nous mentionnerons sa rencontre avec un mendiant agonisant à Kataoka 片岡 en 613 (1er et 2e jour du 12e mois de la 21e année de Suiko). La similitude avec les quatre fameuses rencontres du Bodhisattva, le futur Śākyamuni, n'est que superficielle, mais le fait que le Régent donne son manteau au mendiant, puis, après sa mort, le reprenne pour s'en revêtir, nous rappelle non seulement l'échange de vêtements dans la légende de Śākyamuni, mais semble surtout une sorte d'adaptation japonaise du culte par vêtement *Pāṃsukūlika*.[36] D'autre part, dans une entrée de 628 (la 36e année de Suiko, mais déjà sous le règne de son successeur, l'empereur Jomei 舒明), les derniers mots de Shōtoku Taishi sur son lit de mort sont rapportés sous la forme d'une *ghātā*, moins frappante, mais coulée dans le même moule que la derniére *ghātā* de Śākyamuni dans le plus courant des récits de son *Parinirvāṇa*.[37]

Comme il est habituel dans la littérature hagiographique, la biographie de Shōtoku Taishi se fit de plus en plus élaborée au fur et à mesure que le personnage historique s'éloignait dans le passé. Une représentation standard du personnage fut mise au point dans le *Denryaku*, une biographie composée au Xe siècle par un membre de la famille Fujiwara 藤原. L'auteur se conforme à la structure annalistique du *Nihon Shoki*, mais fut aussi fort influencé par la tradition du Shitennōji et par la secte Tendai 天台.

Le *Denryaku*, qui devait exercer une grande influence, spécialement sur la riche iconographie de Shōtoku Taishi, emprunte beaucoup à beaucoup de sources. Il éclaire de nouveaux aspects de la légende de Houei-sseu 慧思 (515–577), le second patriarche de l'école T'ien-t'ai, récemment étudié d'après les sources chinoises par Paul Magnin.[38] La concordance chronologique entre la date de la mort de Houeisseu et celle de la naissance de Shōtoku semble avoir été utilisée dans un but de propagande par Sseu-to 思託 (VIIIe siècle), l'un des premiers missionnaires T'ien-t'ai au Japon. Pour Sseu-tö, Shōtoku était une réincarnation de Houei-sseu.[39]

En outre, pour enrichir encore davantage la biographie de Shōtoku, le *Denryaku*, plus explicitement que le *Nihon Shoki*, semble avoir emprunté à la biographie d'un autre prince héritier, le futur Śākyamuni.

Considérons d'abord la naissance de Shōtoku. Nous trouvons dans le *Denryaku*, mais pas dans la légende plus ancienne de Shōtoku Taishi, un cas de docétisme bien connu dans la légende de Śākyamuni où il fut étudié par Alfred Foucher.[40]

Dans le *Denryaku*, la conception de Shōtoku, en 571 (1er mois de la 32e année de Kinmei) est une sorte de parthénogénèse. Comme le roi Śuddhodana, le futur empereur Yomei accepte de perdre son rōle de père. Au lieu de l'éléphant du rêve de la reine Māyā, nous avons dans la légende japonaise un moine qui est seulement désigné par sa couleur: le "religieux à couleur d'or" (Konjikisō 金色僧). Nous avons déjà observé le leit-motiv de l'homme d'or en rapport avec le rêve de Han Ming-ti et avec l'inspiration des trois *Commentaires* de Shōtoku Taishi. Ce moine se présente à l'épouse du futur empereur Yomei comme un "*bodhisatlva* sauveur du monde" (Guse Bosatsu 救世菩薩), une référence implicite, comme nous l'avons vu, à Avalokiteśvara. Il vient de la région de l'Ouest, ce qui est typiquement amidiste. Il déclare que, conformément à son vœu, il souhaite prendre résidence (*juku* 宿) en ses entrailles (*fuku* 腹). Elle répond que ses entrailles sont souillées, mais néanmoins le moine se réduit à une taille minuscule et s'introduit dans la bouche de la princesse qui devient enceinte. Je ne connais pas d'autre récit analogue à cette étrange légende sur l'origine de Shōtoku, mais S. Anderson a montré qu'une naissance miraculeuse, laissant à l'écart le père, est une donnée commune dans les légendes des saints personnages du Japon.[41]

La naissance elle-même se produit durant une sortie de la princesse, comme ce fut le cas de la reine Māyā. Suivant une explication bien établie, le nom du futur régent, Umayado 厩戸, vient de l'écurie (*uma-yado* 馬屋戸) en face de laquelle la princesse accoucha de Shōtoku.

Dans les récits de la jeunesse de Shōtoku, il y a à nouveau plusieurs ressemblances avec la biographie du futur Śākyamuni: excellence dans les études, dans les exercices physiques. Beaucoup de ces notations, en particulier, l'anecdote selon laquelle il se soumit de lui-même à une punition par son père, semblent être hagiographiques. Plus généralement, l'importance accordée à des épisodes de l'enfance de Shōtoku, comme aussi de l'enfance de plusieurs éminentes figures du Japon, et leur représentation en "[Saints] enfants" (*dōji* 童子) semblent être une caractéristique de la religiosité japonaise. Ce thème semble moins développé dans le bouddhisme indien ou chinois. En outre, en ce qui concerne le terme "*taishi*" (太子), c.-à-d. "Prince héritier", qui est le titre le plus habituellement donné à Shōtoku, on notera que dans les textes bouddhiques, le terme sanskrit *kumāra* est traduit soit par *dōji*, c.-à-d. enfant, soit par *taishi*, prince héritier.[42]

Le fait que Shōtoku est resté un laïc et est devenu le prince héritier et le régent (kōtaishi 皇太子) pour sa tante, l'impératrice Suiko, qui lui survécut, montre que sa carrière suivit la voie du roi *Cakravartin*, non celle du *Buddha*. Néanmoins, l'histoire de sa vie contient encore de nombreux événements imprégnés de signification religieuse.

L'un de ces événements est le choc que subit Shōtoku quand il fut témoin du combat entre une biche et un chien (*Denryaku*, 3e mois de la 22e année de Suiko). Cela nous rappelle, même dans le choix des termes, le spectacle de petits animaux occupés à s'entretuer, spectacle qui, selon certaines traditions, emmena le futur Śākyamuni à sa première méditation sous l'arbre *jambu*. Shōtoku se réfère immédiatement à la doctrine bouddhique bien connue de la transmigration: dans une existence antérieure, ces animaux devaient être des êtres humains se haissant mutuellement. Dans le cas de Śākyamuni, une version seulement de cette légende lie le spectacle à la loi du *karman*. Ce lien dans l'esprit du Bodhisattva se rapporte au futur: ces massacres vont encore entraîner de plus désastreuses conséquences. C'est une raison supplémentaire pour quitter ce monde déprimant aussi rapidement que possible.[43]

On pourrait encore dire plus sur l'adaptation de thèmes de la légende du Buddha dans la biographie de figures nationales du Japon. Il n'est pas étonnant que quelques siècles plus tard l'"héroïsation" de Shōtoku Taishi avait tellement bien réussi que la relation semble s'être inversée. Ce fut le futur Śākymuni qui fut représenté sous les traits du prince héritier Shōtoku dans un sūtra illustré du XIIIe siècle,[44] une nouvelle moûture du *Kako genzai ingakyō emaki* 過去現在因. Le texte de cet *emaki*, une vie de Śākyamuni (*T.* 189), proche du *Buddhacarita* et traduite en chinois au Ve siècle, fut l'objet d'une illustration archaïque durant la période Nara 果經繪卷. (VIIIe siècle) et à nouveau d'une illustration modernisante, celle dont il est question ici, durant la période Kamakura 奈良 (1183–1331). Ce processus d'assimilation ne fut pas limité à Shōtoku Taishi. Une étude récente[45] a montré que les représentations populaires de la mort des grandes figures du bouddhisme japonais, Hōnen 鎌倉 et Nichiren 法然, étaient souvent inspirées de la mise en scène du *Parinirvāṇa* du Buddha.

Notes

* Version révisée d'une communication faite à la 5e conférence de l'Association internationale d'études bouddhiques à Oxford, le 21 août 1982.

1 *Mahācaṃsa*, chap. XIV, éd. par W. Geiger, Pāli Text Society, London, 1908; trad. par W-Geiger et M.H. Bode, *The Mahāvaṃsa or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon*, nouvelle édition avec addendum par G.C. Mendis, P.T.S., 1964.

2 Voir R.E. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts concerning Khotan*, London Oriental Series 19, London, 1969, et son appendice traitant de *T.* 2090 par E.N. Pulleyblank.

3 Chapitre d'introduction (序品) du *Chan kien liu pi-po-sha* 善見律毘婆沙 *T.*XXIV 1462 II 686c18–III 689b22 correspondant au *Bāhira nidāna vaṇṇanā* de la *Samantopāsādikā*, éd. par J. Takakusu, M. Nagai, P.T.S. 1924, vol. I, p. 71.4–p. 82.4. Traductions du pāli: N.A. Jayawickrama, *The Inception of Discipline and the Vinaya Nidāna*, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, London, 1962, pp. 63–72; et du chinois: P.V. Bapat, A. Hirakawa, Bhandarkar Oriental Series 10, Poona, 1970, pp. 50–60.

4 "Le songe et l'ambassade de l'empereur Ming: Etude critique des sources", *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* X, 1910, pp. 95–130. Voir aussi E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, Leiden, 1959, vol. I, p. 20.

5 Extrait d'un texte perdu: *Silla Pongi* 新羅本記, *T.*XLIX 2039 III 987b2–c20.

6 Extr. de la biographie du moine Sŏk Pŏp-kong 釋法空, i.e. le roi Pŏp-hŭng 法興

(*T.* L 2065 I 1018c7–1019a25). Traduction: *Lives of Eminent Korean Monks, The Haedong Kosūng chōn*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies XXV, 1959, pp. 58–61.

7 Nous utilisions l'édition commentée de la collection *Iwanami Koten Bungaku Taikei* 岩波古典文學大系, vol. 68, Tōkyō, 1965.

8 "Japanische Annalen A.D. 592–697 = Nihongi, Buch XXII–XXX", *Mitteilungen der deutschen Gessellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, Tōkyō, 1903.

9 *Nihongi, Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, publié en 1896; réimprimé, Rutland et Tōkyō, 1972.

10 *Dai Nihon Bukkyō Zensho* 大日本佛教全書 (nouvelle édition, abr. *DNBZ*), vol. 71, n° 543.

11 *DNBZ*, vol. 71, n° 546.

12 *Genkō Shakusho* 元亨釋書 in *DNBZ*, vol. 62, n° 470, xvii, p. 153a 18–20. A ce sujet, voir G. Renondeau, "La date de l'introduction du bouddhisme au Japon", *T'oung Pao* XLVIII, 1–2, 1959, p. 17–19; et J. Kamstra, *Encounter or Syncrelism, The Initial Growth of Japanese Buddhism*, Leiden, 1967, p. 246 sq.

13 Voir E. Lamotte, *Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*, vol. I, Louvain, 1944, p. 25–26; Yamada Ryūjō 山田龍城, *Daijō Bukkyō Seiritsuron Jōsetsu* 大乘佛教成立論序說, Heirakuji 平樂寺, Kyōto, 1959, pp. 523–532.

14 *T.* XLIX 2039 iii 987b10.

15 *T.* XVI 665 i 406a17–20, vi 432b12–13, iii 413a26, x 455a16–17. Traduit par J. Nobel, Leiden, 1958.

16 Voir Renondeau, *art. cit.*, p. 21.

17 Hanawa Shobō 塙書房, Tōkyō, 1969, p. 168–177.

18 *Op. cit.*, p. 172–173.

19 E. Lamotte, "Prophéties relatives à la disparition de la Bonne Loi", in R. de Berval éd., *Présence du Bouddhisme*, Saigon, 1959, pp. 657–663. Voir aussi E. Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*, Louvain, 1958, pp. 210–222.

20 *T.* XVI 665 x 451b10. Cf. aussi Tamura Enchō, "Early Buddhism in Japan", in *Bulletin of the Faculty of Literature, Kyushu University*, XIII, 1971, p. 30–31.

21 Cf. Takeda Choten 竹田暢典, "Kodai Nihon ni okeru Bukkyō kyōten no juyō" 古代日本における仏教経典の受容, *Taishō Daigaku Kenkyū kiyō* 63, 1977, pp. 1–23.

22 Son chapitre VII est consacré aux *Catur-mahārājā*.

23 Le Jātaka du Prince Mahāsattva dans *T.* XVI 663 (trad. de Dharmakṣema) iv 354a19–356c18. Voir aussi E. Lamotte, *Traité*, I, p. 143, note 1.

24 *Jōgū Shōloku Hōō Teisetsu no kenkyū* 上宮聖德法王帝說の研究, Sanseidō 三省堂, Tōkyō, 1949.

25 *Jōgū Shōtoku Taishi Den Hoketsuki no kenkyū* 上宮聖德太子傳補闕記の研究, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, Tōkyō, 1980.

26 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Tōkyō, 1940.

27 *Taishi shinkō no kenkyū* 太子信仰の研究, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, Tōkyō, 1980.

28 "Une inscription japonaise de l'an 623", *Etudes Asiatiques*, 25ᵉ anniversaire de l'EFEO, Paris; 1925, pp. 402–432.

29 "La littérature historique du Japon, des origines aux Ashikaga", *BEFEO* III, 1903, p. 576–580. Cf. aussi E. Gaspardone, "La chronologie ancienne du Japon", *Journal Asiatique*, avril-juin 1938, p. 235.

30 Une bonne analyse chronologique des activités bouddhiques de Leang Wou-ti se trouve dans *Mochizuki Bukkyō Daijiten* 望月佛教大辭典, Tōkyō, 1933, s.v. Butei (vol. V, p. 4481a–4482c.) et dans l'étude de Suwa Gijun 諏訪義純, "A Study of Liang Wu Ti's Buddhist Chronology", *Bukkyō Shigaku kenkyū* 佛教史學研究 26, I (1983), p. 72–94 et 2 (1984), p. 45–76.

31 Sur les relations "bouddhiques" entre la dynastie des Leang et le royaume de Paekche, cf. *Léang chou* 梁書 dans Ōta Akira 太田亮, *Nikkan kodaishi shiryō*

日韓古代史資料, *Isobe Kōyōdō* 磯部甲陽堂, Tōkyō, 1927, p. 63; entre Leang et Silla, cf. *T.* XLIX 2039 iii 987c23.

32 *Shōloku Taishi shū* 聖徳太子集, Nihon shisō taikei 日本思想大系, vol. 2, Iwanami, Tōkyō, 1975.

33 *Shōtoku Taishi, Shōmu Tennō, Kōmyō Kōgo* 聖徳太子・聖武天皇・光明皇后, *Shodō Geijutsu* 書道藝術 vol. II, Chūō kōron 中央公論, Tōkyō, 1976.

34 Voir Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, s.v. (vol. I, p. 677b–678a).

35 *T.* I 1 VIII 50c8; *T.* II 125 XVII 632a7–19; cf. E. Lamotte, *Traité*, I., p. 483, n. 2; Louis de la Vallée Poussin, *Abhidharmakośa*, réimpr. M.C.B. XVI, Bruxelles, 1970, III, p. 28.

36 A comparer avec *Paṅsukūl* au Cambodge, en Thailande et au Laos, cf. F. Bizot, *Le don de soi-même, Recherches sur le bouddhisme khmer* III, Publication de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, CXXX, Paris, 1981.

37 *T.* I. 1 IV 26b18.

38 *La vie et l'oeuvre de Huisi* 慧思 *(515–577), Les origines de la secte bouddhique chinoise du Tiantai*, PEFEO CXVI, Paris, 1979.

39 *Jōgū Shōtoku Taishi Bosatsu Den* 上宮聖徳太子菩薩傳, *DNBZ*, vol. 71, n. 544.

40 *Vie du Buddha*, Paris 1949, p. 32–44.

41 "Legends of Holy Men in Early Japan", *Monumenta Serica* XXVIII (1969), p. 293.

42 Cf. E. Zürcher, "Prince Moonlight", *T'oung Pao* LXVIII, 1982, p. 24, 45; et Carmen Blacker, "The Divine Boy in Japanese Buddhism", *Asian Folklore Studies* XXII, 1963, p. 77–88.

43 Cf. H. Durt, "La 'visite aux laboureurs' et la 'méditation sous l'arbre *Jambu*' dans les biographies sanskrites et chinoises du Buddha", *Indological and Buddhist Studies in Honour of Prof. J. W. de Jong*, Canberra, 1982, pp. 110–111.

44 Rouleau peint, daté de 1254, par Keinin 慶忍 et Shōjurnaru 聖衆丸, l[e] partie au Musée Nezu 根津, Tōkyō; 2[e] partie au Musée Gotō 五島, Tōkyō. Cf. *E-ingakyō* 絵因果経, *Nihon Emakimono zenshu* 日本絵巻物全集, vol. I, Kadokawa 角川, Tōkyō, 1977, pp. 58–62.

45 Gangōji Bunkazai kenkyūsho 元興寺文化財研究所, *Bukkyō hō: no chōsa — Nehaṇ-e chōsa hōkokusho* 佛教法會の調査・涅槃會調査報告書 Nara, 1978, fig. 30–34.

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TWO INTERPRETATIONS OF HUMAN-FLESH OFFERING

Misdeed or supreme sacrifice*

Hubert Durt

Source: *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies (Kokosai Bukkyogaku daigakuin daigaku kenkyu kiyo)* 1 (1998): 236–210.

The offering of one's own body is a leitmotif of the Sūtras of the Great Vehicle. One can find many examples like the following stanzas from the prologue to the *Lotus Sūtra*[1]:

> *Then I see bodhisattvas by whom*
> *Bodily flesh, hands and feet,*
> *Even wives and children are presented*
> *In quest of the Unexcelled Path*
> *Again, I see bodhisattvas by whom*
> *Heads and eyes, torso and limbs*
> *Are joyously presented*
> *In quest of the Buddha's wisdom.*

Such offerings occupy an important place among the edifying tales of the *Jātakas* and the *Avadānas*. Some of these tales, depicted in paintings and sculptures, became famous throughout most of the Buddhist world. Let us mention two of the most well-known tales: the King of the Śibis[2] who cut off a piece of his own flesh equivalent in weight to a dove that he wished to protect from a ferocious hawk; or Prince Mahāsattva[3] who threw himself off a cliff in order to feed a hungry tigress and her cubs. In the *Jātakas*, the offering of human flesh as food seems to be made only to carnivorous animals or anthropophagical *yakṣas* or similar non-human beings. Such offerings belong to a category different from the offering of the eyes or limbs, which are mostly given to human beings, who request the offering or need it to replace their own body part. A well-represented theme in the Mahayanic literature is the rather purified version of the body offering found in relation to the worship of the book[4]: blood is used as ink, marrow as water, bones as *calamus*, and skin as paper.

The case that will be studied below belongs to yet another category. The offering is made for medicinal purposes. Several tales include descriptions of human marrow or blood being used as an ointment or potion. It is the case in the story called by Lamotte "Candraprabhajātaka"[5]) of which interesting variants have been collected by Anna Seidel[6] and Iyanaga Nobumi[7]: a prince who has never felt hate, whose marrow is needed as an ointment and his blood as a potion in order to save sick people. In the rather homogenous collection of tales that will be described here, the life of a human being is to be saved through the consumption of a piece of human flesh, the cutting off of which generally does not put the life of the donor in jeopardy. Although we are confronted with two different scenarios, the core of the edifying tale or anecdote is the same in two well-known Mahāyāna texts: the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*[8] and the Mahayanic *Mahā-parinirvāṇa-sūtra*.[9] Both traditions can be read as extensions of "Hinayanic" rules about medicines (*bhaiṣajya*) in the monastic disciplinary collections known as Vinaya that will be also part of this survey.

The offering of one's own flesh to save another person's life can be considered from several standpoints. Well known is the Buddhist opposition to excessive asceticism, which other Indian religious traditions[10] have seen as a source of superpowers. The Buddhist "Middle Way"[11] treads between the two extremes of hedonism and asceticism, both of which were practiced by the Buddha himself before his awakening. Nevertheless, there are "mortifications" praised by Buddhists. The term "mortification" is used here deliberately in its strongest meaning, which is close to *chöchen* (sino-japanese: *shashin*) 捨身 meaning "renunciation of one's own body". Apparently, none of the Sanskrit equivalents proposed in the new *Buddhist Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary* by A. Hirakawa[12]—*ātmabhāva*-or *svadeha-parityāga*, *kāyasya nikṣepam*, *śarīra-bheda*—ever enjoyed the wide currency that the Chinese term did. As expected, the renunciation of the body in order to make an offering of it can be compared to suicide. As our case study does not lead to that extremity, I will not deal with that kind of suicidal offering, which appears in famous chapters of the *Lotus Sūtra* and of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*,[13,14]) and has been studied by Jacques Gernet[15] and by Jean Filliozat[16].

Let us only remark here that the offering of the body is at the junction of some of the main virtues of Buddhist ethics: the perfections (*pāramitā*) of giving (*dāna*), of energy (*vīrya*), and of patience (*kṣānti*), with all of them subsumed in the super-virtue of compassion (*karuṇā*). As we know from the *Lotus* and *Samādhirāja* examples quoted above, the best of these renunciations of the body have been offered to the Buddha, but they can also be made to the Dharma[17] and to the Saṃgha, as well as to sentient beings. We will see that all the offerings of human flesh considered here are made in order to heal a member of the Saṃgha, whom we can see through our texts, from the *Nidānas* (tales about the origins of certain rules) in the Vinayas to the Mahayanic episodes, evolving into a more and more eminent monk.

All these texts tell of the voluntary sacrifice by a donor of a piece of his or

her own flesh. There are three basic elements present in all the narratives: 1. the donor is a woman (except in a Chinese translation limited to the relevant chapter of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*[18]); 2. the woman offers a piece of her thigh (*ūru-māṃsa*); 3. the person who eats the flesh is a sick monk. Methodologically speaking, this particular form of cannibalism can be found at the junction of two types of cannibalism, according to its classification by anthropologists and historians, i.e., survival cannibalism, and medical use of human flesh.[19]

The Vinaya tradition

An extensive study on the subject would include examination of numerous texts, Buddhist and non-Buddhist. Our survey will limit itself to the six complete Vinayas and to two Mahayanic Sūtras. We will start with the *Nidānas* of the Vinayas, which in the section on remedies (*bhaisṣajya*) forbid monks to use human flesh. Concerning the broader field of flesh-eating (肉食), i.e., animal-flesh eating, I refer the reader to the recent studies by Shimoda Masahiro.[20] One more observation has to be made about the Vinaya tradition: in the Vinaya attributed to the Haimavatas, which is extant only in Chinese translation and is reduced to its articles (*mātṛkā*), thus without any *nidāna*, there is one probably archaic category of ten abject misdeeds.[21] The Chinese term for this category, 偸蘭遮, corresponding to the Pāli *thullaccaya* and to the Sanskrit *sthūlātyaya*, is well known elsewhere but in a different and perhaps late meaning. It seems that originally the category of *sthūlātyaya* was intended for ten abject misdeeds,[22] six of which consisted of abuses against the human body: eating human flesh, using human skin, cutting pubic and underarm hair, using medicinal anal suppositories, using human hair for dress-making, and adhering to nakedness.

The *nidānas* of the prohibition against eating human flesh in the six complete Vinayas seem to be the prototypes of the edifying tales discussed in the second part of our survey: the offering of the thigh flesh in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* and the sacrifice of the Princess in the *Jñānavatī-parivarta* of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*.

Let us remember a few points about the six complete Vinayas well described in the fundamental works by Erich Frauwallner[23] and Hirakawa Akira,[24] in the overview of Etienne Lamotte,[25] in the bibliographical survey of Akira Yuyama[26] and in the repertory of tales compiled by Jampa Losang Panglung.[27] Four of the five Vinayas extant in Chinese were translated into Chinese during roughly the same period: the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth century. For the issue that we study here, we can group them roughly into three classes. This classification, which can be extended to many vinayic analyses, (1) isolates the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya,[28] perhaps the oldest text and one that preserves many original elements; (2) groups together the Mahīṣāsaka[29] and the Dharmagupta[30] Vinayas, which seem to be related to the Pāli Vinaya of the Theravādins[31]; and (3) sets in a third group the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins,[32] akin to the bulky Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins,[33] whose later translation into

Chinese in the early eighth century does not mean that its contents are of later origin than the more systematic divisions of the five other and shorter Vinayas.

There are other versions of our edifying tale that are close to the Vinaya tradition of the Sarvāstivādin group. They belong to the Abhidharmic *Mahāvibhāṣā*[34] and to the Collection of *Avadānas* "Sūtra of the Wise and of the Fool."[35] They could not be included in the present survey.

The material that we study here is a drama with a happy ending. Its basic scenario is the same in all six Vinayas but there is much variation among the secondary episodes. Its plot can be outlined in a few words: unable to buy a remedy made of flesh for a sick monk who is in dire need of it, a laywoman (*upāsikā*) cuts off a piece of her own thigh, cooks it and serves it to the monk, who recovers his health without knowing the origin of the salvific dish. The woman is married to a layman (*upāsaka*) who is absent at the moment of her sacrifice. The Buddha intervenes to prohibit the use of human flesh and in most cases to heal the woman. In all these cases (the exception being the *Mahāsāṃghika* Vinaya), the Buddha is introduced as having been invited as a guest to a meal at the house of the two lay people before the woman's sacrifice, and as coming to the house shortly after she has cut off a lump of her flesh. The visit of the Buddha seems to be unconnected to the monk's illness.

In this drama, there are four main characters:

(1) The compassionate laywoman who not only cuts off her own flesh but also cooks it. The distinction between raw meat and cooked meat plays a role in the Vinayic rules (as in the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*). It is obvious that the human flesh has to be disguised or the monk will not eat it. It can be pointed out that by cutting off her flesh, the laywoman puts her own life in jeopardy. The miracle of her recovery shows her the compassion and the power of the Buddha. The behaviour of the laywoman is exemplary as she fulfills her *upāsikā* vow to take care of the needs of the Saṃgha, which are clothes, lodging, and, more relevant to the present case, food and medicine. It is for that reason that she is exalted among the holy *upāsikās* in the *Anguttara-nikāya*[36] and in the *Milinda-pañha*.[37]

(2) The sick monk, who is an ambiguous figure. He calls for the laywoman's help but does not pay close attention to the meal served him. In some of the narratives (Mahāsāṃghika and the three related to the Pāli), when he recovers from his illness, he is reprimanded for not having asked the origin of his remedy. In the other narratives, the holiness that he gains from such a cure is emphasized. This holiness adds also to the merits of the woman donor. The Mahāsāṃghikas depict him as the saviour of the lady as he is informed by a *yakṣa* about the pain she endured for him. It is an important feature of that Vinaya that she is healed by the strength of the monk's concentration on benevolence (*maitri-samādhi*) and not by the Buddha, who intervenes only to legislate, after having been informed of rumors about the monk's anthropophagy.

(3) The husband of the compassionate woman, who is a rather marginal figure. Like his wife, he is a lay disciple of the Buddha. In the Vinayas of the Sarvāstivādin group, it is the woman whose riches and generosity allow her to take charge of the Buddha and his group during a complete retreat season (*varṣa*). In the other traditions, it is the husband who is offering a meal to the Buddha and his group. The reactions of the husband range from admiration and boasting to anxiety and irritation about the sacrifice made by his wife, which he learns about only after the fact. His absence at the crucial moment and his obligation to act as host to the Buddha during the sickness of his wife are constant elements of the tradition.
(4) The Buddha. He intervenes as a healer in only five narratives, while in the Mahāsāṃghika tradition it is the monk who heals the woman. The complete healing by the Buddha of the wounded thigh is effected either through the vision (*darśana*) that the lady receives from the Buddha in his presence or, according to the Sarvāstivādin group, by a long distance intervention by the Buddha, who is a guest in her house but does not enter her room. In the Vinaya account, the main role of the Buddha is the preliminary examination of the monk's misdeed and the setting of an appropriate new rule. Therefore he asks the monk a few questions and proclaims that eating human flesh is a serious abject misdeed (Pāli: *thullaccaya*, Sanskrit: *sthūlātyaya*, 偸蘭遮); to do it without having investigated the origin of the dish is a wrongdoing (Pāli: *dukkaṭa*, Sanskrit: *duṣkṛta*, 突吉羅).

Secondary figures are, first, the slave-women who are in charge of buying (without success) meat at the market, cooking their mistress's flesh and bringing it to the sick monk, and, second, the physician introduced in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya. In the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya, a *deus ex machina* is the *yakṣa* who informs the monk of the sufferings of his lady benefactor.

Looking at the setting and onomastics, we see that for the Mahāsāṃghikas, the events occur in Śrāvastī, in Vaiśālī for the Mahīśāsakas and in Benares for the rest of the tradition, with the Buddha arriving there from Rājagaha in the Pāli Vinaya. As for the name of the heroine, one first notices that she always bears a feminine version of her husband's name. It is Suppiyā in Pāli, and we can reconstruct the Sanskrit Supriyā from the Chinese transliteration by the Mahāsāṃghikas as well as by the Mahīṣāsakas and the Dharmaguptas. In the other traditions, her name is Mahāsenā, "Great Army", (Sarvāstivādins, Gilgit manuscript of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, as well as *Mahāvibhāṣā*,[38] "Woman Great Army" 大軍女 (*Chinese Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya*). We find a Chinese transliteration based on Mahāsenadattā in the Mahayanic *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*. In the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Fool*,[39] the husband is called Mahāsena and his wife Upasenā or Mahā-Upasenā. In a Song-period enumeration of virtuous ladies nursing sick people we find 大軍 and 善愛 (Supriyā), both of Benares.[40] In the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya, the monk is called Supriya, similar to the name of the layman and the laywoman, and he profits from that homonymy to be fed by

them when claiming the title of their preceptor (*ācārin*). Such insistence on a family relation between the man who receives the human flesh and the woman who gives it could be an echo of a certain type of anthropophagy, endophagy, of which there are traces in Chinese society, but perhaps also in Indian society.[41]

The motives for the action are, on the one hand, the sickness of the monk, whom the woman's vows commit her to take care of, and, on the other hand, the distressing coincidence that the monk's sickness occurs on a day when slaughtering is forbidden and thus also the selling of meat in the marketplace.

In the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya, the monk's sickness is only described as a disharmony among the elements, necessiting a meat broth. The Mahīṣāsakas and the Dharmaguptas refer to a more specific sickness characterized by vomiting. The Pāli Vinaya mentions also a meat broth (*paṭicchādaniya*), which is authorized in the same Vinaya,[42] as a remedy against a purgative taken by the monk. The Mūlasarvāsitvādins introduce a physician arguing about the peril of death for the monk and recommending meat broth. Once again we find parallelism in the description of the sickness in the Vinaya of the Múlasarvástivādins and in the Mahayanic Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra.

About the killing and slaughtering prohibition, the Mahāsāṃghikas refer to the classical term, "ritual day."[43] The Pāli Vinaya uses the expressive term, *Mā ghāta*, "Do not kill!" The Chinese translation of that term figures in similar renditions in the Vinayas of the Mahīṣāsakas and the Dharmaguptas, of the Sarvāstivadins and the Mūlasarvāstivādins. This prohibition is attributed to King Prasenajit by the Mahīṣāsakas (who locate the events in Vaiśālī), to King Brahmadatta by the Sarvāstivādins (who locate the events in Benares) and to a birth in the king's family by the Mūlasarvāstivādins. The same Mūlasarvāstivādins tell about the monk himself ordering a slavewoman to make an unsuccesful trip to the market and giving her money (*karṣā*-paṇa) for the shopping. In the other Chinese Vinayas, the laywoman herself goes to the market, but in the Pāli Vinaya it is a servant *antevāsin* who makes the trip. In almost every tradition the laywoman is helped by a servant to cook her own flesh.

The crucial episode is the woman's sacrifice of a part of her thigh. She is always described as acting alone in a secluded room and using a sharp knive (a butcher's knife [*potthanikā*] according to the Pāli). The Mahāsāṃghikas refer to a seasoning that the lady had already prepared before her mutilation and that she uses for the cooking. Details vary on the cooking. The lady is now rather incapacitated and must request the help of a servant. It is generally said that the dish had to be boiled, and the Mūlasarvāstivādins add that the flesh had to be minutely hacked and boiled in order to get an attractive broth. The qualification of "delicious" (美) in its culinary meaning is still in use today and is found in most of the traditions. The Mahāsāṃghikas add that the servant first washed the hands of the monk.

The retreat of the suffering woman is described in detail in the Pāli: "having rolled her upper-garment above her thigh (*uttarāsaṅgena ūruṃ veṭhetvā*), having reached an inner room (*ovarakaṃ pavisitvā*), she laid down on a bed (*mañcake*

nipajji)." But the Chinese versions put more emphasis on the return of her husband, whom she was unable to greet. We have seen above the reactions of the husband. Let us point out once again the originality of the Mahāsāṃghikas. With a rather ironical touch, they mention that he was furious at the self-mutilation of his wife, but after her recovery he returned to his shop to boast of the energy of his wife to his employees who were surprised that the *śramaṇas Śākyaputras* needed to eat human flesh. It was that reaction that motivated the immediate intervention of the Buddha.

The Sarvāstivādins call the pain of the mutilated laywoman a sickness of the wind element, i.e., a sickness that is often mental.[44] It must reflect her intense pain and the fact that she is near death. The most sympathetic description of her pain and anguish is given in the Dharmagupta Vinaya.

Such a great sacrifice must receive compensation in a final apotheosis, consisting in the restoration of the lady's thigh to its original state, including its hair (*succhavi lomajāto*) as pointed out by the Pāli Vinaya. From a religious standpoint, this episode is important. As said before, the Mahāsāṃghika tradition is here alone in attributing the woman's healing to the effects of the *maitrisamādhi* of the healed monk who had been informed of her pain by a *yakṣa*. The Buddha, having heard a rumor about the anthropophagy of his monks, is concerned only with the monk, whom he reprimands, and not with the woman. The remaining tradition praises the Buddha coming to the house at the invitation of the husband who has had to take charge of the meal preparation by himself during the night preceding the arrival of the Buddha.

As the Mahāsāmghikas represent a completely different tradition, we must look at the other texts for the details of the Buddha's visit. The group of the Pāli, Mahīṣāsaka and Dharmagupta Vinayas describes the miracle as happening just when the Buddha arrives, before the meal. In contrast, for the Sarvāstivādins, it happens after the meal, which is not mentioned at all by the Mūlasarvāstivādins. The sick lady is healed through the vision (*dassana*) of the Buddha according to the Pāli; she has to be called three times by the Buddha before showing herself to him in a sick woman's dress, according to the Mahīṣāsakas; and the Dharmaguptas explain that she hoped for the vision of the Buddha and of the Saṃgha and that the sudden healing occurred when she left her bed. In what seems to be a special attention to formalities, the Sarvāstivādins report that after the meal the husband had first to announce to his wife that the Buddha was calling for her before she could recover.

In the same tradition connected to the visit of the Buddha, we find variations in the content of the Buddha's sermon to the lay couple. There is no mention of a sermon in the Pāli Vinaya. According to the Mahīṣāsakas, the Buddha referred to the well-known famine he endured during a *varṣa* in Verañjā[45]: is it to be understood as a reprimand of the sick monk? According to the Dharmaguptas, the Buddha insisted on the point that the lady must practice giving without inflicting pain on herself and without becoming overly impassioned in her zeal for other people. In the Sarvāstivādin group, emphasis is put on spiritual

rewards. According to the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins, the laywoman reaches the second stage (*sakṛdāgāmin*) and her husband only the first stage (*srotaā-panna*) on the four-stage graduated path to Arhantship. The Mūlasarvāstivādins adopt a Mahayanic approach: the Buddha acknowledges that the woman is able to perform *bodhisattva* conduct. She replies that it is easy to possess a body but that one has to cross thousands of *kalpas* before having the opportunity to meet a *Baghavat*.

Before the prohibition of the use of human flesh, which is the scope of the Vinaya, there is a questioning of the monk, again in a few different versions. One can distinguish two main currents: in the first, represented by the Pāli, Mahīṣāsaka and Dharmagupta Vinayas, the monk is made to look ridiculous; in the second, his lack of discernment does not impede his progress toward a level of holiness higher than that which he was already reaching before his sickness. The lack of a preliminary enquiry, which is an obligation of still other rules of the Vinaya, is viewed as a transgression in the Pāli Vinaya. The monk is called stupid by the Mahīṣāsakas when he responds to the Buddha that the dish was tasty and by the Dharmaguptas when he says that it was not only good but unusual. The Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya takes a middle path in saying that the benefactor is healed by the holy power of the monk himself but having the monk accuse himself of not having performed the necessary "fixation" on the dish. The Mūlasarvāstivādins set the story in an *avadāna* frame: through multiple rebirths the donor and the monk, promoted to Arhantship, had been exchanging the roots of goodness (*kuśala-mūla*).

The prohibition of human flesh is expressed in different forms in the different Vinayas. The Mahāsāṃghikas do not assign the prohibition and the lack of "fixation" by the monk to a specific category of fault. As already mentioned, the Pāli Vinaya divides the monk's mistakes into *thullacayya* and *dukkaṭa*. The Dharmaguptas point out the *duṣkṛta*, the keeping in a reserve of food which has already been bitten. The Sarvāstivādins state that eating human flesh, fat, blood and nerves is a serious and abject misdeed, but that eating human bones is no sin. There is perhaps here a reminder of the consumption of boiled human bones in case of famine (*śvetāsthi durbhikṣa* 白骨飢饉), which is referred to in the *Abhidharmakośa*,[46] and which probably reflects the distinction between the consumption of raw meat (*ômophageia*) and of cooked meat. In the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvastivādins, where the promulgation is mixed with problems of monastic organization, it is stated that the consumption of human flesh is indeed a serious and abject misdeed, and the lack of investigation into the origin of the dish is classed among the minor sins called "transgressions" (越法罪).

Here ends the first part of our survey, limited to the Vinaya and to what can be called the "Hinayanic" tradition. There is, I think, an undeniable interest in a case study, a "tranche de vie," showing us some aspects (meat markets, prohibition days, etc.) of Indian urban life in a period undatable chronologically (between the "time of the Buddha" and the translations into Pāli and Chinese made during the first centuries of the common era). Besides that, we can observe

that the generosity of the laywoman is almost uncontested but the consumption of human flesh is strongly condemned.

Mahāyāna views of human-flesh offerings

Leaving the *nidāna* tales of the Vinayas, which provide background accounts of excesses in need of reform, and reaching the edifying tales of the Mahāyāna, we often have the impression that it is not so much a question of changing doctrine (the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya already permeates Mahāyāna) but of changing atmosphere. The concrete aspects of the Vinayas are replaced by a docetic influence: again a woman or, better, a young princess sacrifices her own flesh and her own blood for a holy monk, but it seems to happen in a unreal realm of appearances. How is heroism admirable if the human body is illusion?

This change in atmosphere can be noted already in the *Jātaka* tales, classified as Hinayanic literature but very close in many cases to some Mahayanic ideals as their heros are bodhisattvas. The *Vessantara Jātaka*,[47] admittedly a rather late creation, but still today the most popular Jātaka, introduces a prince who reaches the supreme wisdom through the most extreme gifts: all his possessions, his children, his wife. In some Chinese and overtly Mahayanic versions of this tale, he is also asked for his eyes. Other famous *Jātakas* culminate in gifts of flesh to hungry animals or non-human beings — not, as far as I know, to a human being in order to heal him or her. The result of this insistance on extreme gifts appears to be the bodhisattva's cliché of numerous Mahāyāna Sūtras and Śāstras. The two main facets of his giving propensities are that he can be asked either for his possessions, including his wife and children, or for his own body or parts of it: eyes, brain, limbs.[48]

Just as there is uncertainty about the Indian chronology of the Vinayas, most of them translated into Chinese during the same period, there are many uncertainties about the chronology of the much wider realm of the Mahāyāna Sūtras. Among them, the *Samādhirāja-Sūtra* seems to be a rather old text that was very influential during the first millennium of the common era. On the other end, the Mahayanic *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, which includes several quotations from earlier Mahāyāna Sūtras, seems to belong to what Lamotte has called the "second wave" of Mahayanic literature.[49] We will first examine the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, because its tale is the closest to the Vinaya *nidānas* investigated in the first part of this study.

Given the numerous but very short Sanskrit fragments of this text found mostly in Central Asia and in Japan, and the Tibetan translation based on a Sanskrit text, we can believe in the historicity of the discovery by Faxian in Pātaliputra[50] of a comparatively short *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* that he translated into Chinese. There is an extended version of the same text translated by Dharmakṣema[51] and later revised[52] a few years after the translation by Faxian. The extended parts, grouping new chapters, do not correspond to any Sanskrit fragment. Moreover we know that the extended Tibetan version including these new

chapters was translated not from a Sanskrit text but from the Chinese extended version. The origin of the new chapters thus remains far from clear.

It is one of these new chapters of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* that presents the tale about the offering of flesh for medicinal purposes in terms close to those used in what we called the Sarvāstivādin group of the Vinayas. We have already seen that the Sarvāstivādins and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* share almost the same name for the heroine, called here Mahāsenadattā. We can conclude that there is no doubt about the Indian origin of this tale in the extended *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*. Due to the lasting influence of this Mahāyāna Sūtra in the Far East, this tale was introduced into the medieval literature of Japan.[53]

In the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, the episode of Mahāsenadattā[54] is presented in a concise style and in sober terms. It is permeated with the docetic spirit. Let us first point out a few differences from the Vinaya version: there is no trace here of a husband or of a day of prohibition of killing. The monk is only mentioned and no Vinaya rule is referred to. The story centers on the *upāsikā* and the Buddha. In Benares, Mahāsenadattā is in possession of "roots of goodness" going back to numerous Buddhas of the past (a theme that we have seen in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya). She wishes to offer to the Saṃgha the facilities for a ninety-day *varśa*. Informed of the sickness of a monk, she goes, without success, to the market in order to buy human meat. As a substitute, she uses her own flesh. From a distance, the Buddha, still in Śravastī, miraculously hears the invocations *Namo Buddhāya* of the suffering lady. He uses his supernatural powers to send her instantaneously a medicine that, set immediately on the wound, heals her completely. The two important points of this edifying tale are the power of the Buddha, who does not need any contact with the victim, and the merits of the generosity of Mahāsenadattā.

These two points are made clearer if we compare the Mahāsenadattā tale with the preceding tale in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*.[55] Here too we have a tale that includes similarities with the early Buddhist tradition – in this case not with the Vinaya, but with the *Therīgāthā* and the *Jātakas*, in the stories of women who have lost a child and were despairing, disheveled and naked, before being converted and becoming nuns. One of them is known as Vāseṭṭhī Therī.[56] She is known also in the *Mahāvibhāṣā*.[57] In the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, she appears as a mother, Vāśiṣṭhā, (婆私吒), who has gone mad with grief after the death of her child. She walks naked in the streets and embraces the Buddha as if he were her son. Ānanda gives her clothes, and she recovers her sanity and embarks on the way of *bodhisattva*. As for Mahāsenadattā what is emphasized is the compassion of the poor woman and the docetic power of the Buddha who was only in appearence embraced like a son.

In a Buddhist context, I think that the offering of flesh and blood has its loftiest presentation in chapter 34, "Jñānavatī-parivarta," of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*, a text that is extant in Sanskrit.[58] It is the subject of a talk between the Buddha and a bodhisattva named Candraprabha who is his main interlocutor in this sūtra. Candraprabha was also the name of the bodhisattva who offered his marrow as

ointment and his blood as potion in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* quoted above. Did the multiple and unrelated mythical existences of Candraprabha help this bodhisattva to play a messianic role[59] in Chinese Buddhism?

The most complete version of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra* in Chinese has been made by the important but comparatively late translator Narendrayaśas (517–589), well known as an introducer of apocalyptic sūtras in China. This Chinese translation in ten rolls has been incorporated in the canon under the title *Yueteng sanmei jing* 月燈三昧經, which can be reconstituted as 'Candraprabhasamādhi-sūtra'. A few observations on the reception of the tale in China will follow at the end of this article.

In the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*, we are far from the city-life atmosphere surrounding a sacrifice offered by a well-settled lady wishing to fulfill her *upāsikā*'s vows. The scene takes place in the king's palace of a kingdom situated "in the Jambudvīpa". The heroine, Jñānavatī, who gives her name to the chapter in the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*, is a sixteen-year-old princess described in flowery terms in the Sanskrit text as well as in its Chinese version. In some respects, her father, King Jñānabala, plays a role analogous to but more active than that of the husband in the Vinayas. He has the same Buddhist preceptor as his daughter: a preacher of the Law (*dharmabhāṇaka*) called Bhūtamati, whose qualities are also the object of a lengthy description. This monk is afflicted with a big black tumor (*vaisarpa*) on his thigh that is life-threatening. We see here a mirror-image as the tumored thigh of the monk Bhūtamati will be healed by the blood and flesh of the thigh of Princess Jñānavatī.

Under such circumstances, the king, his harem of eighty-thousand women, the crown-prince, the princess and their attendants, as well as all the kingdom are immersed in distress. What happens then, a premonitory dream, can be compared to the intervention of the *yakṣa*, "deus ex machina", telling of the healed *bhikṣu* and the pains of the benevolent lady, as was told in the *nidāna* of the Mahāsāmghika Vinaya. In the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*, a goddess (feminine in the Sanskrit text), who was in a former existence related to the king's family, appears in the king's dream to report that there are two remedies able to save Bhūtamati. They are raw blood and cooked flesh. The tumor has to be washed and anointed with the fresh blood of a young virgin and the sick monk has to be fed with a broth of human meat carefully cooked.

In the Sanskrit text, the princess has the same dream as the king. In the Chinese version, it seems that her role is played down. She is only informed about the king's dream when the king makes an unsuccessful plea to the ladies of his court to convince someone to consent to the sacrifice. The princess then offers herself as the sacrificial victim, insisting on the fact that she is the youngest at the palace.

In the self-sacrificial vow of the princess, as well as in the description of her self-mutilation (using a vocabulary similar to that of the Vinaya), emphasis is placed on the religious character of her act: "Through the purity of body, speech and mind, I look for unsullied wisdom", "With a sharp knife and a heart deeply

confident in the Dharma, she cut her thigh's flesh." It is made clear that the resolution of the young girl is "Mahayanic" and no longer, as in the Vinayas, bound to the vow of an *upāsikā* to support the *bhikṣus*.

The annointing of Bhūtamati's tumor and his partaking of the human flesh both occur in the presence of the king. The narrative insists on the point that the *bhikṣu* is unaware of the mutilation and untouched by any doubt about a possible infraction of a rule. He recovers his health, preaches to the harem and as a result thirteen thousand women vow to enter the Mahayanic bodhisattva's way. There is no place in the narrative for the pain of the young princess. We are reassured about her fate when the narrative halts for a lengthy verse dialogue between her and her father.

In this dialogue, which is the mouthpiece of the chapter of Jñānavatī, the various moments of the sacrifice are reviewed. The princess has to certify that the remedy was made from her own body, that she did not order the killing of anybody or use the corpse of someone already dead. When finally the king asks her how she is feeling, she answers with a minimisation of the human body and of her own suffering, which is nothing compared to the pain one has to endure in the hells. She praises the monk. Among other metaphors, she calls him a "*Stūpa of the Dharma*" which must be maintained. If he had lost his life, the *samādhi* would have perished with him. Such a statement is close to the themes found in the apocalyptic sūtras. In the last stanzas, the dialogue between the king and his daughter is replaced by prophecies (*vyakāraṇa*) concerning the future existences of the protagonists. Following the familiar pattern of Buddhist *vyakāraṇa*, we are told that the princess Jñānavatī, in a non-feminine reincarnation will become a preacher of the Law (*dharmabhāṇaka*) under the Buddha Dīpaprabha, and thereafter the Buddha Śākyamuni himself. Her father King Jñānabala will become Maitreya, and the *bhikṣu* Bhūtamati will become the Buddha Dīpaṃkāra. The ordinary believers are enjoined to take refuge in the Buddha Akṣobhya. This feature shows that this text does not belong to the Amidist current. The last injunction is an appeal to avoid quarrelling.

We have seen that in the *Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra* the offering of the flesh occurs in a docetic context with the Buddha exercising his miraculous healing power from afar. In the *Samādhirāja-sūtra* also, the docetic context of the "Jñānavatī-parivarta" is better understood by comparison with the two other tales with which this thirty-fourth chapter is associated: "Kṣemadatta-parivarta" (Chapter 33) and the "Supuṣpacandra-parivarta" (Chapter 35). In the "Kṣemadatta-parivarta", studied by Jean Filliozat,[61] the Bodhisattva Kṣemadatta burns his own hand in order to make it a torch honouring a *caitya*; in the "Supuṣpacandra-parivarta," Supuṣpacandra is a bodhisattva who endures torture and dies in a period of declining *Dharma*. In these three tales, we find exaltation of bodhisattvas (among whom may be included Princess Jñānavatī) who make offering of their own body, but we find also the docetic doctrine of the body as illusion. In the three tales, the bodies have much to endure, but, as there is a general need for "happy endings." throughout the Buddhist edifying tales, these bodies are

later restored to their previous states. These recoveries have only a marginal importance compared to the importance of the doctrine of the perfect body of the Buddha (*dharmakāya*).[62]

A complete version of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra* was translated into Chinese by Narendrayaśas at the end of the sixth century with a title that can be reconstructed as *Candraprabha-samādhi-sūtra*. Under the same title *Yueteng sanmei jing* 月燈三昧經, at the beginning of the fifth century, some chapters of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra* had already been translated by an unknown translator designated as Xiangong 先公.[63] It seems that Narendrayaśas borrowed the title used by his predecessor in order to achieve a more complete translation. But there is supplementary evidence of the earlier presence in China of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra* and especially of our thiry-fourth chapter on flesh offering. It is an autonomous sūtra that the modern editors of the Taishō Canon have included in the *Avadāna* literature. It is called *Yueming p'usa jing* 月明菩薩經[64] and the translation is attributed to Zhi Qian 支嫌, who died at age sixty between 252 and 257. It seems to be a genuine archaic translation. This autonomous sūtra received the consecration consisting in Chinese Buddhism in being included in the two early anthologies of edifying tales, *Jinglu yixiang* 經律異相[65] and *Fayuan zhulin* 法宛珠林.[66]

The title of this autonomous sūtra may be reconstructed as "Candraprabha-bodhisattva-sūtra"[67] with again a reference to a bodhisattva called Candraprabha. The scenario, which is described here very briefly, is analogous to that of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*. The names of the protagonists (appearing here in archaic transcriptions) are almost the same as in the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*. An important difference lies in the fact that heroic offering of flesh is not performed by a princess but by the first crown-prince. We may see here an adaptation to a Chinese audience of the third century that was perhaps less prone than the Indian public to accept a female bodhisattva. But we have also to remember that there was a Candraprabha bodhisattva, already mentioned as being "without hate",[68] who, according to the *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*, offered his marrow and his blood. He was known under different names and the object of his solicitude was either a leper, his father, or his countrymen suffering from an epidemic. We have probably reached the intersection of different tales. The verse section at the end of the tale is very abbreviated in the present text. There is no contempt for the body as in the stanzas of the princess in "Jñānavatī-parivarta," but at the end of the tale particular mention is made of the fact that the crown-prince's body has been restored to its original state.

The question of the identity of the Bodhisattva Candraprabha who receives the teaching of the Buddha in the *Samādhirāja-sūtra* is probably not of overwhelming importance. We know that there is a Bodhisattva by this name, translated as Moonlight, who is the central figure in four sūtras[69] that gained some popularity in China. The assimilation of Zhi Qian's archaic version of "Jñānavatī-parivarta" to these four sūtras forming what could be called the "cycle of Prince Moonlight" has been made in several catalogues of the Chinese

Buddhist Canon. More recently, Erik Zürcher had connected the *Yueming p'usa jing* to the cycle in his *Buddhist Conquest of China*,[70] but later he detached it from this cycle in his article on Prince Moonlight.[71] The scenario of the Prince Moonlight cycle is as follows: A devoted son, called Yueguang 月光, and also Shenri 申日, sixteen years old, converts to Buddhism his father, the rich Dehou 德護 (Śrīgupta), after having protected the Buddha who was his father's guest and whom his father wished to kill. This story has almost nothing in common with the sacrifice of the son or of the daughter of the good king Jñānabala. Beside the young age of the heroes, there is another common point between the two stories of the good son who converts his father and the good son / daughter who fulfills the wish of the father, king: both stories are set in a period of respite just before the extinction of the Dharma. The Chinese tradition often attributes to that period a length of 50, 51 or 52 years.

In the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*, the reign of Jñānabala occurs at the end of a period of several myriads (*koṭi*) of years which was the period of the preaching of the Buddha Acintya-praṇidhāna-viśeṣa-samudgatarāja. In the short account of the *Yueming p'usa jing*, this reign is located during the last fifty years of the decline of a Dharma which lasted twenty hundreds of millions of years, with a supplement of one thousand years. In the cycle of Candragarbha, the devoted son of Śrīgupta, two of the four Chinese translations announce that Yueguang 月光 will be born again as a bodhisattva king in China. According to one version,[72] this reign will start one thousand years after the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha. According to the other version,[73] made by the apocalyptical translator Narendrayaśas, there is no precise dating, but Candraprabha figures as a king Daxing 大行 of the Dynasty of the Great Sui 大隋. Associated with the worship of the Buddha's bowl and with the erection of a series of *stūpas*, this king Daxing may be identified as Emperor Wendi 文帝 of the Sui, who reigned from 589 to 604. For the numerous meanings of Bodhisattva Candraprabha in China, there is much to learn in the above-mentioned studies by Zürcher and in the works of Antonino Forte.[74] It is possible that the prestige of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra* helped to make this bodhisattva a well-known figure.

More important perhaps than the speculation about the years of lull before the extinction of the Law, there is a theme highlighted in the *Samādhirāja-sūtra* and popularized by the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* that infiltrated the Chinese non-Buddhist tradition and paradoxically enough the most conservative part of that tradition, filial piety. It is well known that an important aspect of filial piety is the rule that one must keep intact the body one has received from one's parents and ancestors. *A contrario*, the intense horror toward mutilations resulting from punishment or execution demonstrates also the value of the integrity of the body. It has been often supposed that cremation was an obstacle to the spread of Buddhism among the Literati classes.[75]

Nevertheless, as many authors have pointed out, there is a well-established custom that contradicts the respect for the integrity of the body. It has been considered an act of filial piety to cook a piece of one's own flesh in order to cure

one's parents. Such a remedy has been considered a minor part of Chinese pharmacopea.[76] Although it is difficult to know exactly when this "endophagical" treatment became accepted by Chinese families, we can guess that the Buddhist circles were eager to support such a development of filial piety.

In Chinese editions[77] of the *Fanwang jing* 梵網経 on which is based J.J.M. de Groot's translation *Le code du Mahāyāna en Chine*,[78] the prescription asking the cutting off one's own flesh and selling it appears in the regulations related to the duties toward guests. Interestingly, this sentence is omitted from the Korean edition which is the basis of the Taishō Canon.

It is in a later Buddhist text that we see the first connection between filial piety and offering one's own flesh. This Tang-period text, the *Sūtra of the Contemplation of the Thoughts and the Stages of the Birth in the Great Vehicle, Dashengpensheng Xindiguanjing* 大乗本生心地観経, seems to be related to the *Fanwang jing*. They share the system of thought (心) and stages (地). In its chapter on the four obligations (四報恩), there is a lengthy description of the first obligation, to one's father and mother. The supreme act of filial piety is presented in prose and in verse as the offering of one's own flesh to one's parents.[79] The Mahayanic exaggeration – "three times a day during hundreds of kalpas" – does not lessen the fact that this is virtually the only concrete act of filial piety enjoined on the Buddhist believer.

In most of the Chinese translations of Indian scriptures mentioned in this article, the recipient of the flesh-offering was a monk. In one version of the tale of the "Prince without hate", we found the gift of marrow and blood made to the king, his father. There is thus no Indian evidence of a general practice of giving a lump of one's flesh to save one's parents. The above-mentioned *Xindiguanjing*, although attributed to the Avataṃsaka translator Prajña, seems to be a Chinese apocryph. Its rich and very eclectic doctrinal content argues also in favor of this hypothesis. We perhaps see in this text the adoption of a rather metaphorical and hyperbolic Buddhist motif, the Bodhisattva's offering of his own body, to the quintessentially Chinese and Confucian system of filial piety.[80] As Michibata Ryōshū said, it was from the Tang period that "filial piety by cutting off the thigh 割股孝" became popular.[81]

To conclude, let us go back to the starting point of our inquiry. We have seen the same act of self-mutilation first as viewed by mainstream Indian Buddhism, later underscored as Hīnayāna; second from a Mahāyāna perspective, and third, as a rather unexpected development in the most anti-Buddhist of the Chinese traditions. Given the general tone of moderation that characterizes the Vinayas, it is not surprising to see the rejection of the offering of human flesh or human blood. To view the piece of a woman's thigh as a substitute remedy is derided as the misplaced generosity of a zealous matron. In the grandiloquent Mahayanic perspective, the offering of the body is a leitmotif, in contrapuntal harmony with another leitmotif, the contempt for the body. It allows us to relativise as metaphorical the sacrifice of the princess who has been promoted through her offering of flesh and blood (a gesture which has perhaps to be considered in the

context of the Asian religious effervescence at the beginning of the common era) to the high status of a predecessor of the Buddha Śākyamuni. An unexpected development of that metaphor is to be found in the Buddhist doctrine of filial piety adopted for therapeutical reasons in the Chinese family system. We do not know what health benefits result from eating the cooked flesh of one's offspring, but, in today's medicine, it is proven that some of the most successful organ transplants are made from close relatives. It is therefore paradoxical that nowadays it is the Confucian principle of the preservation of the integrity of the human body that serves as the basis for some of the opposition to organ transplants.[82]

Notes

* Bibliographical abbreviations used in the notes

Hōbōgirin = *Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire encyclopédique du bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises* (Tōkyō: Maison Franco-Japonaise – Paris: Librairie Jean Maisonneuve), vols. I (1929), II (1930), III (1937), IV (1967), V (1978), VI (1979), VII (1994). Annex: *Répertoire du Taishō* (1978).

Lamotte, *Traité* = Etienne Lamotte, *Le Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśastra)*, Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, Bibliothèque du Muséon 18 for vols. I (1994) and II (1949); Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste 2 and 12 for vols. III (1970) and IV (1976); Louvain-la-Neuve: Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste 24 for vol. V (1980).

PTS=Publications of the Pali Text Society, London. *Samādhirājasūtra* Gilgit Manuscripts=Gilgit Manuscripts, edited by Nalinaksha Dutt, vol. II, Part I, Srinagar, 1941 and Part II, Calcutta, 1953.

T = Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō, edited by Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaigyoku, Tōkyō, 1924–1934.

1 L. Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma, translated from the Chinese of Kumārajīva* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 17.

2 See Edith Parlier, "La légende du roi des Śibi: du sacrifice brahmanique au don du corps bouddhique", *Bulletin d'Etudes Indiennes* 9 (1991), pp. 133–160, especially pp. 138–139, where Parlier insists on the affinity between *ūru* (thigh) and *urvī* (earth). As happens often, various different offerings are attributed to the same hero. The King called Sivi in the Pāli *Jātaka* (n° 499) and Śibi in the *Jātakamālā* (n° 2) is famous for giving his eyes; in the Northern tradition, King Śibi is mostly celebrated for offering all his flesh, starting with a piece of his thigh. Numerous references in Lamotte, *Traité* I, pp. 255–260, 297; III, 1713; V, 2251.

3 On Prince Mahāsattva, see Akanuma Chizen 赤沼智善, *Bukkyō koyu meishi jiten* 仏教個有名詞辞典 (Kyōto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館 [repr.], 1967), p. 329.

4 See as an example the Mahayanic *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, T XII, n° 374, k. 14, p. 449a19–20; T XII, n° 375, k. 13, p. 691a13–14.

5 *Traité* II, pp.715–716, based on the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (T XXV, n° 1509, k. 12, p. 146b11–19) and the *Ratnakūṭa* (T III, n° 310, k. 111, pp. 630c9–631a 22).

6 *Hōbōgirin* VI, s.v. Dabi 荼毘, pp. 576b-577a.

7 *Hōbōgirin* VI, s.v. Daijizaiten 大自在天, p. 736a.

8 For a bibliography on the *Samādhirājā*, including the editions of its Sanskrit text, see Luis O. Gomez and Jonathan A. Silk, eds. *Studies in the Literature of the Great Vehicle : Three Mahāyāna Buddhist Texts* (Ann Arbor: Center for South and South-

east Studies and Collegiate Institute for the Study of Buddhist Literature, The University of Michigan, 1989), pp. 40–49.

9 On the mahayanic *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, see the chapter "The Long and Short Nirvāṇa Sūtras" in Hubert Durt, *Problems of Chronology and Eschatology* (Kyōto: Istituto Italiano di Cultura, Scuola di Studi sull'Asia Orientale, 1994), pp. 60–66.

10 This is one of the main topics of the extensive study by Hara Minoru 原実: *Kugyō no kenkyū* 苦行の研究 [*Tapas* in the Mahābhārata] (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha 春秋社, 1979).

11 See *Hōbōgirin* V, s.v. Chūdō 中道 (by K. Mimaki and J. May), p. 457.

12 Hirakawa Akira 平川彰, *Buddhist Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary* (Tōkyō: The Reiyukai, 1997), p. 550a.

13 Chapter 22: *Bhaiṣajyazāja-pūrvayoga-parivarta*.

14 Chapter 33: *Kṣemadatta-parivarta*.

15 "Les suicides par le feu chez les Bouddhistes chinois du v^e au x^e siècle", *Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises*, tome II, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960), pp. 527–558.

16 "La mort volontaire par le feu et la tradition bouddhique indienne", *Journal Asiatique* 251 (1963) I, pp. 21–51.

17 We can refer here to the numerous stories of offering one's own flesh in exchange for a doctrinal *gāthā*. Famous is the story of the "Boy of the Snowy Mountain" 雪山童子 told in the Mahayanic *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (T XII, n° 374, k. 14, pp.449b8–451b5; T. XII, n°375, k, 13, pp. 691b4–693b6).

18 See below pp. 46 and 52.

19 See Robert des Rotours, "Quelques notes sur l'anthropophagie en Chine", *T'oung Pao* 50 (1963) 4–5, pp. 386–427; "Encore quelques notes sur l' anthropophagie en Chine", *T'oung Pao* 54 (1968) 1–3, pp. 1–49, and several entries in Mircea Eliade ed. *Encyclopedia of Religion*, (New York: Macmillan, 1987 ("Blood", "Cannibalism", "Human Sacrifice").

20 Shimoda Masahiro 下田正弘, especially :"Buha ni okeru 'yaku' to shite nikushoku no shosō 部派に於ける薬として肉食の諸相" [On flesh as medicine in the *nikāya*-period] in *Ga no shisō: vol.* Maeda Sengaku 我の思想 — 前田専学論集 (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 1991), pp. 543–554.

21 See T XXIV, n° 1463, k. 7, p. 843a12–17 where the first six misdeeds are 1) 食人肉, 2) 畜人皮, 3) 剃陰上毛腋下毛, 4) 用薬灌大便道, 5) 畜人髮欽婆羅, 6) 裸形行.

22 *Hōbōgirin* V (1979) s.v. Chūranja 偸蘭遮 (by H. Durt), p. 511.

23 *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature* (Rome: IsMEO, 1956), especially p. 93.

24 *Ritsuzō no kenkyū* 律蔵の研究 (Tōkyō: Sankibō Busshorin 山喜房仏書林, 1960).

25 *Histoire du bouddhisme indien* (Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, 1958), pp. 181–197; English translation by Sara Boin-Webb: *History of Indian Buddhism* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 1988), pp. 165–179.

26 Heinz Bechert ed., *Systematische Uebersicht über die Buddhistische Sanskrit Literatur, Teil I: Vinaya-Texte* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979).

27 *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya analysiert auf Grund der Tibetischen Uebersetzung* (Tōkyō: The Reiyukai Library, 1981).

28 T XXII, n° 1425, k. 32, p. 486a24-c1, Chinese translation dated before 429, made by Buddhabhadra and Faxian 法顕. Faxian was also the translator of the first, short version of the Mahayanic Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra (T XII, n° 376).

29 T XXII, n° 1421 [*Pañcavargika*], k. 22, p. 148b10-c11, Chinese translation dated 424.

30 T XXII, n° 1428 [*Caturvargika*], k. 42, pp. 868c5–869a18, Chinese translation dated before the period 384–417.

31 PTS Edition VI, p. 23, 1–9.

32 T XXIII, n° 1435 [*Daśabhāṇavāra*], k. 26, pp. 185c5–186b1, Chinese translation dated before 409 413.
33 T XXIV, n° 1448, k. 1, pp. 3b26–4c11), Chinese translation made by Yi-jing 義淨 (635–713); the Gilgit manuscript (III, 1, p. XIV.9sq) with this tale is incomplete and is reduced for the present tale to the first ten lines.
34 T XXVII, n° 1545, k. 83, pp. 429c18–430a26.
35 T IV, n° 202, k. 4, pp. 373a24–376b1.
36 *Anguttara* PTS, I, p. 26, Comm. PTS, I, pp. 453–455.
37 *Milindapañha* PTS, p. 291.14–17; see the French translation by Edith Nolot in the collection "Connaissance de l'Orient" (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), p. 230 and n. 312.
38 T XXVII, n° 1545, k. 83, pp. 429c20.
39 T IV, n° 202, k. 4, pp. 373a24, b16.
40 T II, n° 126, p. 834b5–7.
41 The cutting off of one's own flesh in order to nurse a close relative seems to have been well accepted in Chinese society, perhaps under Buddhist influence. Was it originally an Indian practice? It can be observed that, alone in the Vinaya tradition, the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya (T XXII, n° 1425, k. 32, p. 486a24-c1) refers in what seem to be typical Indian prohibitions to another feature of Chinese anthropophagy: the drinking of the blood bursting forth from the decapitation of a death penalty victim.
42 PTS edition, VI, 14, 17.
43 *Hōbōgirin*. V (1979) s.v. Chōsai 頂斎 (by A. Forte and J. May), p. 393.
44 *Hōbōgirin* III (1937), s.v. Byō 病 (by P. Demiéville), *passim*.
45 For that episode, see Lamotte, *Traité* I, p. 124, n. 1.
46 P. Pradhan ed., *Abhidharm-kośabhāṣya of Vasubandhu* (Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1967), p.188.11 = T XXIX, n° 1558, k. 12, p. 66a7–13. See notes 1 and 2 of the French translation by Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu* II (Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises [repr.] 1971, p. 208.
47 On this Jātaka, see *Traité* I, p. 713, n. 1, completed by *Traité* V, p. 2251, n. 1, 2. See also Margaret Cone and Richard F. Gombrich, *The Perfect Generosity of Prince Vessantara: A Buddhist Epic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).
48 We have seen above such an image of the bodhisattva in influential texts such as the Prologue of the *Lotus Sūtra*.
49 In the new "Avant-propos" of the reprint of *La Somme du Grand Véhicule (Mahāyāna-saṃgraha) d'Asanga* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 1973). See also *Hōbōgirin* VII s.v. Daijō 大乗 (by H. Durt), p. 786.
50 T LI, n° 2085, p. 864b27 referring probably to T XII n° 376, dated 417–418; see above notes 9 and 27.
51 T XII n° 374, dated 414–421.
52 T XII n° 375, dated 430 or 436.
53 See *Hōbōgirin* VII, s.v. Daijuku 代受苦 (by H. Durt), p. 812.
54 T XII, n 374, k. 16, p. 458a24-b12; T XII, n 375, k. 14, p. 70012-c1. English translation in K. Yamamoto, *The Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* II (Ube: Karin Bunko, 1974), p. 385.
55 Ibid. p. 458a11–23 and 700a28–b11; Yamamoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 384–385.
56 See G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* II (London: John Murray, 1938) ss. vv., p. 112–114 and p. 862. I was prompted to draw this parallel with figures from the *Therīgāthā* by the French translation by Bénédicte Niogret of Susan Murcott, *Buddha et les femmes* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1997).
57 T XXVII, n° 1545, k. 83, 429b3-c7.
58 Gilgit Manuscripts, vol. II, Part III, pp. 468–486, T XV 639, k. 8, pp. 599c-602a7. A

German translation of this chapter has been made by Friedrich Weller, "Der arme Heinrich in Indien", *OLZ* 68 (1973), pp. 437–448.

59 He is the subject of a well-known article by Erik Zürcher, "Prince Moonlight," T'oung Pao, 68 (1982) 1–3, pp. 1–75.

60 Although the *Répertoire du Taishō* of the Hōbōgirin (p.65, n° 639) has proposed Candrapradīpa instead of Candraprabha, the comparison with the Sanskrit text authorizes "Candraprabha".

61 See above, note 16.

62 On this point, see the observations on "Jñānavatī-parivarta" by Kamaleshvar Bhattacharya in the second part of the study by Robert des Rotours cited above in note 19: "Encore quelques notes sur l'anthropophagie en Chine", p. 47.

63 T XV, n° 640 and T XV, n° 641, each work in one roll. The first text contains only Chapter 6 of Narendrayaśas's translation. The second work includes also Chapter 5 and Chapters 7–10 of Narendrayaśas's translation.

64 T III, n° 169.

65 T LIII, n° 2121, k. 31.

66 T LIII, n° 2122, k. 64, p. 776.

67 The reconstruction "Jinaputrārthasiddha-sūtra" in the *Répertoire du Taishō* of the *Hōbōgirin* is erroneous. This title, reconstructed according to the Tibetan Canon, can be attributed only to T III, n° 171, which is one of the Chinese versions of the famous *Vessantara-Jātaka*. It has been translated by Edouard Chavannes as the last entry in the *Cinq-cents contes et apologues tirés du Canon bouddhique chinois* III (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1911), pp. 362–395.

68 See above notes 5, 6 and 7.

69 T XIV, n° 534, 535, 536, T XIV, n° 545.

70 (Leiden: Brill, 1958), p. 437, n. 130.

71 See "Prince Moonlight," cited above in note 57, p. 23, n. 41. On the composition of the sūtra, see also Murakami Shinkan 村上真完, "Samādhirājasūtra no seiritsu [成立] ni tsuite", *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 16 (1968).2, pp. 833–836.

72 T XIV, n° 535, p. 829b1–2.

73 T XIV, n° 545, k.2, p. 849b22–23.

74 *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century* (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di Studi Asiatici, 1976), pp. 125–136.

75 *Hōbōgirin* VI, s.v. Dabi (by Anna Seidel), pp. 580–582.

76 The ingestion of human flesh among cognate people is not considered in the survey by William C. Cooper and Nathan Sivin, "Man as Medicine: Pharmacological and ritual aspects of traditional therapy using drugs derived from the human body", in Nakayama/Sivin eds. *Chinese Science* (Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press, 1973), pp. 203–272. I wish to thank Dr Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein for directing me to this study and for information on eating human flesh in the Chinese filial piety context.

77 The critical apparatus of T XXIV, n° 1484, mentions the Kunaishō and Song, Yuan and Ming editions.

78 Reprint (Wiesbaden: Dr. Martin Sändig, 1967), p. 59.

79 T III, n° 159, k. 2, p. 297b14–15; k. 3, p. 302a3.

80 The studies of anthropophagy in China seem to have been boosted by the recent tragedies and excesses in China (famine during the "Great leap forward", Cultural Revolution). A recent study of the phenomenon in a historical perspective has been made by Key Ray Chong, *Cannibalism in China* (Wakefield, New Hampshire : Longwood Academic, 1990). In his review article (*Monumenta Serica*, 44 (1996) : pp. 393–403), R. Th. Kolb mentions that the majority of the recorded cases are examples of filial piety.

81 Michibata Ryōshū 道端良秀, *Bukkyō to jukkyō rinri: Chūgoku bukkyō ni okeru kō no mondai* 仏教と儒教倫理：中国仏教における孝の問題 (Kyōto: Heirakuji shoten 平楽寺書店, 1968), p. 82. One should consult also his study, "Chūgoku Bukkyō to shokuninniku no mondai 中国佛教と食人肉の問題 [The problem of cannibalism and Chinese Buddhism], in Fukui Kōjun 福井康順 ed. *Jikaku Daishi kenkyū* 慈覚大師研究 (Tōkyō: The Association of the Tendai Sect for Buddhist Studies, 1964), pp. 391–404.

82 The present study is a contribution to the research project on "Buddhism and Bioethics" proposed by the Japanese Ministry of Education to the International College of Advanced Buddhist Studies. A first draft has been presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association Française pour les Etudes Indiennes, Paris, March 13, 1997. I wish to thank Elizabeth Kenney for her revision of its English version.

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FLYING MOUNTAINS AND WALKERS OF EMPTINESS

Toward a definition of sacred space in Japanese religions

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Throughout most of their history, the Japanese have had a mythic conception of their nation which they have expressed in diverse ways. One way in which this vision has found expression has been through a process we might describe as "the establishment of a sacred geography" for Japan, a process which took place from the dawn of Japanese history to the nineteenth century and involved a complex interaction between Shinto and Buddhism. This article is an attempt to define successive stages in this process of sacralization of space and, furthermore, to suggest ways in which Japanese definitions of sacred space have been related to conceptions of time and notions of the relationship between the sacred and the profane.

I will at times refer to the process of sacralization as a gradual "expansion of sacred space" in Japan. This is because a development can be observed over time from a small and limited conception of sacred space to one which includes not only the entirety of Japan but also the entirety of space and temporal possibilities. Such a perspective will enable us to reject a static definition of Japanese sacred space and to perceive instead an ever-changing reality in which different categories of sacred space represent different categories of the religious experience and diverse human perspectives on the universe. In the course of our discussion, we will surely be struck by the usefulness of the categories of time and space to describe the human situation. As Inoue Enryō (1858–1919), a Buddhist thinker of the Meiji period, wrote: "The realm of our experience is similar to a tapestry. Time is the warp and space is the woof; the myriad patterns appearing out of warp and woof are the metamorphoses of all things. Our life represents the smallest and shortest of all these changes. Hence, is it not presumptuous for this smallest manifestation of time and space, to know the greatest and largest time and space, the universe?"[1]

At the outset, I would like to propose that three distinct categories of "sacred space", evolved in medieval Japan. I will refer to the first category as the "sacred site," a well-structured, clearly delimited space seen as the actual residence of a divinity. The sacred site is the oldest form of sacred space in Japan which we find emerging out of the early myths and Shinto rituals. After the introduction of Buddhism, a second category of sacred space emerged in the course of a dynamic interaction between Shinto and Buddhism: the "sacred area." The sacred area was a more extensive geographical area than the sacred site, usually consisting of the territory covered by a pilgrim during a pilgrimage or of the territory onto which a certain Buddhist maṇḍala had been projected. By contrast to the notion of a sacred site as a *residence* place of a divinity, a sacred area was a site where Buddha-hood could be realized; medieval Japan was seen as a patchwork of such areas. Our final category of sacred space, however, was the broadest category of all: that of the "sacred nation." This concept included all of Japan from both a physical and political point of view and in much Buddhist philosophy could be expanded to include the universe itself. Although the notion of Japan as a sacred land may, of course, be traced back to the *Kojiki*, we shall emphasize that it first assumed major importance during the Kamakura period, when Japan faced the threat of Mongol invasion. It was during this period that the term *shinkoku* ("divine nation") was popularized. But let us now examine in more detail these three categories of sacred space and the process through which they were defined. In Shinto, the site of the residence of the divine is considered to be both the specific object in which the divinity is present and the geographical unit in which that object is located, whether it be a shrine or not. My term sacred site therefore refers to the Japanese term *shintai* ("body," or "support of the divinity"), as well as the term *shin'iki* ("sacred region"), which I have combined for reasons which will soon become clear.

There are more than 80,000 Shinto shrines in Japan. Each marks a site where a divinity has manifested itself and made its dwelling. In the earliest myths, the appearance of the divinity is described as being a natural, spontaneous, almost accidental occurrence. We are then told that the divinity "chose its residence" in very much the same way that an ancient ruler chose the site for a palace or for a capital. (An example of this is the *Kojiki*'s account of how the divinity Haya Susa-no-wo-no-mikoto chose Izumo.)[2] However, we also know that a divinity could be summoned to appear at certain set times by the performance of ritual actions, such as invocation. A close look at the structure of any shrine compound reveals that it contains a certain object which was precisely the point of contact for the divinity with the earth: the "support" or *yorishiro*, which could be called the "landing site." Usually the point of contact is a stone or group of stones (known as *iwasaka*); a tree, a pillar, or flower (all known as *himorogi*).

When the landing site in the shrine is a stone, it is set on a rectangular bed of white pebbles surrounded by other stones which delimit the exact space. Four bamboo or wooden pillars are erected at the corners of the square or rectangle and connected by ropes on which hang the paper decorations (*gohei*) which

mark any sacred object in Shinto. The area enclosed by the ropes is purified at the times of offerings by a ritual which bears a striking resemblance to the rituals which, in ancient Japan, marked the possession of new land and the establishment of its boundaries with bindings (*musubi*).[3] Although the ritual significance of the act of binding in Japanese culture is still not well understood, it seems to be related to early cycles of fertility and production which were also called *musubi* but written with a different ideogram. In the ritual purification of the Shinto shrine, the act of binding is seen as trapping the power of the divinity within the sacred space. When the priest invokes a divinity, he first purifies his own body and practices a number of austerities before entering the sacred area to summon down the divinity. He expresses the gratitude and requests of the community and then sends the divinity back. This ritual pattern has changed very little through the centuries. Although at some point a table was added, holding salt for the purification, rice and rice wine for offerings, and a branch of the sacred tree (*sakaki*), very little else has changed since the earliest times.

When the *yorishiro* is a tree, it may be trimmed or have all its branches cut off so that only a pillar remains. This is the case at Ise, the most important of all Shinto shrines. Paintings from the medieval period, such as the *Kumano Mandara*, show a building erected around an uncut tree.[4] Sometimes only a rope indicates that the tree is sacred. There is usually a spring, pond, or river close to the site.

We may deduce, then, that the most ancient form of sacred space in Japan consisted of a stone or a tree or both and water, carefully organized and used as a center for ritual behavior. There can be no doubt that the tree was seen as marking an *axis mundi*, or cosmic center, as is revealed by much literature and the vast numbers of shrines, such as Ise and Yoshida, which are regarded as "centers." Such sites would have been most appropriate sites for the appearance of divinities and for the performance of set rituals by selected human beings. The historical process which led to the selection of these sacred sites has not yet been thoroughly investigated, but we can suggest a number of phenomena usually associated with them: general beauty of the environment; "cosmic accident" such as a volcano, a mountain, or a waterfall; divination (by either Japanese or Chinese methods); an important historical event; a miraculous event or dream.

In many cultures, sacred sites of this nature are established through ritual and exist only for the duration of the specific ritual. In Japan, however, these sites have a long history and are always visible, becoming the focus of special attention at the time of religious ceremonies. The ceremonies occur at set dates according to the moon phase, the month, or the year. The day chosen may be the anniversary of the event which altered the nature of a particular area, in which case the event is recaptured, reenacted, or simply commemorated. (However, it should be noted that a "reversal of time" like this can occur only in a particular space at a specific time.) Some rituals are of a magical nature which make possible the abolition of current time and the creation of a new life on the spot. One

such instance is the nationwide *setsubun* observance which ushers in the new lunar year. Amulets given by the shrine are burned, new ones distributed, and purification rites to abolish the defilements encountered in the past are performed.

We have discussed various sites of residence of the divine, usually referred to as *shin'iki*; now let us turn our attention to the concept of *shintai*, the body or support of the divine. *Shintai* is one aspect of Shinto that still remains shrouded in darkness, partly for an obvious reason: it usually remains hidden in the shrine. The word *shintai* itself appears in religious literature only from the middle of the Heian period; today most priests prefer the word *mitamashiro*. A *shintai* may be a knot, a *tama*, a mirror, a sword, or any object of striking appearance. It can also be a mountain. In some cases the *shintai* is nothing more than the support or *yorishiro*; in other cases the *shintai* is perceived as being the divinity itself—tradition tells us which is which. Since the case of the mountain, however, is particularly important in the development of Japanese concepts of sacred space, it should be examined in more detail.

The task of describing how mountains came to be defined as sacred space by the Japanese presents some difficult problems because of the lack of sufficient historical information. From what period on, and for what reason, were some mountains treated differently? We cannot fully answer these questions. At any rate, we can say that the notion of the sacred mountain appears in such early texts as the *Kojiki* and the *Fudoki*. The generic term *shintaizan* (mountain as *shintai*) first appears in the *Shoku-Nihongi*, book 10. It is clear that the religious significance of mountains continued to grow in Japan from the Heian period on, possibly with some influence from Taoism. A *shintaizan* was a mountain which in its entirety was regarded as the support or site of residence for the divine or as the actual body of a divinity or group of divinities. In the case of the *shintaizan*, there is no main shrine on or near the mountain, only a veneration hall. We can see examples in the Ōmiwa shrine south of Nara, the Suwa shrine in Nagano, and the Kanasana shrine in Saitama.

In studying the deification of mountains in Shinto, it is helpful to refer to Haruki Kageyama's classification of sites of residence of Shinto divinities into three types: distant sites (*oku* or *kuma*) on a mountain, or consisting of the mountain itself; central sites (*naka*) lying at the entrance to valleys; and close sites (*hotori*) located on the plains.[5] These three types are generally related: they delimit the influence of a divinity and allow communication between distant villages. The distant shrine receives the name of *oku no miya* in Shinto and *oku no in* in Buddhism. Famous examples are the *oku no miya* of the Kibune shrine in Kyoto and the *oku no in* of Kōyasan.

Perhaps the most simple explanation for the deification of mountains in Japan is that early attitudes of reverence were inspired not so much by the special qualities of any particular mountain but by characteristics of mountains in general as opposed to plains. Human activity belonged to the plains, where people lived; mountains were untouched and were areas of nonactivity. Corpses were aban-

doned or buried on mountains; hence the mountain was seen as a space whose nature was Other (not belonging to common categories of experience within the profane).

Probing further, we may describe three different categories of mountains which have been deified in Shinto. The first category comprises mountains revered for their importance in agriculture. The welfare of an entire community may depend on them. The shrines on these mountains are usually called *mikumari* ("water distribution") and are situated near sources of water or at the foot of mountains from which rivers flow. The most famous *mikumari* shrine is that of Yoshino, which developed, under various Buddhist influences, to become an extremely important shrine. Rituals aimed at smoothing the passage of divinities of fertility from the mountains to the plains in spring and vice versa in autumn are performed in such shrines, which may be the most ancient indication of why mountains were regarded as sacred: clouds accumulate on peaks, and rains fall on the slopes, enlarging these streams which provide water for agriculture. The divinity or divinities act as regulators of the flow and oversee the entire process of the agricultural cycle.

A second type of sacred mountain, possessing a main hall or *honden*, may be seen simply as a contact place of the divine. Taoism may have played an important role here, especially in the formation of cults and rituals in the Kansai area at such places as Mount Katsuragi. The divinities revered there are not necessarily linked to agriculture.

Yet there is a third, crucial factor in the formation of early mountain creeds: the notion of the mountain as the realm of death. In Shinto, just as the nature of time-in-life is seen as being different from the nature of time-in-death, so a distinction is made between the space-of-life and the space-of-death. This is precisely the same distinction that is made between the plains and the mountains. The essentially Other world of death (*takai*) is referred to by several names: the Land of Constant Darkness (*tokoyo no kuni*); the Land of Roots (*ne no kuni*); and the Land of Yellow Springs (*yomi no kuni*). The Japanese have been debating for centuries over the location and character of that land. There are two major categories of answers: it is a land beyond the sea and mountains (this reflects a horizontal view of the universe), or a land under the earth and above (a vertical view of the universe). According to Motoori Norinaga in his *Kojikiden* (1798), the term *tokoyo* has three meanings: (*a*) constantly obscure; (*b*) constant and without change; and (*c*) extremely distant and difficult to reach. This seems to be close to the definition of the Land of Roots, the source of life, perhaps the lost paradise of the people who had migrated to Japan and reflected on the country "beyond the sea" where their ancestors "survived." The folktale of Urashima Tarō is a perfect example of that other space where time is also other. Another good example is in a medieval Buddhist text entitled *Nagatsudō-e-engi* ("the origins of the temple Nigatsudō") in which we are told that one day and one night in that space correspond to 400 years of "human life."[6]

Probably the first thing to come to mind when relating mountains to death is

the burial mound or *kofun*. There is ample evidence for a theory which links the presence of divinities in the mountains with the souls of the departed. After death, souls are seen as undergoing a process of purification, at the end of which they become gods (*kami*). They then have the power to decide upon crops and other human affairs. Some rituals performed on mountains today show definite traces of ancient funeral ceremonies. The sacred mountain Hachiōji at the foot of Mount Hiei illustrates some of these points. The mountain is surrounded by tumuli. Haruki Kageyama has made a comprehensive study of the process through which Mount Hachiōji emerged as sacred space, showing the importance of the tombs as well as of agricultural rituals that are performed there. The mountain possesses all the elements we have mentioned so far: the two shrines (male and female) at the top are built in front of a huge rock (*iwasaka*); trees are used as supports (*yorishiro*) at the time of the descent of the divinities (and are then called *himorogi*); and, finally, there are shrines both at the foot of the mountain and at a distance from it. Rituals aimed at calling the divinities down in spring and at sending them back in autumn stress the distinction between the elevated area and the plain and serve as markers for the agricultural timetable. This mountain was to become central to the formation of Tendai Shinto-Buddhist syncretism during the Kamakura period, when a systematic expression of syncretism that was to become the substance of Japanese religiosity appeared.[7]

There remains one last item to add to this necessarily superficial description of sacred space in early Shinto, that is, the early Chinese influence. It can be recapitulated in these terms: sacred space was organized by priests according to the theory of the five elements and chosen according to the theories of divination which were accepted by the Bureau of Religious Affairs and the Buddhists. Here is a text from the Heian period which clearly shows Chinese and Buddhist influences in the definitions of space. It is called the *Tōnomine ryakki*: "Mount Tan [Tōnomine] where Fujiwara no Kamatari is enshrined is a space without equal. To the east is located the great mountain of Ise, from which the great divinity Amaterasu protects the country; to the west is Mount Kongō, where the Bodhisattva Hokki, expounding the Law, benefits all human beings; to the south is Mount Kimpu [Yoshino], where the Great Avatar is waiting for the coming of Maitreya; to the north is Mount Ōmiwa where the avatar of the Tathāgata is leading the people to release."[8] This short excerpt indicates that the mountain in question is seen as an axis mundi, the center of the universe, but with a mention of the four directions, which is a Chinese element.

The beginnings of interaction between Shinto and Buddhism in the definition of sacred space

As soon as Esoteric Buddhism was introduced to Japan in the early ninth century, a complex interaction began between Shinto and Buddhism which eventually resulted in the emergence of a second category of sacred space, that of the sacred area. According to early Esoteric Buddhism, sacred space was the

"site of the realization of Buddhahood." By contrast to other schools of Buddhism, which maintained that Buddhahood could only be realized in a space that was *not* of this world, Esoteric Buddhism proposed that Buddhahood could be realized in this body, in this life, and in this world. The result was a sacralization of this body, this life, and this world. The practice of Buddhism was seen as enhancing the quality of the world in which it was carried out and ultimately provoking a change of perspective on the universe.

A highly significant factor in the evolution of the sacred area in Esoteric Buddhism was the choice of mountain areas of Japan as the favorite training ground of early practitioners. We find this happening as early as the Nara period, when only mixed esoteric Buddhism had been introduced. The *Nihon Ryōiki* (820) gives several examples of this, the most famous being in the text on En no Ubasoku, later regarded as the patriarch of Shugendō (the religion of mountain ascetics), who practiced on Katsuragi and Yoshino.[9]

The importation of Shingon Buddhism by Kūkai (774–835) at the beginning of the ninth century was the start of a tremendous change. Kūkai, a mountain practitioner since his youth, chose as the center for Shingon practice a mountain located not too far from Yoshino, Mount Kōya (Kōyasan) in the Kii peninsula, just as Saichō, founder of the Japanese Tendai school, had chosen Mount Hiei. There is little doubt that Kūkai was able to utilize the concept of sacred mountains in early Shinto to his own advantage. If in Shinto the mountains were seen as sites of the residence of the divine and, consequently, as protectors of the community, Kūkai saw them as sites for the realization of Buddhahood and also as areas protecting the state. The role of Shingon in protecting the state (*chingokokka*), as envisioned by Kūkai, is very similar to the role played by mountains and early Shinto shrines at the village level.

Rituals used to sacralize a particular area in Esoteric Buddhism reveal interesting parallels with Shinto rituals. Kūkai wrote two texts to be read (as the *norito* were read in Shinto) as part of these rituals. The first was written for the ceremony consecrating Mount Kōya as the site of practice leading to the realization of Buddhahood. Here is an excerpt:

> I, the śramana Henjō Kongō, hereby address respectfully all the Buddhas of the ten directions, the deities of the great maṇḍalas of the two realms, the divinities of the five classes, the deities of Heaven and Earth of this country, all the demons inhabiting this very mountain, spirits of the earth, water, fire, air, and ether. All beings possessing form or mind necessarily have the Buddha-Nature. Buddha-Nature and Essence pervade the entire Realm of Essence and are not separate. . . . Those who awaken to this Truth may enjoy themselves eternally on the calyx of the five wisdoms, whereas those who fail to recognize this will be submerged for a long time by the mud of the three worlds. . . . The Emperor, deciding to spread this teaching, granted this space, which was deemed correct after careful divination at the four directions.

> Consequently a temple shall be built on this parcel granted by His Majesty. ... All spirits and demons, retire! Withdraw seven leagues from this center, in all directions, zenith and nadir included! All good demons and spirits who can draw some benefit from the Law, reside here as it pleases you. May this center for practice be patronized ... by the venerable spirits of all Emperors and Empresses of this Country, as well as by all divinities of Heaven and Earth. All spirits of the dead, protect this space day and night, and help fulfill this wish![10]

In this text, we find striking parallels with Shinto on the following points: (1) A mountain has been chosen as the holy site of practice. (2) No differentiation is made between the realm of the Buddha and the realm of humans. (3) The holy site is ritually purified by chasing away all enemies of the Law and inviting in all friends. (4) Protection for the living is offered by the spirits of the rulers of the past and all the spirits of the dead.

In Kūkai's second text, written to dedicate an altar which would be used for the rituals in front of the two maṇḍalas, we find the following passage: "This space is our own property, and we intend to perform a service for seven days and seven nights to all divinities of the maṇḍalas. We will set up an altar for this purpose. ... Therefore, made strong by our faith in the efficacy of the law, we wish to perform the rites of space binding and protection of the body. ... Enter this space and altar! Help realize this ritual, accept my request, and respond to this invocation!"[11] As a ritual definition of sacred space, this prayer, too, is highly reminiscent of Shinto practice. As in Shinto, divinities are invoked and their presence is visualized. In the case of Shingon, a further attempt is made to actually identify with the divinities. These two brief excerpts suggest, however, to what extent sacred space in early Esoteric Buddhism was ritually defined, purified, and entered in a syncretic manner. Correct practice could be performed only in a space sacralized in this manner.

Kūkai thought that the Buddhas could best be visualized after a quest leading to the top of the mountains. In 814 he wrote a remarkable text describing the ascent of Mount Futara by the monk Shōdō, who attained Buddhahood. The story of the ascent is followed by a description of the mountaintop scenery as if it were the Pure Land, the sacred space where a Buddha resides.[12] As we read this text, it is impossible to doubt that we are in the presence of an attitude structured by the earlier beliefs described in the preceding section. At the same time, a new perspective has been opened up which is distinctive to Esoteric Buddhism. For in Kūkai's text it is *not only by ritual* that profane space is made sacred. An *internal process* leading to Awakening, by allowing the subject to see the world in entirely different terms, can also transform profane space to sacred. This interior experience, whereby the transcendent nature of phenomena is recognized, is central to Esoteric Buddhist doctrine and will be discussed more fully below.

The stories surrounding the "death" of Kūkai on Mount Kōya provide further

examples of the syncretic process. Despite the historical records of Kūkai's cremation, a belief existed that he had not died but had instead entered a trance (*nyūjō*) within the mountain and was awaiting the appearance of Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future. This event was also called *nyūzan* ("entering the mountain").[13] Here again we can see that mountains are linked to death in a manner that is in origin not at all Buddhist. The belief that Kūkai was still meditating there became one more reason to see Kōyasan as sacred, and the mountain is today one of the largest and most impressive graveyards in the world.[14]

Thus, we can see that, by the middle of the Heian period, a sacred geography had evolved in Japan according to which a clear distinction was made between the plains (the world of the secular) and the mountains (the world of the holy). In both Shinto and Buddhism, only those sites which had been ritually defined possessed the characteristics of metaphysical realms. In the earliest Shinto, sacred sites had not necessarily always been seen as cosmic centers. It was probably under Chinese influence that they gradually became defined as such. When Buddhism became prevalent, Esoteric Buddhism proved to be the religious system which was best suited to preexisting conditions. Esoteric Buddhism did not dramatically alter these conditions. Rather, it used them in a highly creative manner by developing a complex syncretism, one result of which we will now describe.

The sacred area

The emergence of the notion of the sacred area in Esoteric Buddhism during the Heian period (793–1185) marked the culmination of the second stage in the evolution of Japan's sacred geography. I will discuss the concept of the sacred area as it underlay two important features of medieval Japanese Buddhism, the pilgrimage and the maṇḍala. Third, I will comment on the tendency for this concept of the sacred area to gradually expand over time, a phenomenon mentioned at the outset of this paper.

Let us begin by considering the medieval pilgrimage as an expression, in spatial and temporal terms, of a specific Buddhist vision of the religious experience. Although a pilgrimage is generally regarded as a visit to a sacred space, in Esoteric Buddhism it is much more than that. The practice of pilgrimage is intimately related to the Buddhist notion that the religious experience was a process (ongoing practice) rather than simply the final goal of practice. Through practice, a larger consciousness was opened up, and consequently, a larger spatial realm of human experience could be discovered. Gradually, a network of roads was mapped out for believers, leading to various sacred spaces (which, as we shall see, came increasingly to be defined in a syncretic manner). The quality of the religious experience was such that the entirety of the path followed by the pilgrim was seen to be sacred. The processes involved in the pilgrimage were complex and had to become the basis for a complete change in the pilgrim's consciousness and perspective on the universe. The pilgrimage was an exercise in rebirth and magical transformation.

To understand the notion of pilgrimage more fully, we must first discuss the distinction posited in Esoteric Buddhism between the "lower world" of the profane (the realm of the ordinary experience), and the "higher world" of the sacred, which is the site of the manifestation of the divine or the chosen site of practice leading to Buddhahood. When pilgrims went from one world to the other, they were actually going to meet the Other. This experience in Otherness began with the first step out of the house; as soon as the pilgrims set out on the road, they became foreigners: the pilgrims were and were not themselves as soon as they moved into a realm which transcended their former knowledge of the world. We are told over and over again that this process is of a therapeutic nature: the actual physical effort is good; the rivers crossed purify the pilgrims and may even rejuvenate them; and the pilgrims may realize their own true nature. This exercise is fundamental; it is a prerequisite to the ultimate change. The farther pilgrims move from their common world, the closer they come to the realm of the divine. We might mention that in Japanese the word for "walk" is the same word which is used to refer to Buddhist practice; the practitioner (*gyōja*) is then also the walker, one who does not reside anywhere, who abides in emptiness. All this is of course related to the notion of Buddhism as a path: practice is a concrete approach to Buddhahood.

When the pilgrim-practitioners arrived at the mountain, their general attitude had already changed: they had become nomads avoiding all bonds of time and space, freed from the attachments of common life, from inferior time which corrupts. They had reached an experience made up of moments which are totally different from whatever had been known within the realm of cause and effect. This experience was crystallized by the contact with the sacred site: a discovery of the sacred landscape which made possible a direct vision of the metaphysical realm in which the divine resides. It was essential, however, that this space, the essence of which was its stability, no longer be seen as "different." Through participation in religious practice, a fusion had to occur between man and the sacred environment, with the practitioner becoming an "eternal human being" dwelling in the divine. Or was it that the divine dwelled within the human? The ecstasy felt at the summit of a mountain was said to eliminate all pain and all existential malaise, and to introduce the awareness of another order of existence which the pilgrims could bring back into everyday life. Seeing the sacred center should reorder the pilgrims' perspective on the world; death could be conquered by attributing eternity, not to the moment of perfection, but to the process of perfecting. In Buddhist terms, the pilgrims realized that "transmigration is Nirvāṇa."

It is well known that pilgrims coming back from sacred spaces were regarded with awe: common people saluted them, made offerings, even tried to touch them. The pilgrims for their part brought back to the lower world elements of the sacred space: a stone, a protection (*o-mamori*), anything taken from the site. They bore elements of the sacred back into the profane world.[15] In Japan, the pilgrim could in some cases bring the whole pilgrimage on a miniature scale into

the profane world.[16] In other cases, substitute minipilgrimages allowed people to make a one-year pilgrimage in one day, or the pilgrimage to the eighty-eight places of Shikoku over a small, octagonal area covered with earth from the island of Shikoku.[17]

While the practice of pilgrimage flourished in medieval Japan, another form of sacralization of time and space was developing among mountain ascetics (*yamabushi*). Rituals of Esoteric Buddhism (both Tendai and Shingon) practiced by these priests aimed at an interiorization of the Buddha within the practitioner which led, in turn, to an identification of the realm of the Buddha with the realm of man. The maṇḍala, or representation of the residence of the Buddha, could therefore be none other than this natural world. A new perspective was opened up on the world: it could be seen, not as a world of suffering, but as an "actualization of the maṇḍala." The site of practice became a natural maṇḍala, a large geographical area endowed with all the qualities of a metaphysical space.

Mandalization, an ultimate exercise in magical manipulation, is one of the most remarkable phenomena of medieval Japan. Once again, it was Kūkai, the mountain-oriented practitioner, who developed the philosophical system underlying mandalization. In Esoteric Buddhism, as in most religions, the aim of religious practice may be seen as a return to the source. As Kūkai wrote: "All beings who dwell in illusion ignore their original residence; they sink into the three directions and migrate through the four types of birth. It is because they do not know the cause of their suffering that they fail to wish to return to the origin of all things. This is why the Tathāgata felt compassion for them and showed the way back home."[18]

While Esoteric Buddhism may not differ much from other religions in seeking a return to the source, it does differ in its choice of symbols and in the attitudes and practices which are required to effect this return. "So that all beings may suddenly awaken to the heart-mind of the Buddha, and so that they may swiftly go back to the original source, I shall explain the teachings of Shingon and show the way to those who are lost."[19] Where, for example, is man's original residence and home? Esoteric Buddhism is quite clear on this point: the original residence, the abode of the Buddha, is *within one's own heart-mind*. Home is at the heart of our being, originally pure and endowed with all the qualities of the Buddha, but hidden under the flux of passions and delusions created by the belief that the ego does really exist independent from everything else. As Kūkai also said: "Since beyond the beginnings and up to now, the fundamental residence of the heart-mind is emptiness; however, it is covered by false opinions and is fettered by passions."[20] He further wrote: "Who is within illusion resides in a polluted space; he who awakens resides in a pure space, which is also called Pure Land."[21]

It is clear from this that in Kūkai's thought Awakening could bring about the transformation of polluted profane space into pure space, a Pure Land, the original residence of the Buddha's heart-mind. Kūkai defined the process as one of interiorization, since the Buddha's residence is originally within us. It is an

illusion that the Pure Land of the Buddha is exterior to man, so totally transcendent that going beyond the realm of forms is necessary. But Kūkai warned: "In the middle of my mind, there is the principle of the mind of the pure Bodhi."[22] This amounts to saying that we have always been there before entering the sacred space, that the transmutation is not really a change but is merely becoming what one already was.

As we have said, a maṇḍala is a representation of the residence of the Buddha. Since the Buddha was seen as transcending all characteristics and dualisms, the maṇḍala was a metaphysical space which provided an insight into what Buddhism called the Realm of Essence (*hokkai*). Distinctions between the absolute and the relative, transmigration and Nirvāṇa, and passions and Awakening were seen as arbitrarily imposed by man. By contrast, a maṇḍala described the organization and mysteries of the universe from the perspective of things as they are in their fundamental "suchness." Kūkai held that suchness could be apprehended by the practitioner through a realization of the Three Mysteries, that is, by ritual identification of man's basic functions (body, speech, and mind) with the triple aspect of the Buddha's world. This identification is what led Kūkai to talk of the "maṇḍala of my mind."[23]

Thus we know that the maṇḍala is a representation of the original nature of our heart-mind, free of illusions and passions. Correct positions and mūdras (body), correct utterance of the mantras (speech), and correct meditation (mind) are the substance of practice and the keys which open the residence of the Buddha within the practitioner. The maṇḍala drawings in front of which these practices are performed can be seen as supports to meditation perhaps comparable to the circular drawings Jakob Boehme proposed when he spoke about the possibility of representing God: "Even though such a representation may not be sufficiently elaborate, it is nevertheless a meditation. One could make of it an excellent drawing inscribed within a circle, in order to support the meditation of those whose understanding is not advanced. Please note that desire turns within, right down into this heart, which is God."[24]

A practitioner of Esoteric Buddhism "enters" a maṇḍala through its gate, invokes the divinities which are represented, and identifies with them one after the other until reaching the center, in which there is a representation of the cosmic Buddha from which all other Buddhas and their lands emanate. The practitioner goes from the manifestation to the source, from the form to the essence, and finally reaches the realization that form and essence are two-but-not-two.

It was this realization that "form and essence are two-but-not-two" which was reflected in the practice of "mandalizing" geographical areas—naming certain locations or broad areas as maṇḍalas. As Kūkai said: "The Body of the Buddha is the body of all living beings, which in turn is that of the Buddha. Different, yet not different. Not different, yet different."[25] We might say that the entire experience of meditating on the maṇḍala was one of integrating the absolute into the relative, the metaphysical into the physical. Once this integration had been

realized, it was natural to compare the structure of the maṇḍala with that of the universe, to see one in the other. This is exactly what was done. Over time, the two main maṇḍalas of the Shingon school were projected over geographical areas to produce natural maṇḍalas, sacred spaces for practice and the realization of Buddhahood. Moreover, this practice led inevitably to a dramatic expansion of the concept of sacred space. Gradually and systematically, a sacralization of different areas took place, until finally Japan itself, in its entirety, came to be viewed as a sacred space. (The emergence of the concept of Japan as a divine land [*shinkoku*], which marked the third stage in the evolution of Japan's sacred geography, will be discussed more fully in the next section.)

To trace the entire process through which space was mandalized in medieval Japan is a complex task, but we can point out at least a few of the important steps. We know that Kūkai considered Mount Futara to be a cosmic center. Soon afterward, the real founder of Shugendō, Shōbō (832–905), founded the Shingon monastery Daigo-ji and probably started to develop the Shugendō doctrine while residing in the Yoshino area. In 1007, Michinaga made a pilgrimage to Yoshino, from the accounts of which it is clear that the mountainous area was regarded as the site of the appearance of Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future.[26] Dating of texts concerning Yoshino is extremely difficult; we must jump to 1180, the supposed date of compilation of the *Shozan engi*, a remarkable text describing the Yoshino-Ōmine-Kumano area as the Vajradhātu ("Realm of Diamond") and Garbhadhātu ("Womb") maṇḍalas. This is the first example of the mandalization of space done on a large scale. The Yoshino / Kimpusen area was seen as the Diamond maṇḍala. The Kumano area was seen as the Womb maṇḍala. The Ōmine mountain was the center in which it was possible to realize that the two maṇḍalas were in fact not two—the nontwoness of fact and principle was to be acknowledged at the summit of that mountain. Once the maṇḍalas were projected onto these mountains, the practice of the mountain ascetics was to go from peak to peak, venerating the Bodhisattvas and Buddhas residing on them, performing the services, rituals, and meditation as they would in front of graphic representations on an altar in the temple. Just as one entered a painted maṇḍala, performing the same rituals, they would enter the mountains, thereby penetrating the Realm of the Buddha. Their walk in those pure spaces was regarded as a process along the Middle Path, that of Emptiness. As the *Shozan engi* states: "The peaks are the residence of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas . . . and the sacred places on the mountains are the dwelling sites of the divinities and of the Immortals."[27] And later in the same text: "Alongside the peaks of the Buddhas, they tread Emptiness."[28] These practitioners established connections not only between each summit and each divinity, but also between each site's natural virtues (water, hot springs, medicinal herbs) and each divinity's qualities:

> Bathing in the salt of creeks, valleys, beaches and ponds allows one to wash away the suffering of this triple world. Such is the Ocean of virtues and powers required to push one away from bad deeds in this

> very life. There, one practices purification with constant seriousness. ... The river to the right is the water upon which one meditates on Avalokiteśvara; the river to the left has the miraculous power to cure diseases: it is in fact the river which flows from beneath the seat of Akṣobhya. Those who tread those spaces and cross these rivers must think that each drop of water, each tree of these mountains is a drug of immortality, even if they suffer from a heavy past of misdeeds.[29]

It is evident from this short passage that the pilgrimages of these mountain practitioners were spatial moves aimed at the eradication of time: not only are we told that immortality can be attained but we are shown by some of the rituals concerning the penetration of the Womb maṇḍala that we are in the presence of a rebirth. Who could wish for more in terms of the destruction of the law of cause and effect, that great mother of time?

Figures 1 and 2 are drawings of the Womb maṇḍala showing the general movement of the practitioners and the exact order of progress in the Ōmine pilgrimage as described in the *Shozan engi*. Most of the places named in the text actually exist, although we do not know to what modern places some of them correspond. Only a few of these names are to be found in a detailed map of the area, and more research is necessary. The number of actual peaks in the area is probably larger than the 100 listed in the text; that number is suspiciously symbolic.

Be that as it may, the point is that the Diamond maṇḍala (*kongō kai*) corresponds to the Yoshino area, in the north of the Kii peninsula; the Womb maṇḍala (*taizō kai*) corresponds to the Kumano area, in the south of the peninsula, which is the abode of Avalokiteśvara, the Great Bodhisattva of Compassion; and Ōmine is the transcending center. As the *Buchū shōkanjō keihaku* aptly puts it:

> This peak is the pure temple of the two realms: it is the original, non-created maṇḍala; the summits covered with trees are the perfect altars of the nine parts of the Diamond maṇḍala, and the caverns filled with fragrant herbs are the eight petals of the lotus in the Womb maṇḍala. Mountains and rivers, trees and plants are the true body of the Buddha Mahāvairocana; the wind over the crests, the peals of thunder ascending from the depths of the valleys all proclaim the Law of the Body of Essence. The Venerated Ones of the three sections are well aligned; the innumberable saints are magnificently seated. There, colors and sounds are perceived in their original state; the natural knowledge of the world as it is is not empty any more. The natural maṇḍala is made up of the many mountains where one practices the Three Mysteries.[30]

It is clear that, by this time, the qualities of sacred space were being attributed to a large part of the Kii peninsula; each mountain has become a kind of *iwasaka* on which many aspects of the realm of essence manifest themselves in a con-

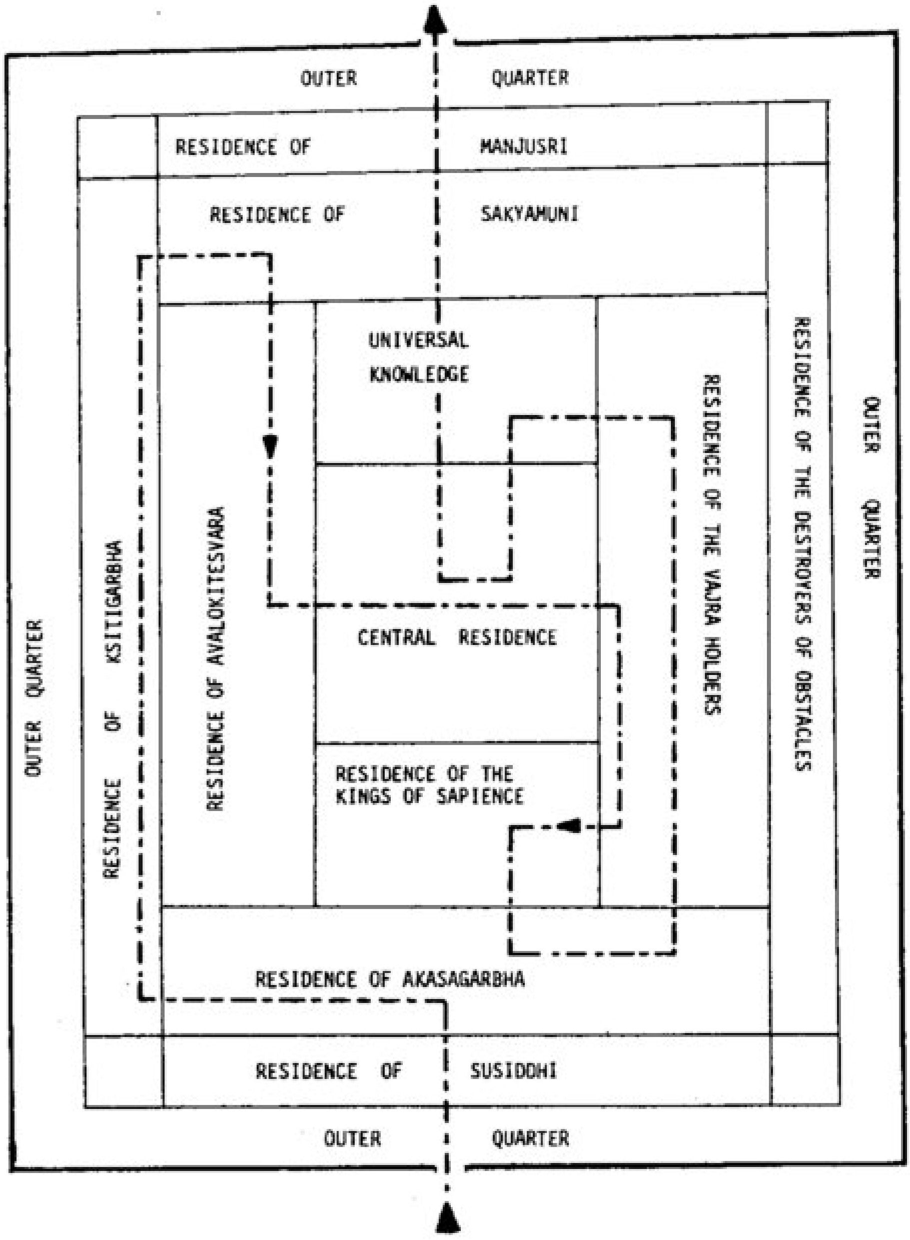


Fig. 1 General movement of the mountain ascetics through the Womb maṇḍala of mountains, according to the *Shozan engi.*

stant metaphysical rain as the summits are draped with mists through which the practitioners pass in their search for the Way: "Ōmine is the sacred space where the venerated Śākyamuni constantly expounds the Law; it is the splendid space of the constant residence of Mahāvairocana, King of Awakening, eternal. Mountains and streams, trees and plants naturally reveal the profound principle of the true aspect of the Middle Path. The rocky cliffs and green caverns show the wondrous substance of the four types of maṇḍala. It is truly the marvelous temple of the unique vehicle of the Triple Mystery."[31]

Another fascinating text which reveals the ongoing process of the mandalization of the country is the *Hachiman Gudōkun*, written between 1301 and 1304. As a syncretic text, it reveals once again how closely Buddhist and Shinto elements were interwoven in defining sacred space in Japan. The role of Hachiman, the Shinto deity who is the protector of the nation, is described in the text. As in the following excerpt, however, Shinto mythology and Buddhist concepts are employed side by side in describing the nation.

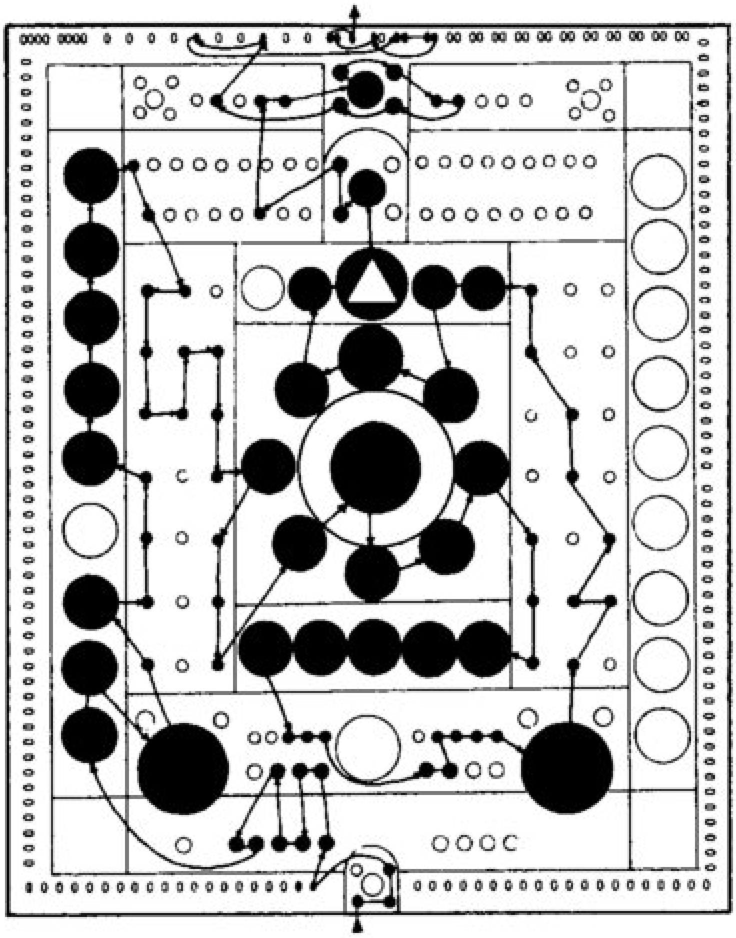


Fig. 2 Exact movement through the Womb maṇḍala, according to the *Shozan engi*.

> This Land Akitsushima [Japan] is the noble space of the manifestation of more than three thousand divinities; it is the superior space of the spreading of the saintly teachings of the greater and lesser vehicles, true and temporary alike. ... Since this country is by nature the Original Country of the Great Sun [Mahāvairocana, or *Dainichi no honkoku / Dai nipponkoku*], the eight Provinces of Bandō correspond to the eight petals of the lotus in the Womb maṇḍala, and the Nine Regions [*Kyūshū*] of the Western Sea correspond to the nine parts of the Diamond maṇḍala; the yin and yang aspects correspond to the maṇḍalas in their aspect of Principle and Wisdom. Those who inhabit this country are the descendants of Izanami and Izanagi, and are the heirs of the original nature, the Tathāgata in its body of essence.[32]

We can say that by the Muromachi period the phenomenon of mandalization had become well entrenched in Japan. Perhaps the most dramatic manifestation of the syncretic aspect of mandalization was the habit of designating certain Shinto shrines as maṇḍalas. In the case of the Ise shrine, of great importance because of its status as the shrine directly linked to the imperial family and to the state, this occurred fairly early. We find the Ise shrine mentioned in the *Shasekishū* [A collection of small pebbles], written between 1261 and 1262, and also in the *Daijingū sankeiki* [Pilgrimage to Ise] of Tsūkai in 1286. By the Kamakura period, we know that the two shrines at Ise were regarded as two maṇḍalas. Another example of mandalization was the building in 1484 of the

cosmic temple of Kyoto's Kagura-oka by a leading figure in syncretism, Yoshida Kanetomo (1435–1511). Other examples of how pervasive mandalization eventually became are Zeami's reference, in the *Kintōshō*, to Awaji Island as the Diamond maṇḍala and to Sado Island as the Womb maṇḍala. The *Jinteki mondō*, written by the middle of the Edo period, divides all of Japan into two maṇḍalas, one in the east and one in the west.[33] Such a perception might be regarded as a culmination of the process of mandalization.

Shinkoku, the divine nation

We have seen that in early Esoteric Buddhism, Kūkai envisioned a role for Shingon in protecting the state (*chingokokka*) which was similar to the function which had been ascribed to early Shinto shrines in protecting the community and the clan. The idea of Buddhism protecting the state, in fact, seems to have been present in Buddhism early after its introduction and gradually came to be applied on a national level. The first concrete manifestation of this notion was probably the founding of the *kokubunji* (provincial Buddhist monasteries supported by the state) during the Nara period. If we are to believe a text written by the Buddhist thinker Raiyū (1226–1304), a pattern had emerged by the mid-Heian period whereby the twenty-two great Shinto shrines supported by the imperial house were linked to Buddhist temples, which were seen as enshrining the original natures (*honji*) of the Shinto divinities. Rituals for the protection of the entire nation were developed around these shrines and temples. This phenomenon developed alongside the Hachiman cult, which, as we have already seen, was syncretic in nature.[34] By the time the Mongols threatened to arrive at the door of Japan in the thirteenth century, therefore, a syncretic tradition had already been established in which Shinto and Esoteric Buddhist elements were interwoven in the concept of divine protection for the nation. The term *shinkoku* ("divine nation"), which first became popular around the time of the Mongol invasions, can be regarded as a direct product of this syncretic tradition. Because, with the emergence of the notion of *shinkoku*, we find that the Japanese concept of sacred space has been expanded from the very limited area of the sacred site to include the whole nation, we may see this development as marking the third and final stage in the establishment of Japan's sacred geography.

Shinkoku, our final category of sacred space in Japan, is closely related to a concept of time. The first mention of Japan as a sacred land, of course, may be found as far back as the *Kojiki*. We are told that the Japanese islands are sacred because they resulted partly from the sexual union of a divine couple and partly from purifications undergone by the male member of this couple. The particular setting of this mythology is sacred time, the time of the Origins. Sacred time and sacred space have been linked in a number of rituals aimed precisely at going back to this time of the Great Origins, rituals which institute the possibility of a cosmic renewal within the compounds of sacred space.

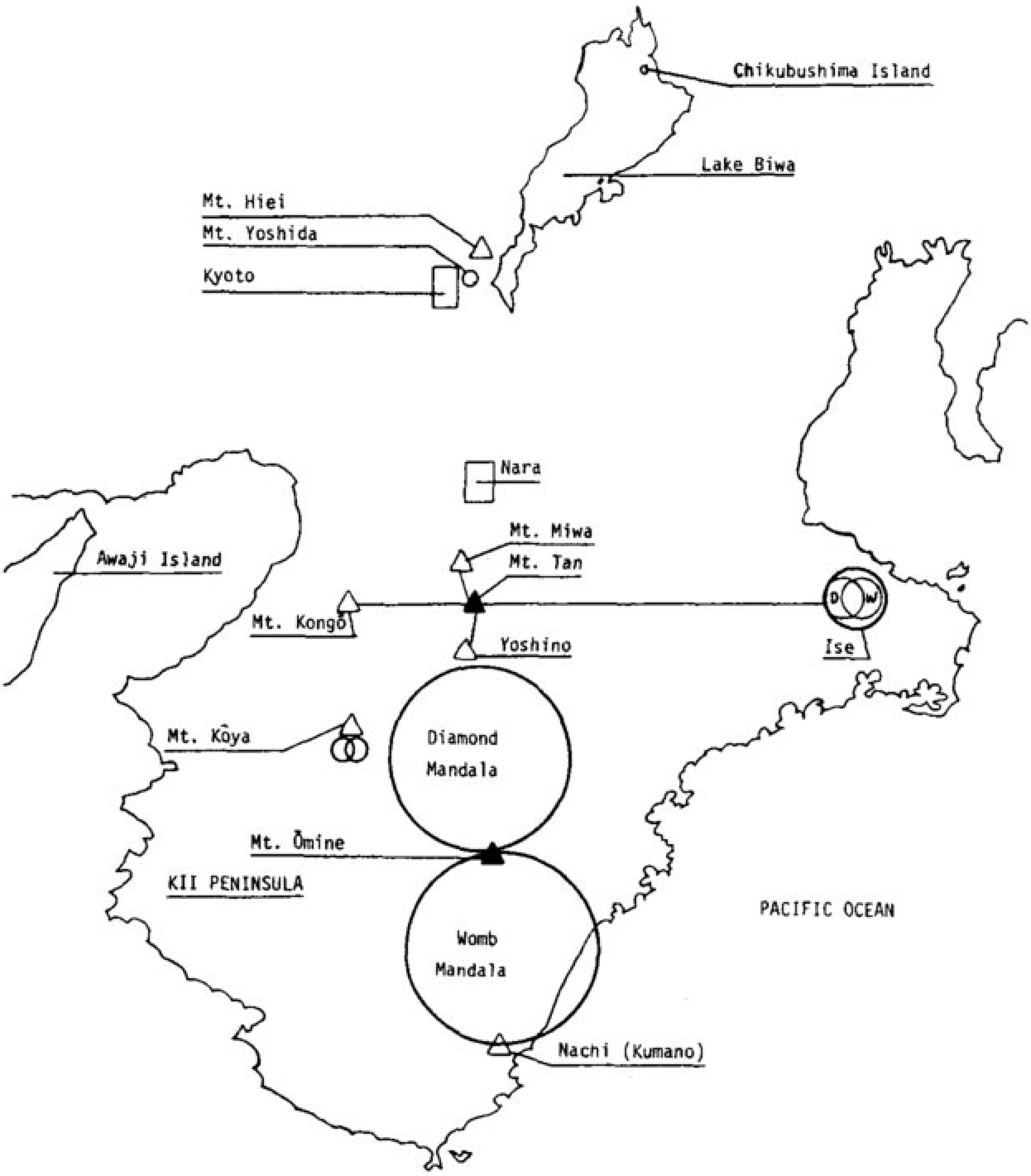


Fig. 3 Mandalized areas and sacred mountains of the Kii peninsula.

It is interesting to note that the concept of Japan as a sacred space seems to have played an important role at times when the nation faced the outside world in a direct manner. Its appearance in the *Kojiki* corresponds to the early period of continental influence when the mythology was written down in the form we know it today and when the discrete political, economic, and religious entity known as Japan was being developed. Second, the idea came to prominence during the Kamakura period when there was the threat of Mongol invasion and a resurgence of Chinese influence. It emerged for the third time in the period when Japan made its entrance into the modern world.

Although the term *shinkoku* is often linked with ultranationalism, extreme caution is necessary when one is dealing with the subject from the point of view of religion. The notion is deeply rooted in the syncretic tradition. In the Yoshida school of syncretism, for example, the notion of Japan as a sacred space had

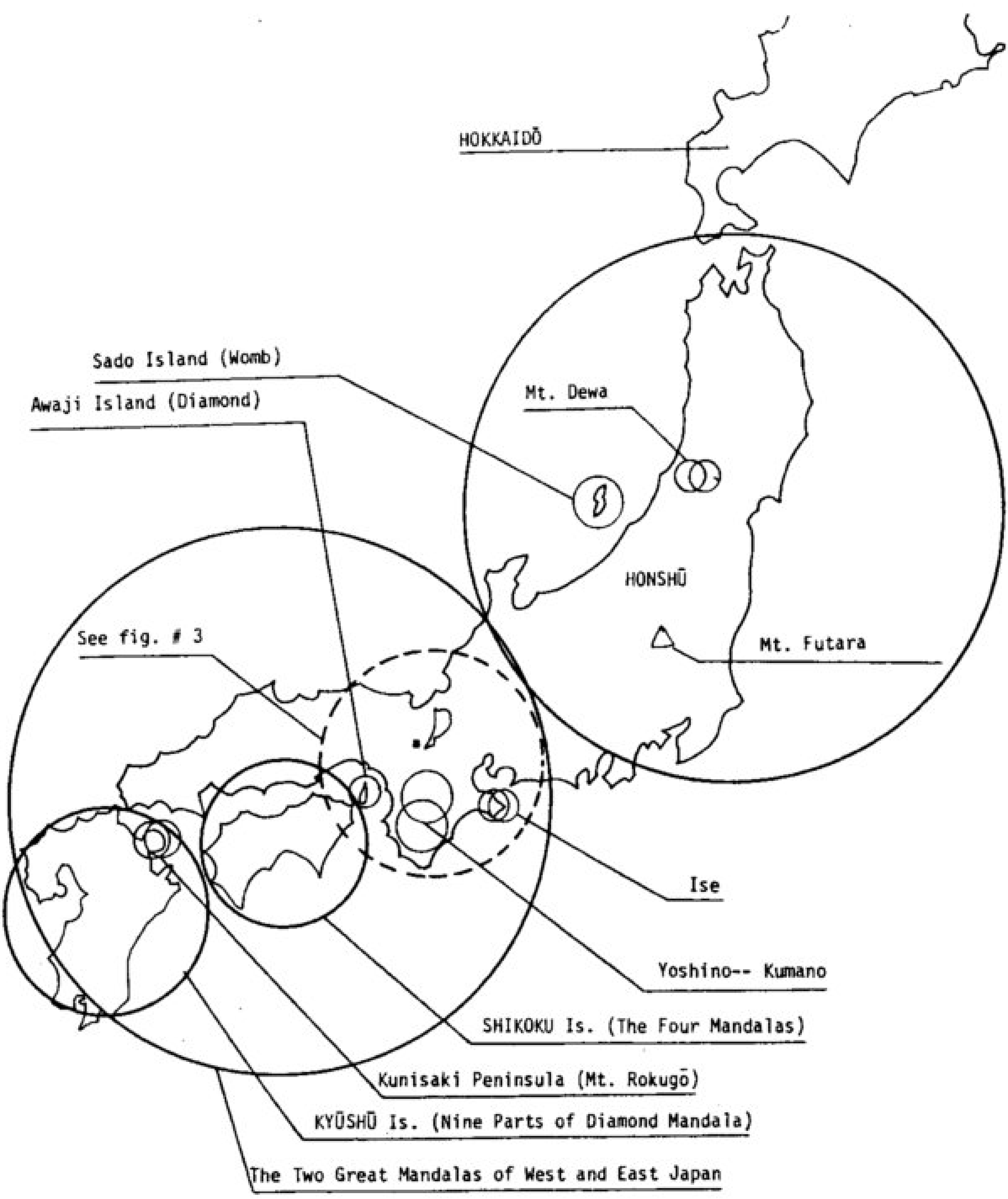


Fig. 4 Names of the mandalized areas appearing in this article.

been present for quite some time before it was articulated by Kanetomo. We should also bear in mind that the process of mandalization in medieval Japan was taking place side by side with a revival of Shinto. By the Edo period, Yoshida was at the head of most Shinto shrines in the country, and ideas concerning the sacredness of Japan, which had been circulating since the *Jinnoshōtōki* of 1338, were totally accepted. Thus, there was much more than nationalism involved in the evolution of the concept. (An interesting argument might even be made that the notion of *shinkoku* was nothing more than a misinterpretation of the religious concept that any time and any place are sacred, a point which Zen and Confucianism helped to develop.) In fact, the notion of Japan as a divine nation is indebted to other nations in the following sense: the borrowing of Buddhism was seen as the literal borrowing of India, and the borrowing of Chinese culture was seen as the actual borrowing of China.

By borrowing India and China, Japan made her islands a system of international layers, through a process I call manipulation of space and which is presented below.

Manipulation of space

What I call manipulation of space is the phenomenon of crediting to some sacred spaces in Japan a foreign origin in order to explain the places as residences of the original nature of the divinities and to increase their prestige. We are told in many texts that the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, having come to Japan, remained there in the form of Shinto divinities, and that this was possible only because they had brought with them their residences, the mountains. Thus, some Japanese mountains were considered to be parts of the continent which had come flying in and landed with all the pomp that one can imagine accompanying such an event. Here are some examples: "Ōmine is in fact the southwestern area of the Diamond Cavern (=Vulture's Peak) located in the southeast of the country of birth of the Buddha. How did it arrive here in Japan? Suddenly, in the middle of the night of the nineteenth day, eighth moon of the third year, Sōchō era [538, time of the introduction of Buddhism to Japan], repeated peals of thunder and tremendous noises filled the air, and the earth shook as if moved by a great earthquake."[35] And, further in the same text: "On the fourteenth of the second moon of the second year, Shōhei era [933], the Master of Contemplation Teisū, writing down the sacred spaces of Kimpusen, wrote this statement which he said had been handed down to him from master to master: 'A long time ago, there was in China a mountain called Kimpusen, residence of the Bodhisattva Zaō [Vajragarbha]. However, this mountain came flying [to Japan]; it approached as if floating over the ocean . . .' "[36] It was not only Kimpusen, site of the coming of Maitreya, which arrived in Japan from the continent. Kumano, the Pure Land of Avalokiteśvara (Kannon), flew in from India, making stops in China, Kyūshū (at Hikosan), and Shikoku, before reaching the Kii peninsula, where it landed and remained.[37]

An even more impressive account of such fantastic events is given in the *Jinteki mondō*, already mentioned above. The title of this work could be translated "a dialogue on drops and dust," but it also could be called "a dialogue on creation," because the text begins with a quote from Kūkai's text on the ascent of Mount Futara by Shōdō: "Dust and drops accumulate and mix, decorating the residence divine."[38] A further possible translation is "pregnant dialogue," since a whole mountain is said to exist within one single particle of dust and an entire ocean within a single drop of water. But let us read the text:

> Our country Japan is originally Mount Mitra, located in the northeastern part of Vulture's Peak in India. . . . The earth shook six times; mountains, crumbling down, created oceans, while turbulent oceans brought mountains down. Trees were swept away by floods, while

> stones floated, and living creatures lost their homes. For seven days and seven nights the sun and the moon were uncertain in their course. During that time, this Mount Mitra came to be missing; it had entered the waters where it received protection from the Dragon-King. Then, the divine beings Izanami and Izanagi, manifestations of Mahāvairocana of the Two Realms, desired to make our country out of this mountain. Using their divine superpowers, they pushed the mountain out of the ocean, causing islands to appear. The first of these islands was Awaji.[39]

It is fascinating to see that even in the Edo period efforts were still being made to establish cosmogonies to show the sacred nature of Japan from a syncretic perspective. This is an aspect of the mythical vision mentioned at the beginning of this study. Another good example is the Nō play *Kasuga Ryūjin*, in which the holy man Myōe Shōnin is told by an oracle of the Shinto divinities that it is not necessary to travel all the way to China and India, since most of the sacred sites at Kasuga *are* those famous places *in Japan*.[40]

Yet another way to sacralize space was to make some edifying connections. I shall offer two quite clear cases, which are not unusual. The first excerpt describes the very large religious complex surrounding *Usa*, the original site of Hachiman in Kyūshū at Mount Rokugō:

> In the district of Kunisaki, Province of Toyokuni, is a place called Rokugō. There, twenty-eight temples have been erected, on the basis of the twenty-eight chapters of the Lotus sutra. Symbolically expressing the threefold composition of the scriptures, these temples are divided into three groups: the fundamental (eight temples), the middle (ten temples), and the final (ten temples). In the more than 100 pavilions of this last group, there are as many representations of the Buddha as there are words in the Lotus sutra. Expressing the desire to place these 69,380 statues within the sacred space of the twenty-eight mountains, in the ninety-nine caverns, and in the 100 and some pavilions, the three pilgrims unified their hearts and started work on each mountain. Choosing the correct days and orientations, they invited carpenters, sculptors, artists, painters and had them create the effigies of the Buddha.[41]

A huge enterprise indeed! "The mountains are the Lotus sutra; they are the body of the Buddha; the world is the realm of Awakening." Such statements are at the basis of Japan's sacred geography and architecture.

Another text where we see such a device being used is one which describes the center of the Tendai Sannō Ichijitsu Shinto at the foot of Mount Hiei. The text essential for understanding of the structures on this site is the *Yōtenki*, written around the year 1223.[42] The seven shrines of Hie (or Hiyoshi) are said to correspond to the seven stars of the Great Dipper, the Seven Buddhas of the

Past, and to the Seven Generations of the Heavenly Divinities. The most important original nature of this complex is the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, whose constant residence is linked to the polar star. Many of the other deities have come over from China through the same process as that described above.

To summarize, we have seen that the mandalization of space was a vast historical process which aimed at making all Japan a sacred site: that of the manifestation of the divine in its many forms and the site of the practices leading to the realization of Buddhahood. Evidence for this is to be found in much religious literature (I have uncovered here only one corner of the box). One category of this literature is made of the *engi* texts, in which the origins of temples and shrines are traced. The written texts were often accompanied by paintings, forming some of the most beautiful painted scrolls Japan has produced. Many of the famous sites of Japan continue to be defined through mandalization, which has become one of the most distinctive expressions of the Japanese perception of time, space, and man's activities. This perception has been decisively influenced by the syncretic tradition including Shinto, Taoist, Esoteric Buddhist (both Tendai and Shingon), and Pure Land elements. In this sense, mandalization represents a rich facet of Japan's cultural development.

Conclusion

We have seen that the concept of sacred space has found many different expressions in the history of Japanese religions. Underlying the appearance of these expressions has been a historical process whereby the definition of sacred space was gradually expanded from the sacred site to the sacred nation, and which ultimately resulted in a sacralization of the total human environment and all of human activity. It may be shown, indeed, that, as the centuries passed, more and more emphasis was laid in Japanese religion on everyday behavior as the tool of the Way. Zen Buddhism played a major role in this development. Yet the main difference one can point to between the syncretic notion of the entire nation as a sacred space and the Zen view that the entire realm of human activity is the site for realization of Buddhahood is that, in the syncretic tradition, rituals play a central role, while in Zen, ritual plays no part at all. The Zen position, however, could be easily misconstrued, because nothing special could be seen by the uninformed witness. How was one to see that "drinking a bowl of tea, washing one's face," as Dōgen put it, were Buddha acts . . . that any time, any space, was sacred, if there was no external sign showing it? All depended on the disciples' perspective on the world, on life and on death, and on transmigration and awakening. In Zen, then, what really changed was not the definition of sacred space and sacred time but the definition of the type of activity which could sacralize man's environment and behavior.

By the end of the Edo period, Japan was ready to accept its own sacredness. The combined influence of the ritual view of Esoteric Buddhism, the antiritual view of Zen, and the more "secular" view of Confucianism, with its emphasis on

everyday ritual, had prepared the way for this. In conclusion, we may comment that sacred space in Japan was originally seen as determined by a spontaneous manifestation of the divine (through external power) yet gradually came to be seen as determined through experience (internal power). This might be seen as a process of integration of the divine and human realms. Hayashi Razan, a Shinto and Confucian thinker of the beginning of the Edo period, came to this conclusion: "The divine is located within the heart-mind of human beings."[43] He might have hit the nail right on its head.

Notes

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1 Inoue Enryō, "Tetsugaku isseki wa," *Meiji bungaku zenshū* 80 (1967): 44.
2 See N. Kurano and H. Takeda, eds., *Kojiki* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1953), p. 89.
3 The best study on the topic is Nold Egenter, *Bauform als Zeichen und Symbol* (Zurich, 1980).
4 See Haruki Kageyama, *Shinto Arts* (Rutland, Vt.: Weatherhill, 1973), plate 131, p. 127.
5 See Haruki Kageyama, *Shintaizan* (Tokyo: Gakuseisha, 1971), p. 226. Mountains which were considered to be the abode of divinities received, during the Nara period, the name *Kannabi*. For examples, see Felicia Bock, *Engi-shiki: Procedures of the Engi Era* (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1972), 2:102–5. See also Michiko Yamaguchi Aoki, trans., *Izumo fudoki* (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1971). The *Hitachi fudoki*, another major text, has been translated by Kōno Shōzō, *Cultural Nippon* 8 (1940): 2.
6 *Nigatsudō-e-engi*, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, 27b, no. 796, 128.
7 I presented a study of this topic at the American Academy of Religion, New Orleans, 1978. Publication forthcoming in the *Journal of Japanese Studies*.
8 *Tōnomine ryakki*, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 24, no. 436, p. 424.
9 See Y. Endō and K. Kasuga, eds., *Nihon ryōiki* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1967), p. 134.
10 See S. Watanabe and Y. Miyasaka, eds., *Shōryōshū* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1965), p. 408.
11 Ibid., p. 410.
12 Ibid., p. 182. See my translation of the text in A. Tobias and H. Drasdo, eds., *The Mountain Spirit* (New York: Overlook Press, 1979), p. 51.
13 See Seishin Moriyama, *Bunka shijō yori mitaru Kōbō Daishi den* (Tokyo, 1933), p. 865.
14 See Ryūshin Katsuno, *Hieizan to Kōyasan* (Tokyo, 1966), p. 225.
15 All these elements appear very clearly in a medieval text entitled *Kumano sankei*, which was the object of a presentation by Karen Brazell at the second meeting of the Seminar on Time and Space in Japanese Culture, Cornell University, 1976.
16 This particular aspect was discussed by Manfred Speidel at the same meeting.
17 A good example can be seen on the precincts of the Sennyū-ji temple in Kyoto.
18 Kūkai, "Himitsu mandara jūjushinron," in *Kōbō daishi zenshū* (Tokyo: Sankibō, 1968), 3:210. Hereafter referred to as *Zenshū*.
19 Kūkai, "Heizei Tennō Kanjō bun," *Zenshū*, 2:119
20 Kūkai, "Unjigi," *Zenshū*, 1:90.

21 Kūkai, "Issaikyō kaidai," *Zenshū*, 2:446.
22 Kūkai, "Hizōki," *Zenshū*, 2:621.
23 Ibid., p. 628.
24 Cited in C. G. Jung, *Psychologie et alchimie* (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1970), p. 216.
25 Kūkai, "Sokushin jōbutsu-gi," *Zenshū*, 1:56.
26 I have discussed this aspect of Michinaga's religiosity in a presentation at the Association of Asian Studies, Toronto, 1976: "The Pure Land Tradition in the Time of Fujiwara no Michinaga."
27 *Shozan engi*, in *Jisha engi* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1976), p. 91.
28 Ibid., p. 100.
29 Ibid., p. 108.
30 Cited by Gaston Renondeau, *Le Shugendo: Histoire, doctrine et rites des anachoretes dits Yamabushi* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1965), p. 110.
31 Ibid., pp. 110–11.
32 In *Jisha engi*, p. 209.
33 *Jinteki mondō*, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 32, 202.
34 See, e.g., *Taishō daizōkyō*, 79:467.
35 In *Jisha engi*, p. 90.
36 Ibid.
37 Y. Kondō, ed., *Shintō-shū*: "*Shintō yūrai no koto*" (Tokyo: Kadokawa, 1964).
38 See Grapard, "Kūkai: Stone Inscription . . .," in *Mountain Spirit* (New York: Overlook Press, 1979), p. 58.
39 *Jinteki mondō*, p. 202.
40 "Kasuga ryūjin," *Hōshōryū-Koe no hyakubanshū* 80 (1972): 10.
41 "Rokugō kaizan Ninmon daibosatsu hongi," in *Jisha engi*, p. 316.
42 "Yōtenki," in *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 2b, 581; also "Kongō-himitsu Sannō denjū daiji," *Tendai-shū zensho* 12:6.
43 Hayashi Razan, "Shintō denjū," in *Kinsei Shintōron*, ed. S. Taira and A. Abe (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1972), p. 12.

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THE PLACE OF THE SUDDEN TEACHING WITHIN THE HUA-YEN TRADITION

An investigation of the process of doctrinal change

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One of the best ways in which we can assess the process of doctrinal change within Chinese Buddhism is by a comparative analysis of the various schemes of doctrinal classification (*p'anchiao* 判教) devised within the different scholastic traditions. *P'an-chiao* served Chinese Buddhists as a convenient hermeneutical device by which the confusing array of teachings believed to have been taught by the Buddha could be systematically organized into a coherent, internally consistent doctrinal whole. At the same time, by classifying the Buddha's teachings within a hierarchically articulated framework, it also functioned as one of the primary means by which the different Chinese traditions legitimized their sectarian claims. *P'an-chiao* thus represents in schematic form what doctrines a particular tradition took to be the most important for defining the main characteristics of its teaching. The investigation of how such formulations change within a tradition should, accordingly, provide us with a useful index for gauging the process of doctrinal change.

The process of doctrinal change, moreover, must be understood from two interrelated points of view. On the one hand, it must be understood within the particular doctrinal context of the tradition in question—a context that has its own tensions and trajectory, which define both the parameters within which innovation can take place and the directions in which such innovation is most likely to occur. On the other hand, while we must respect the integrity of a tradition, we must bear in mind that traditions do not develop within a vacuum. The process of doctrinal change must also be understood within the larger historical context that shaped the lives and thoughts of the individual figures who constitute a tradition. The investigation of the different *p'an-chiao* schemes evolved

within a particular tradition should both reveal the underlying problematic of that tradition and reflect broader changes within the Chinese Buddhist world.

The Hua-yen tradition, along with T'ien-t'ai, is one of the crowning achievements of Chinese Buddhist scholastic thought. It is also worthy of our attention as representing one of the major expressions of what Yūki Reimon has characterized as the New Buddhism of the Sui / T'ang Period—that is, it is a prime example of a form of Buddhism that can be said to be at once authentically Buddhist and uniquely Chinese. The classical formulation of Hua-yen doctrine is often taken as having been best articulated by Fa-tsang 法藏 (643–712) in his *Treatise on the Five Teachings* (*Wu-chiao chang* 五教章). A comparison of the doctrinal classification scheme outlined in that work with that elaborated by Tsung-mi 宗密 (780–841), traditionally reckoned as the fifth Hua-yen "patriarch," in his *Inquiry into the Origin of Man* (*Yüan-jen lun* 原人論), reveals that there were a number of profound changes that had taken place in the evaluation of the basic tenets of Hua-yen doctrine in the almost century and a half that separated the composition of these two works.

Fa-tsang divides the Buddha's teachings into five categories. The first and most elementary of these is the Teaching of the Lesser Vehicle (*hsiao-sheng chiao* 小乘教). The second is the Elementary Teaching of the Great Vehicle (*ta-sheng shih-chiao* 大乘始教), which Fa-tsang subdivides into two categories, corresponding to the particular brand of Yogācāra introduced to China by Hsüan-tsang and the Mādhyamika teaching of emptiness. Fa-tsang refers to the third category in his classification scheme as the Advanced Teaching of the Great Vehicle (*ta-sheng chung-chiao* 大乘終教), which is exemplified by the Tathāgatagarbha doctrine, especially as it was elaborated in the *Awakening of Faith* (*Ta-sheng ch'i-hsin lun* 大乘起信論). The fourth category is the Sudden Teaching (*tun-chiao* 頓教). The fifth and highest category of Buddhist teaching is the Perfect Teaching (*yüan-chiao* 圓教), as represented by the totalistic vision of the unobstructed interrelation of all things, taught in the *Huayen* (*Avataṃsaka*) *Sūtra*.

Tsung-mi also divides the Buddha's teachings into five categories. His first category, the Teaching of Men and Gods (*jen-t'ien chiao* 人天教), is not found in Fa-tsang's classification scheme. His second category, the Teaching of the Lesser Vehicle, corresponds to the first category of teaching in Fa-tsang's scheme. Tsung-mi then makes what were the two subdivisions of Fa-tsang's second category—the Elementary Teaching of the Great Vehicle—into the third and fourth categories in his own scheme, which he refers to as the Teaching of the Phenomenal Appearances of the Dharmas (*fa-hsiang chiao* 法相教) and the Teaching which Negates Phenomenal Appearances (*p'o-hsiang chiao* 破相教). The fifth and supreme teaching in Tsung-mi's classification scheme, which he refers to as the Teaching which Reveals the Nature (*hsien-hsing chiao* 顯性教), corresponds to the third teaching in Fa-tsang's scheme. Tsung-mi does not include either the Sudden or the Perfect teachings, the last two categories in Fa-tsang's arrangement, as separate categories in his classification scheme.

One of the most significant differences between Fa-tsang's and Tsung-mi's *p'an-chiao* schemes is that Tsung-mi omits the Sudden Teaching from his five-fold classification of the Buddha's teachings. This paper will investigate the changing assessment of this teaching within the Hua-yen tradition. Such an endeavor should reveal some of the tensions inherent within the tradition, and highlight some of the changes that had taken place within Chinese Buddhism in the eighth century, the most notable of which, in the present context, are the rise of Ch'an and the revival of T'ien-t'ai, two movements that left an important mark on Tsung-mi's revision of Hua-yen.

I. The sudden teaching according to Fa-tsang

Unlike much of the *p'an-chiao* tradition that preceded him, Fa-tsang does not identify the Sudden Teaching with the *Hua-yen Sūtra*.[1] Rather, the teaching of the *Hua-yen Sūtra* supersedes the Sudden Teaching, and is accorded supreme pride of place as the Perfect Teaching, the fifth and final teaching in his classification scheme. Fa-tsang associates the Sudden Teaching—insofar as any teaching that transcends all methods of teaching can be linked with a particular scriptural teaching—with the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra*. A good example of what Fa-tsang means by the Sudden Teaching can be found in the first definition of this category of teaching that he gives in the *Treatise on the Five Teachings*:

> In the Sudden Teaching all words and explanations are suddenly cut off, the nature of the Truth is suddenly revealed, understanding and practice are suddenly perfected, and Buddhahood [is attained] upon the non-production of a single moment of [false] thought.[2]

As canonical authority, Fa-tsang then goes on to quote the passage from the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* which says that the purification of beings can be spoken of as sudden "just as images in a mirror are reflected suddenly, not gradually."[3] Moreover, in this definition the Sudden Teaching is explicitly contrasted with the former two teachings in Fa-tsang's *p'an-chiao* scheme, those of the Elementary and Advanced Mahāyāna, which are characterized as gradual because

> the understanding and practice within them lie within words and explanations, the stages [of the Bodhisattva's path] are sequential, cause and effect follow one another, and one proceeds from the subtle to the manifest.[4]

While Fa-tsang discusses the Sudden Teaching in different ways from a variety of perspectives throughout the *Treatise on the Five Teachings*,[5] his overall characterization, as the definition just cited suggests, can be analyzed as having two aspects, the first having to do with its doctrinal content and the second with its practical application.[6] According to the first, the Sudden

Teaching is described as abandoning all words and concepts because there can be no dichotomous discrimination in the apprehension of the ultimate nature of reality, which ineluctably defies all attempts to verbalize or conceptualize its essence. The canonical paradigm to which Fa-tsang refers most frequently to illustrate this aspect of the Sudden Teaching is Vimalakīrti's resounding silence, which marks the climax of the ninth chapter of Kumārajīva's translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra*.[7] The chapter begins with Vimalakīrti's request that all of the Bodhisattvas present express their understanding of the Dharma of nonduality. After each of the thirty-two Bodhisattvas, culminating with Mañjuśrī, the very embodiment of wisdom, has taken his turn, Mañjuśrī then calls upon Vimalakīrti to express his understanding, whereupon Vimalakīrti remains silent. Mañjuśrī then exclaims: "Excellent! Excellent! To be without words and speech! That is called the true entrance into the Dharma of non-duality!"[8]

No matter how profound or eloquent their replies, the answers of all of the Bodhisattvas still fall within the province of either the Elementary or the Advanced Teaching, for they still rely on words to try to express the inexpressible. Only Vimalakīrti succeeds in directly expressing the ineffable nature of ultimate reality by his refusal to enter the realm of dichotomous discourse. Fa-tsang aptly indicates the qualitative difference in their responses by saying that the thirty-two Bodhisattvas merely "spoke about" (*shuo* 說) the Dharma of non-duality, whereas Vimalakīrti "revealed" (*hsien* 顯) it.[9]

As this example from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra* also indicates, what Vimalakīrti succeeds in revealing through his silence and what the other Bodhisattvas try, but ultimately fail, to express in words is the same ineffable reality. The difference between their responses lies in the manner in which they express, or try to express, the true nature of this reality. When Mañjuśrī says:

> "In my opinion, to be without words, without speech, without indication, without knowing, and beyond all questions and answers in regard to all things—that is entering the Dharma of non-duality!"[10]

he merely says what it is. Only Vimalakīrti's silence succeeds in directly manifesting the true import of Mañjuśrī's words.

If Vimalakīrti's silence is taken as the paradigm upon which Fa-tsang establishes the Sudden Teaching, then the Sudden Teaching does not differ in content from the Advanced Teaching, which Fa-tsang identifies as the Absolute Mind of Suchness (*chen-'ju i-hsin* 眞如一心) in another passage in the *Treatise of the Five Teachings*:

> According to the Sudden Teaching, all things are nothing but the Absolute Mind of Suchness, wherein all discriminations have utterly ceased. It transcends words and concepts and is ineffable. The Dharma of non-duality as spoken of by the thirty-two Bodhisattvas in the *Vimalakirīnirdeśasūtra* refers to the harmonious interfusion of the pure

> and impure without duality in the previous teaching of the Advanced [Mahāyāna], while the non-daulity which transcends words that was revealed by Vimalakīrti refers to this [Sudden] Teaching. Because all pure and impure characteristics have been utterly brought to an end and there are no longer any two things which can be harmonized with one another, the ineffable is non-duality.[11]

This passage is of further interest in that it makes clear that what Fa-tsang has in mind when he discusses the content of these two teachings is the Tathāgatagarbha as expounded in the *Awakening of Faith*. The following passage from the *Treatise on the Five Teachings* makes this connection with the *Awakening of Faith* even more explicit.

> Within the *Awakening of Faith*, it is in connection with the Sudden Teaching that the Suchness which transcends words is revealed and in connection with the Gradual Teaching that the Suchness which is predicated in words is expounded, and, within [the Suchness which is] predicated in words, it is in connection with the Elementary and Advanced Teaching that the empty and non-empty [aspects of] Suchness are expounded.[12]

Fa-tsang is here basing himself on a passage in the beginning of the *Awakening of Faith* that distinguishes between Suchness which transcends words (*li-yen* 離言眞如) and Suchness which is predicated in words (*i-yen* 依言眞如).

> What is referred to as "the Nature of the Mind" is neither born nor dies. It is only on the basis of false thoughts that all things become differentiated. If one is free from false thoughts, then there are no phenomenal appearances of any objects. Therefore, from the very beginning all things transcend all forms of verbalization, description, and conceptualization and are ultimately undifferentiated, unchanging, and indestructible. Because they are nothing but the Absolute Mind, they are referred to as Suchness. Because all verbal explanations are merely provisional designations without any reality and are merely used in accordance with false thoughts and cannot denote [Suchness], the term "Suchness" is without any [determinate] characteristics. This means that it is the limit of verbal expression wherein a word is used to put an end to words. . . . Because all things are ineffable and inconceivable, they are referred to as "Suchness."[13]

This passage refers to the Suchness which transcends words, which is Suchness in its true (*shih* 實) aspect, as distinguished from the Suchness which is predicated in words, which is only provisional (*chia* 假).

The *Awakening of Faith* then goes on to introduce the Suchness which is

predicated in words, which it says has two aspects. The first is termed "the truly empty [如實空] because it is ultimately able to reveal what is real" and the second is termed "the truly non-empty [如實不空] because it is in its very essence fully endowed with undefiled excellent qualities."[14]

As these various passages make clear, the Sudden Teaching is represented for Fa-tsang by Vimalakīrti's silence and is based on the *Awakening of Faith*'s Suchness which transcends words; while the Gradual Teaching—denoting, in this context, both the Elementary and the Advanced Teaching—is represented by the replies of the thirty-two Bodhisattvas, and is based on the *Awakening of Faith*'s Suchness which is predicated in words. Moreover, the Sudden and Gradual Teachings do not differ in content, only in the way in which they express that content.

However, as the initial definition of the Sudden Teaching cited above indicates—and as Fa-tsang makes clear in other contexts—there is also another aspect to his characterization of this teaching, one which bears on the nature of religious practice. That is, the Sudden Teaching is the teaching that it is possible to attain Buddhahood suddenly, in a single moment of thought, without having to progress step by step through a long and arduous succession of stages on the Path. As Fa-tsang says in the *Treatise on the Five Teachings*:

> According to the Sudden Teaching, all stages of practice are without exception ineffable because they transcend all forms, because Buddhahood [is attained] upon the non-production of a single moment of [false] thought, and because, if one perceives forms such as distinctions in the stages of practice, then it is an erroneous view.[15]

The three scriptural passages that Fa-tsang quotes as canonical authority for this characterization of the Sudden Teaching[16] are:

> 1. *Viśeṣacintabrahmaparipṛcchā*:
>
> If someone hears of the true nature of all things and diligently practices accordingly, then he will not advance stage by stage, and, if he does not advance stage by stage, then he will not abide in either saṃsāra or nirvāṇa.[17]
>
> 2. *Laṅkāvatāra*:
>
> The first stage is identical with the eighth stage. . . . Since there are no [stages] which exist, how could there be a sequence [of stages]?[18]
>
> 3. *Daśabhūmika*:
>
> The ten stages are like the traces of a bird in the sky. How could there be differences that could be attained?[19]

The Sudden Teaching for Fa-tsang thus not only indicates a superior way of revealing the true nature of reality, but also contains a specific teaching about the true nature of religious practice. The second aspect of Fa-tsang's characterization of this teaching grows out of the first, both being based on the *Awakening of Faith*. Just as the true nature of Suchness lacks all determinate characteristics and any attempt to express it in words is therefore merely provisionally true at best, so also the distinctions among the various stages of religious practice are only provisional and do not obtain in the realm of Suchness. It is therefore possible, by realizing their empty nature, to transcend them. The second aspect can thus be seen as an extension of the first to the realm of practice, and, as such, it seems to intimate the teaching of sudden enlightenment that was to become so important for Ch'an Buddhists, although Fa-tsang does not use the term "sudden enlightenment," nor does he refer to the Ch'an school. It is only when we come to Ch'eng-kuan 澄觀 (737–838), who took the further step of identifying the Sudden Teaching with Ch'an, that the second aspect of this teaching assumes primary significance. In the context of the *Treatise on the Five Teachings*, however, it is the doctrinal aspect of this teaching that is emphasized.

II. Hui-yüan and the problematical nature of the sudden teaching

The first to raise the issue of the problematical nature of the Sudden Teaching within Fa-tsang's *p'an-chiao* scheme was Fa-tsang's own favored disciple, Hui-yüan 慧苑 (ca.673–743). In his discussion of Fa-tsang's system of doctrinal classification in the *K'an-ting chi*, Hui-yüan delivers the following criticism of the inclusion of the Sudden Teaching in Fa-tsang's fivefold scheme:

> You should know that this [Sudden Teaching] abandons the use of language [亡詮] to reveal the Truth [理]. How, then, can it be established as [a teaching which] can be expressed in words [能詮]? If it is a teaching, then what truth [理] does it express? If one were to say that the teaching is not separate from the Truth because it transcends words, then surely it must be true that the Advanced and Perfect teachings [also] transcend words. But, if one admits that [teachings which] transcend words must always be called "sudden," then why are there five teachings? If one were to claim that, even though it is [a teaching which] expounds the transcending of words, it still does not exclude the use of words, then the Advanced and Perfect teachings should also be called "sudden," because they both transcend words while not excluding the use of words.[20]

Hui-yüan's criticism is twofold. His first point can be restated in the following terms: In order for something to qualify as a teaching (*chiao* 教), there must be a certain content (*so-ch'üan* 所詮, *li* 理) which it is able to express

(*neng-ch'üan* 能詮). However, if the "teaching" in question abandons the use of language (*wang-ch'üan* 亡詮) and thereby has no way in which to express itself, then there can be no content which it expresses, and it consequently cannot be regarded as a real teaching. Since "the Sudden Teaching" is characterized precisely by its rejection of language to express the Truth, it is thus a contradiction in terms to establish it as a teaching. On the other hand, if it is admitted that the Sudden Teaching does succeed in expressing the Truth, then it cannot truly abandon all modes of expression, for the Truth (*li*) cannot be expressed (*so-ch'üan*) without some form of expression (*ńeng-ch'üan*). This brings us to the second point raised by Hui-yüan's criticism: If the content of the Sudden Teaching is the Truth which transcends words and which is ultimately inexpressible, then it hardly differs from either the Advanced or Perfect Teaching. There is thus no reason to establish it as a separate teaching.

Hui-yüan's criticism points to the question of the taxonomy of Fa-tsang's *p'an-chiao* scheme. The organizing principle according to which Fa-tsang seems to be operating in his classification of Buddhist teachings has to do with distinguishing among teachings according to an analysis of their content. Since the Sudden Teaching has the same content as the Advanced Teaching, it cannot be set up as a separate category of teaching without doing violence to the taxonomical principle according to which the other teachings are classified.

The problematical nature of the Sudden Teaching within Fa-tsang's *p'an-chiao* scheme becomes even more apparent when viewed in terms of the systematic formulation of the T'ien-t'ai *p'an-chiao* first articulated by Chan-jan 湛然 (711–782) in the middle of the eighth century.[21] Chan-jan, reckoned as the sixth patriarch in the T'ien-t'ai tradition, was the figure responsible for the revival of the fortunes of the T'ien-t'ai teachings in the later T'ang, after a century or more of almost total eclipse. More important in the present context, Chan-jan also seems to have been the first to make explicit the crucial distinction in the taxonomy of Buddhist teachings between the classification of teachings according to the method of their exposition (*hua-i-chiao* 化儀教) and according to the content of their exposition (*hua-fa chiao* 化法教). According to Chan-jan's creative synthesis of the various forms of doctrinal classifications scattered throughout Chih-i's works, the Sudden Teaching falls within the category of teachings that should be classified according to the method of their exposition, whereas all of the other teachings in Fa-tsang's *p'an-chiao* scheme would have to be categorized as teachings that should be classified according to the content of their exposition. The distinction between these two ways of classifying Buddhist teachings introduced by Chan-jan—which was adopted by Tsung-mi—makes clear the taxonomical confusion entailed by Fa-tsang's inclusion of the Sudden Teaching within his *p'an-chiao* scheme.

III. Ch'eng-kuan's redefinition of the sudden teaching

The question of the Sudden Teaching takes on a new and extra-doctrinal dimension when we come to Ch'eng-kuan. One of the main bases for Ch'eng-kuan's attack on Hui-yüan was Hui-yüan's exclusion of the Sudden Teaching from his own fourfold classification scheme and his related criticism of Fa-tsang's scheme for its inclusion of the Sudden Teaching. After quoting Hui-yüan's first point of criticism, Ch'eng-kuan offers his own defense of Fa-tsang's inclusion of the Sudden Teaching:

> "Because it suddenly expresses the Truth, it is called 'the Sudden Teaching' " means that what is expressed is the Truth. How could it be that the sudden preaching of the Truth in this case is not able to express [the Truth]? Now, teachings which are able to express [Truth] are always established in accordance with [the truth] that they express. For instance, if it expresses [the truth of] the Three Vehicles, then it is a gradual teaching; if it expresses the unobstructed interrelation of each and every thing, then it is the Perfect Teaching. How could it be that if that which is expressed is the Truth, [Hui-yüan] could not admit that that which is able to express it is a teaching? How could he have criticized [this teaching] by saying, "then what Truth [does it express]?" That is the epitome of delusion![22]

However, in arguing that the Sudden Teaching must be a teaching because it expresses the Truth, Ch'eng-kuan misses the point of Hui-yüan's criticism that, if the Sudden Teaching by definition discards all means of expressing the Truth, then there is nothing that it can be said to express. In fact, Ch'eng-kuan's attempted rebuttal only raises Hui-yüan's second criticism, which Ch'eng-kuan makes no attempt to address. Ch'eng-kuan's rather lame response suggests that it is not just a question of doctrine that is at stake. Instead of attempting to show how the Truth expressed in the Sudden Teaching differs from that expressed in the Advanced or Perfect Teachings, Ch'eng-kuan comes to the real substance of his objection when he says:

> Because [Hui-yüan] never penetrated Ch'an, he was utterly deluded about the true meaning of the Sudden [Teaching]. . . . The mind-by-mind transmission of Bodhidharma truly refers to this [Sudden] Teaching. If a single word were not used [ ] to express directly that this very mind is Buddha, how could the essentials of the Mind be transmitted? Therefore, using words which are without words, the Truth which transcends words is directly expressed. . . . The Northern and Southern lines of Ch'an are [both] comprised within the Sudden Teaching.[23]

What is really at issue for Ch'eng-kuan is the fact that he takes the Sudden Teaching to refer to Ch'an, and it is important to recall in this regard that, in

addition to being honored as the fourth Hua-yen patriarch by the later tradition, Ch'eng-kuan was also closely associated with various Ch'an lines of his day. *The Biographies of Eminent Monks Compiled in the Sung* (*Sung kao-seng chuan*), for instance, credits Ch'eng-kuan with having studied the Ox-head line of Ch'an under Hui-chung 慧忠 (683–769) and Fa-ch'in 法欽 (714–792), the Ho-tse line of Southern Ch'an under Wu-ming 無名 (722–793), and the Northern line of Ch'an under Hui-yün 慧雲 (dates unknown).[24]

Even though it is highly unlikely that Fa-tsang could have had Ch'an in mind when he discussed the Sudden Teaching in the *Treatise on the Five Teachings*,[25] Ch'eng-kuan's identification of the Sudden Teaching with Ch'an does, in fact, provide a way in which Fa-tsang's fivefold classification scheme can be salvaged from Hui-yüan's criticism. As noted before, Fa-tsang's characterization of the Sudden Teaching can be analyzed as having two aspects. While Hui-yüan's critique holds against the first aspect, according to which the Sudden Teaching differs from the Advanced Teaching only in its method of exposition and not in its content, it does not hold against the second aspect, which has to do with religious practice. That is, even though the Sudden Teaching does not reveal any new truth about the ultimate nature of reality, it may still have something unique to say about the nature of practice, and it is in this context that it can still be considered as a *bona fide* teaching in its own right.[26] Nevertheless, in so identifying the Sudden Teaching with Ch'an, Ch'eng-kuan has given to this teaching a totally different valuation from that found in the *Treatise on the Five Teachings*, where the practical aspect of this teaching is of secondary importance.

More important, Ch'eng-kuan's identification of the Sudden Teaching with Ch'an points to the enormous impact that the rise of Ch'an had on other forms of Chinese Buddhism in the eighth century. That century witnessed the transformation of Ch'an from a little-known and cloistered phenomenon into a large scale movement whose ramifications affected the course of Chinese Buddhism as a whole. It is the presence of Ch'an that gives the Hua-yen writings of Ch'eng-kuan and Tsung-mi an entirely different cast from those of Fa-tsang.

IV. The sudden teaching in Tsung-mi's thought

Tsung-mi was even more closely identified with Ch'an than was his teacher, Ch'eng-kuan. Nevertheless, Tsung-mi did not identify the Sudden Teaching with Ch'an as Ch'eng-kuan had. Nor, for a number of reasons, did he establish the Sudden Teaching as a separate category in his *p'an-chiao* scheme.

First of all, Tsung-mi could not make the kind of blanket identification that Ch'eng-kuan had made in subsuming different Ch'an lines together under the Sudden Teaching. When Tsung-mi formulated his *p'an-chiao* scheme in the *Inquiry into the Origin of Man*, almost half a century had elapsed since Ch'eng-kuan had written the *Yen-i ch'ao*, a period of time in which Ch'an had become even more influential and the differences among the various Ch'an lines had become even more apparent, especially the difference between the Northern and

Southern lines. As a successor to the Ho-tse line, whose founder, Shen-hui, had championed the cause of Southern Ch'an as teaching sudden enlightenment and had disparaged Northern Ch'an as teaching a gradualistic form of practice, Tsung-mi could not have placed the two lines of Ch'an in the same category. Rather, Tsung-mi makes a point of distinguishing between the two lines. For instance, in the *Ch'an Chart* (*Chung-hua ch'uan-hsin-ti ch'an men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi t'u*, 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖),[27] a work that seeks to clarify the different historical and doctrinal roots of the major Ch'an lines of his day, Tsung-mi says:

> The Southern Line is the true line in which the robe and Dharma have been uninterruptedly transmitted over successive generations from the time when the Great Master Hui-neng of Ts'ao-ch'i received the essence of Bodhidharma's teaching. Later, because Shen-hsiu widely spread the gradual teaching in the North, it was called the Southern Line to distinguish it [from the Northern line of Shenhsiu].[28]

> After the Priest Hui-neng died, the gradual teaching of the Northern line was greatly practiced and thus became an obstacle to the wide-scale transmission of the Sudden Teaching. . . . In the beginning of the T'ien-pao era [742–756] Ho-tse [Shen-hui] entered Loyang and, as soon as he proclaimed this teaching, he made it known that the descendents of Shen-hsiu were collateral and that their teaching was gradual. Since the two lines were being practiced side by side, people of the time wanted to distinguish between them; therefore, the use of the names "Northern" and "Southern" began from that time.[29]

Moreover, as Tsung-mi makes clear elsewhere in the *Ch'an Chart*, the teaching of Ho-tse Shen-hui is referred to as "sudden" because it advocates sudden enlightenment. In contrast to the Southern line of Ch'an, the Northern line founded by Shen-hsiu is referred to as "gradual" because it merely teaches gradual practice, ignoring sudden enlightenment altogether.[30]

Given Tsung-mi's deep personal identification with the Ho-tse line of Southern Ch'an and his characterization of the teaching of that line in terms sharply contrasting with those of the Northern line, it would have been impossible for him to have included both the Southern and Northern lines of Ch'an together in the same category, under the rubric of the Sudden Teaching, as Ch'eng-kuan had done. If, in fact, Ch'eng-kuan was associated with both the Northern and Southern lines, we can assume that he would have wanted to minimize the differences between them. Moreover, if Ch'eng-kuan's Ch'an allegiance was to the Ox-head lineage, as Kamata has argued, it would only have been natural for him to have minimized the differences between the Northern and Southern lines, especially if the Ox-head line of Ch'an arose as an attempt to bridge the sectarianism that had become rife among Ch'an Buddhists as a result of the rivalry between the Northern and Southern lines in the eighth century.[31]

Furthermore, it would have disrupted the integrity of his *p'an-chiao* scheme for Tsung-mi to have established the Southern line alone as the Sudden Teaching, incorporating the Northern and other lines of Ch'an into categories of gradual teachings. But, more importantly, Tsung-mi did not regard the Ch'an lines as espousing teachings that were separate from the teachings of the more scholastic traditions of Chinese Buddhism. In fact, the efforts of the last years of his career were devoted to overcoming the separation between Ch'an and the more scholastic teachings (*chiao* 教). Tsung-mi went to great pains in the *Ch'an Preface* (*Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü* 禪源諸詮集都序) to link the major lines of Ch'an prevalent in his day with the scholastic traditions that had preceded them. Thus, he links the teaching of the Northern line of Ch'an with the Fa-hsiang/Yogācāra tradition; the teaching of the Ox-head line of Ch'an with the San-lun/Mādhyamika tradition; and the teaching of the Southern line of Ch'an with the Hua-yen tradition. It would thus have violated the very intent of this work to have established Ch'an as a separate teaching. Clearly, as far as Tsung-mi was concerned, the various Ch'an lines did not differ from the major scholastic traditions in terms of the content of their teaching; the innovation and contribution of the Ch'an lines lay in the way in which they applied these teachings in the sphere of religious practice.[32]

Tsung-mi's thought in regard to the Sudden Teaching is elaborated most fully in the *Ch'an Preface*, which, with some slight alteration in terminology, employs the same *p'an-chiao* scheme that he developed in the *Inquiry into the Origin of Man*. The only difference between the two schemes is that whereas Tsung-mi uses a fivefold scheme in the *Inquiry into the Origin of Man*, he uses a threefold one in the *Ch'an Preface*. This difference, however, is more apparent than real, as Tsung-mi includes the first three teachings of the *Inquiry into the Origin of Man* in the first category of teaching in the *Ch'an Preface*, which thus treats the same five teachings that he deals with in the *Inquiry into the Origin of Man*. This means that what he refers to as the three categories of teaching in the *Ch'an Preface* includes the five categories of teachings elaborated in the *Inquiry into the Origin of Man*, and what he refers to as the third category of teaching in the *Ch'an Preface* corresponds to the fifth category of teaching in the *Inquiry into the Origin of Man*.

In response to the question:

> Previously you said that the Buddha expounded the sudden and gradual teachings and that Ch'an opened up the sudden and gradual gates [of practice]. It is still not clear what is the sudden [teaching] and what is the gradual [teaching] within the three categories of teaching.

Tsung-mi replies:

> It is only because the style [儀式] of the World Honored One's exposition of the Teachings varied that there are sudden expositions in accordance with the Truth and gradual expositions in accordance with

> the capacities [of sentient beings]. Although they are also referred to as the Sudden Teaching and the Gradual Teaching, this does not mean that there is a separate sudden and gradual [teaching] outside of the three teachings.[33]

This passage makes clear that Tsung-mi, like Chan-jan, understands the terms "sudden" and "gradual" to refer to methods by which the Buddha taught, not to separate teachings. Since the teachings included within Tsung-mi's *p'an-chiao* scheme are classified according to their content, it would thus have entailed a confusion of taxonomical principles for Tsung-mi to have established the Sudden Teaching as a separate category.

Tsung-mi goes on to distinguish between two types of sudden teachings, a distinction that he does not make in the *Inquiry into the Origin of Man*. Tsung-mi's explanation of the Sudden Teaching in the *Inquiry into the Origin of Man* corresponds to the account that he gives of the first type of this teaching in the *Ch'an Preface*, which he refers to as *chu-chi-tun-chiao*, 逐機頓教, the sudden teaching which was expounded in response to beings of superior capacity, in contrast to what he refers to as *hua-i-tun-chaio* 化儀頓教, the sudden teaching as a method of exposition.

Tsung-mi illustrates the first type in the *Ch'an Preface* by saying that "whenever [the Buddha] encountered a person of superior capacity and keen insight, he would directly reveal the True Dharma to him," and that this person, "being instantly enlightened upon hearing [the Buddha's words] would attain Buddhahood at once, just as the *Hua-yen Sūtra* says, 'When one first raises the thought of enlightenment, he immediately attains supreme perfect enlightenment.' "[34] Tsung-mi goes on to say that only after such a person has suddenly awakened to his True Nature does he then gradually begin to eliminate the residual effects of his past conditioning, a process which he compares to the ocean which has been stirred up by the wind: even though the wind ceases suddenly, the movement of the waves only subsides gradually. Tsung-mi then identifies this type of sudden teaching with the teaching of those sūtras that expound the Tathāgatagarbha, such as *Hua-yen, Yüan-chüeh, Śūraṃgama, Ghanavyūha, Śrīmālā*, and *Tathāgatagarbha*. He concludes his discussion by saying that since this type of sudden teaching was expounded in response to beings of superior capacity, it was not taught during a set period in the Buddha's teaching career, adding that it is the same teaching as that found in the third and highest category of Ch'an teaching, that which directly reveals the Nature of the Mind.[35]

The first type of sudden teaching is defined in contrast with the gradual teachings—i.e., the first four of Tsung-mi's five teachings—which the Buddha expounded to beings of medium and inferior capacity and by means of which he progressively deepened their capacity to understand the Truth until they were ready to hear the teaching of ultimate meaning (*liaoi* 了義, *nītārtha*), such as that contained in the *Lotus* and *Nirvāṇa* sūtras.[36] As Tsung-mi writes in the *Inquiry into the Origin of Man*:

> In the case of [beings of] medium and inferior capacity, [the Buddha] proceeded from the superficial to the profound, gradually leading them forward. He would initially expound the first teaching [i.e., that of Men and Gods], enabling them to be free from evil and to abide in virtue; he would then expound the second and third [teachings; i.e., those of the Small Vehicle and the Phenomenal Appearances of the Dharmas], enabling them to be free from impurity and to abide in purity; he would finally expound the fourth and fifth [teachings], negating phenomenal appearances and revealing the Nature, subsuming the provisional into the True, and, by practicing in reliance upon the Ultimate Teaching, they attained Buddhahood.[37]

The second type of sudden teaching that Tsung-mi discusses in the *Ch'an Preface*, the sudden teaching as a method of exposition, refers exclusively to the *Hua-yen Sūtra* and the *Daśabhūmikasūtra-śāstra*.[38] The basis on which Tsung-mi distinguishes this type of sudden teaching from the first seems to be chronological. Whereas he says that the first type of sudden teaching was not taught during a set period of the Buddha's teaching career 不定初後),[39] he says that the second was "suddenly" taught by the Buddha "on one occasion" (一時) immediately after he had attained enlightenment.[40] Like the first type, which was expounded in response to beings of superior capacity, this type of sudden teaching was also expounded "for the sake of those followers who possessed superior capacities as a result of the conditioning of past lives."[41] After noting that the second type of sudden teaching is also referred to as the Perfect Sudden Teaching (*yüan tun chiao* 圓頓教), Tsung-mi then goes on to catalogue under this heading such cardinal Hua-yen doctrines as the universe being contained within each speck of dust, the unimpeded interidentification and interpenetration of each and every thing, the Ten Profundities, etc., all of which fall under the category of what Fa-tsang designated as the Perfect Teaching.[42]

When viewed in terms of content, however, Tsung-mi's second type of sudden teaching seems to collapse into the first. Tsung-mi, after all, includes the *Hua-yen Sūtra* in his enumeration of sūtras that exemplify the first type of sudden teaching. Nor, at first glance, does his distinction between the two seem to add anything to his discussion of the Sudden Teaching. In order to understand why Tsung-mi introduces this second type of sudden teaching into his discussion in the *Ch'an Preface*, we must digress briefly to consider the impact that the T'ien-t'ai revival of the second half of the eighth century had on Hua-yen thought.

The term that Tsung-mi uses to designate this second type of sudden teaching, *hua-i* 化儀, derives from the terminology used by Chan-jan in his *p'an-chiao* scheme of Five Periods and Eight Teachings (*wu-shih pa-chiao* 五時八教).[43] Chan-jan divided the Eight Teachings into two sets of four, each of the two representing a different perspective according to which the Buddha's teachings could be analyzed: what he referred to as the Four Teachings according to the

Method of their Exposition (*hua-i-ssu-chiao* 化儀四教) and the Four Teachings according to the Content of their Exposition (*hua-fa-ssu-chiao* 化法四教).[44] The Sudden Teaching was represented for Chan-jan by the Buddha's preaching of the *Hua-yen Sūtra* immediately after his attainment of enlightenment. The Buddha's preaching of this sūtra was termed "sudden" because it was a direct and unadulterated exposition of the Truth that made no recourse to a graduated method of teaching more suited to the still immature capacities of the great majority of his audience. Thus, according to Chan-jan's analysis of the different ways in which the Buddha's teaching could be classified, "sudden" referred exclusively to the method the Buddha used when he expounded the *Hua-yen Sūtra*; the Sudden Teaching was accordingly classified as a *hua-i* type of teaching, that is, a teaching to be classified according to the method of its exposition.

Tsung-mi's use of the term *hua-i-tun-chiao* (the Sudden Teaching as a Method of Exposition), as well as his overall explanation of the Sudden Teaching, shows that he is in agreement with the taxonomical distinctions introduced by Chan-jan, at least insofar as they apply to the classification of the Sudden Teaching. Moreover, his use of the term "Perfect Sudden Teaching" to characterize the second type of sudden teaching, that which is limited to the *Hua-yen Sūtra*, reflects his awareness of a point of doctrinal contention that became a much bruited issue between T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen scholars in the second half of the eighth century. The debate centered around the classification of the *Hua-yen* and *Lotus* sūtras *vis-a-vis* one another and was important because it bore directly on the question of which of the two traditions was superior to the other. The crux of the debate stemmed from a passage in the introductory section of the *Profound Meaning of the Lotus Sūtra* (*Fa-hua hsüan-i*), in which Chih-i cryptically referred to the *Lotus* as being a "Gradual-Perfect Teaching" (*chien-yüan chiao* 漸圓教)[45] and, a little further on, as being "Gradual-Sudden" (*chien-tun* 漸頓).[46] This passage was later used to demonstrate the superiority of the *Hua-yen Sūtra*, which was accordingly classified as Sudden-Perfect and Sudden-Sudden, over the *Lotus*. Chih-i's statement became a particularly sensitive point for Chan-jan, who went to great pains to try to explain it away.[47]

In order to appreciate the urgency that this issue had for Chan-jan, we must consider the adverse situation in which the T'ien-t'ai tradition found itself in the middle of the eighth century, recalling that the T'ien-t'ai teachings had been almost totally eclipsed during the first half of the T'ang dynasty. The reasons for this are not hard to determine: the T'ien-t'ai tradition had become stigmatized in the eyes of the T'ang ruling house because of its close association with the ruling house of the preceding Sui dynasty (589–618). The T'ang rulers turned elsewhere to bestow their favors, first patronizing the new Yogācāra teachings introduced by Hsüan-tsang (600–664), and later patronizing the Hua-yen teachings systematized by Fatsang.[48] Moreover, from a doctrinal perspective, the most important event in setting the course for Chinese Buddhist scholarship after the death of Chih-i in 597 was Hsüan-tsang's return from India in the middle of the seventh century. The great number of translations of Buddhist texts produced

under his direction in the next two decades, together with the impact of the new form of Yogācāra teachings that he introduced to the Chinese Buddhist world, redefined the central issues which subsequent Chinese Buddhist scholars had to address.[49] A newly formed tradition such as Hua-yen, whose teachings were systematized in response to the challenge posed by the new Yogācāra teachings, made the earlier T'ien-t'ai writings of Chih-i look out of date. Furthermore, the eighth century witnessed the rise of Ch'an as a self-conscious movement asserting its own unique and forceful claim to represent the authentic teaching of the Buddha, an event that heightened the sense of sectarian consciousness among other Chinese Buddhist traditions, such as T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen.[50]

For Chan-jan, intent upon reviving the fortunes of the T'ien-t'ai tradition, it was the prominence of Hua-yen as the major form of scholastic Buddhism that presented the most serious obstacle. In order for him to reassert what he believed to be the superiority of the T'ien-t'ai teachings, it was necessary for him to clarify and strengthen the basis for their authority. He thus identified those teachings much more closely than had Chih-i with the *Lotus Sūtra*. The whole thrust of his Five Periods and Eight Teachings scheme was to assert the paramount supremacy of the *Lotus* above all other teachings of the Buddha, thereby demonstrating the superiority of T'ien-t'ai above all other traditions. Chih-i's remark in the beginning of the *Profound Meaning of the Lotus Sūtra*, that the *Lotus* was a Gradual-Perfect or Gradual-Sudden teaching, accordingly proved to be a particularly irksome problem for Chan-jan. Without going into the details of his argument, suffice it to point out that Chan-jan's strategy was to declare that the teaching of the *Lotus* transcended the Eight Teachings (超八), thereby lifting it out of the realm of debate entirely by placing it above such categories as sudden and gradual. However, it should be pointed out that Chan-jan clearly departed from the more characteristic position of Chin-i, which classified the *Lotus* as a Perfect-Sudden teaching.[51]

The resurgence of T'ien-t'ai as a self-conscious tradition of Chinese Buddhism asserting its own claim for being recognized as the most exalted expression of the Buddha's teaching sharpened the need for the other forms of Chinese Buddhism to reassert their identity as distinct and authentic traditions, bearing their own claim to superiority. The mounting sectarian consciousness among Chinese Buddhists throughout the eighth century is reflected in the use of the term *tsung* 宗, by which particular teaching traditions came to designate themselves. *Tsung* can refer to the progenitor of an ancestral lineage and, in the context in which it was adopted during this time, it specifically connoted a teaching lineage. It first seems to have gained widespread use in this sense by Ch'an Buddhists in connection with their claim that Ch'an represented the true teaching of the Buddha, which had been passed down through an unbroken line of patriarchal succession. Chan-jan was the first to apply the designation *tsung* to the T'ien-t'ai tradition,[52] and Ch'engkuan, following suit, applied the term to Hua-yen for the first time.[53] Ch'eng-kuan's use of the term *tsung* to refer to the Huayen tradition should thus be seen as reflecting not only his intimate connec-

tion with Ch'an, but also the increasing sectarian consciousness among Hua-yen scholars occasioned by the newly-formulated doctrinal claims of T'ien-t'ai to represent the superior tradition.

Tsung-mi inherited the debate from Ch'eng-kuan, who was well versed in T'ien-t'ai thought. Ch'eng-kuan had practiced under the Vinaya master, T'an-i 曇一, together with Chan-jan and had studied under Chan-jan between 775 and 776, before leaving for Wu-t'ai-shan, an important center for both Hua-yen and T'ien-t'ai studies at that time.[54] Ch'eng-kuan first took up the debate in the *Yen-i-ch'ao*, his massive subcommentary to his already lengthy commentary on the *Hua-yen Sūtra*, the latter work having been begun in 784, two years after Chan-jan's death.[55] In his discussion of the T'ien-t'ai system of *p'an-chiao*, Ch'eng-kuan cites Chih-i's authority to reassert within T'ien-t'ai doctrinal categories the superiority of the *Hua-yen* over the *Lotus* sūtra, claiming that whereas the *Hua-yen Sūtra* could be classified as either a Sudden-Perfect or Sudden-Sudden teaching, the *Lotus* merely represented a Gradual-Perfect or Gradual-Sudden teaching.[56]

Tsung-mi's introduction of the second type of sudden teaching in the *Ch'an Preface*, together with his reference to it as the Perfect Sudden Teaching, suggests that the debate was still a live issue in the ninth century. Further traces of the debate can be found in Tsung-mi's remarks on the *Lotus* and *Nirvāṇa* sūtras, both of which he regards as teachings of ultimate meaning (*liao-i, nītārtha*), but still categorizes as gradual, in contrast to other sūtras of ultimate meaning—such as *Hua-yen, Ghanauyūha, Yüan-chüeh, Śūraṃgama, Śrīmālā*, and *Tathāgatagarbha*—which he categorizes as sudden.[57]

Although Tsung-mi distinguishes between these two types of Sudden Teaching in the *Ch'an Preface*, the distinction is not a substantive one, since there is little difference in content between the two. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that he does not make this distinction in the *Inquiry into the Origin of Man*. The fact that his description of the Sudden Teaching in the *Inquiry into the Origin of Man* corresponds to the first type of Sudden Teaching delineated in the *Ch'an Preface*, moreover, indicates that the second type is clearly subsidiary to the first. Nevertheless, the second type is significant in the present context because it shows Tsung-mi's awareness of a much controverted point among Hua-yen and T'ien-t'ai scholars. Although Tsung-mi seems to introduce the second type of Sudden Teaching in order to score some doctrinal points against T'ien-t'ai, it should be emphasized that his interpretation of the Sudden Teaching as referring to a particular way in which the Buddha taught, rather than to a specific teaching *per se*, is much closer to the T'ien-t'ai than to the Hua-yen use of the term. We can also suppose that Tsung-mi's familiarity with T'ien-t'ai made him more sensitive to the problematical nature of the Sudden Teaching within Fa-tsang's taxonomy of the Buddha's teachings, although he certainly had other more pressing reasons for not including it as a separate category in his *p'an-chiao* scheme.

The Sudden Teaching was, for Tsung-mi, included within the Teaching

which Reveals the Nature, a fact that underlines the importance of Ch'an in his reformulation of Hua-yen *p'anchaio*. As it was applied to the Buddha's teachings, Tsung-mi understood "sudden" as referring to the method by which the Buddha directly revealed the Truth, without recourse to any expedients. It was thus the teaching that enabled one to gain insight into his True Nature, which was the basis for the Ch'an practice that Tsung-mi identified as the teaching of sudden enlightenment proclaimed by Ho-tse Shen-hui.

Notes

1 The identification of the Sudden Teaching with the *Hua-yen Sūtra* goes back to Hui-kuan 慧觀 (363–443), who, according to Chi-tsang, divided the Buddha's teachings into two general types in his Preface to the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, composed during the early fifth century. The first was the Sudden Teaching expounded in the *Hua-yen Sūtra*, which fully revealed the Truth and which was taught solely for Bodhisattvas. The second general type of teaching was the gradual, which Hui-kuan subdivided into five categories. The first was the Separate Teaching of the Three Vehicles which was expounded for Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas, and followers of the Great Vehicle. The second was the Common Teaching of the Three Vehicles, which was expounded in the *Prajñāpāramitā* sūtras. The third was the teaching which censured the limited understanding of the Śrāvakas and praised the understanding of the Bodhisattvas, and was expounded in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and *Viśeṣacintabrahmaparipṛcchā* sūtras. The fourth was the Teaching of the Universal Vehicle expounded in the *Lotus Sūtra*. The fifth category of gradual teachings was the Teaching of the Eternality of the Buddha-nature expounded in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. (See *San-lun hsüan-i*, T 45.5b–14.)

Liu Ch'iu 劉虬 (438–495), Master I 岌師, Tsung-ai 宗愛, Sengjou 僧柔, Hui-kuang 慧光 (468–537), Paramārtha (499–569), Chihi 智頤 (538–597), and Hui-tan 慧誕 (Sui dynasty) all identified the Sudden Teaching with the *Hua-yen Sūtra* in their respective *p'an-chiao* schemes (see Kimura Kiyotaka, *Shoki chūgoku kegon shisō no kenkyū* [Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1977], pp. 76–78).

In disassociating the *Hua-yen Sūtra* from the Sudden Teaching, Fa-tsang was following the lead of his teacher Chih-yen. In fact, Fa-tsang's entire fivefold classification scheme is merely an elaboration of the fivefold scheme first articulated by Chih-yen in his *K'ung-mu chang* (see T 45. 537a19–b2 and 542c22–26). As Sakamoto Yukio (*Kegon kyōgaku no kenkyū* [Tokyo: Heirakuji, 1964], pp. 402–409) and Robert M. Gimello ("Chin-yen and the Foundations of Hua-yen Buddhism" [unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1976], pp. 367–392) have shown, Chih-yen's fivefold *p'an-chiao* scheme was developed in reaction to the new brand of Yogācāra introduced by Hsüan-tsang. In both his *Shih-hsüan men* and *Sou-hsüan chi*, early works written before Hsüan-tsang's return to China in 645, Chih-yen had employed a threefold classification scheme, which categorized the Buddha's teachings into those of the Universal Vehicle, the Three Vehicles, and the Small Vehicle. In the *Sou-hsüan chi*, moreover, Chih-yen had also made parallel use of the threefold scheme of Hui-kuang, which categorized the teachings as Gradual, Sudden, and Perfect. In his *Wu-shih-yao wen-ta*, written after Hsüan-tsang had completed his translation of the *Ch'eng wei-shih lun* in 659, Chih-yen again used the threefold scheme which divided the teachings into those of the Universal Vehicle, the Three Vehicles, and the Small Vehicle, making, however, the crucial distinction between the Elementary and Advanced teachings within the teaching of the Three Vehicles to arrive at a fourfold scheme. Chih-yen introduced this distinction to separate the

earlier Yogācāra-cum-Tathāgatagarbha tradition represented by the translations of Paramārtha from the new Yogācāra tradition introduced by Hsüan-tsang, and to subordinate the latter—identified as the Elementary Teaching of the Great Vehicle—to the former—identified as the Advanced Teaching of the Great Vehicle. In his *K'ung-mu chang*, Chih-yen adds the Sudden Teaching—which he had used earlier in his adoption of Hui-kuang's threefold scheme in his *Sou-hsüan chi*—to the fourfold scheme that he had used for the first time in his *Wu-shih-yao wen-ta* to arrive at the fivefold classification scheme that was taken over by Fa-tsang.

2 T 45.481b16–18; cf. Francis Cook, "Fa-tsang's Treatise on the Five Doctrines: An Annotated Translation" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1970), pp. 174–175.

3 T 45.481b18. Fa-tsang is here paraphrasing the sūtra. The passage in question can be found in T 16.486a8 (Guṇabhadra), 525b2–3 (Bodhiruci), and 596b4–5 (Śikṣānanda); cf. D. T. Suzuki's translation, *The Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (London: Routledge Kegan & Paul, Ltd., 1973), p. 50.

4 T 45.481b13–15; cf. Cook, p. 174. The Teaching of the Small Vehicle would, of course, also be included within the gradual teachings.

5 Fa-tsang discusses the Sudden Teaching from ten different points of view in the ninth chapter of his *Treatise on the Five Teachings*; see T 45.482b2–7 (Cook, p. 223), 487c24–28 (Cook, p. 255), 489b16–23 (Cook, p. 272), 491a5–7 (Cook, 291), 492b1–3 (Cook, p. 308), 495c20–25 (Cook, p. 358), 496c6–7 (Cook, p. 368), 497b4–8 (Cook, p. 378), 498b8–10 (Cook, p. 393), and 498c14 (Cook, p. 399).

6 See Ming-wood Liu, "The Teaching of Fa-tsang: An Examination of Buddhist Metaphysics" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1979), pp. 195–196.

7 See T 14.550b–551c; cf. Charles Luk, tr., *The Vimalakirti Nirdesa Sutra* (Berkeley and London: Shamabala, 1972), pp. 92–100. The same chapter appears as number eight in the Tibetan translation; cf. etienne Lamotte, tr., *L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti (Vimalakīrtinirdeśa)* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires and Leuven: Institut Orientaliste, 1962), pp. 301–318.

8 T 14.551c23–24; cf. Luk, p. 100.

9 See, for example, T 45.485b3–4.

10 T 14.551c23–24.

11 T 45.485b2–7; cf. Cook, p. 223. Cf. also Chih-yen's *K'ung-mu chang*, T 45.558c17–559a2.

12 T 45.481c6–8; cf. Cook, pp. 176–177.

13 T 32.576a8–18; the present translation has adapted that of Yoshito S. Hakeda, *The Awakening of Faith Attributed to Asvaghosa* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 32–33.

14 T 32.576a24–26; cf. Hakeda, p. 34.

15 T 45.489b16–19; cf. Cook, p. 272. Cf. also *K'ung-mu chang*, T 45.537c9–10.

16 Fa-tsang refers to all three of the following passages in his *T'an-hsüan chi*, T 35.115c13–17. He only refers to the first two in his *Treatise on the Five Teachings*, T 45.489b16–23.

17 See T 15.36c6–8. Fa-tsang has abridged the passage slightly.

18 T 16.509c22–24; cf. Suzuki, p. 189.

19 Fa-tsang seems to be paraphrasing rather than quoting. See T 9.544b18–19. Sakamoto (p. 260, note 37) locates the passage as coming from T 26. 133c.

20 HTC 5.12a; cf. Sakamoto, pp. 248–250. The full title of this work is *Hsü Hua-yen lüeh-shu k'an-ting chi* 續華嚴略疏刊定記. It was begun by Fa-tsang as his synoptic commentary on Śikṣānanda's new translation of the *Huayen Sūtra*. According to Hui-yüan's account of its composition, Fa-tsang wrote the commentary on the first

through nineteenth fascicles of the sūtra (occupying the second through sixth fascicles of the present *Hsü tsang ching* version of the *K'an-ting chi*). Then, perhaps sensing that his death was near, he turned to the *Shih-ṭing p'in* 十定品, a chapter that did not exist in the earlier translation of the sūtra, but only finished his commentary on the first nine concentrations (*ting*) before he died (which can be found in fascicle twelve of the present text). Except for these sections, the remainder of the text, including the Introduction, was written by Hui-yüan. The fact that Fa-tsang entrusted the completion of this work to Hui-yüan indicates the esteem with which he regarded him. Unfortunately the *Hsü tsang ching* text is incomplete. See Sakamoto, pp. 18–19.

21 Sekiguchi Shindai has demonstrated that Chih-i, the systematizer of T'ien-t'ai thought, never formulated the system of the Five Periods and Eight Teachings (*wu-shih pa-chiao* 五時八教), which, beginning with the authorship of the *T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao-i* (T # 1931) by the Korean monk Chegwan in the late tenth century, has been attributed to him, and which, since the late seventeenth century, has been generally regarded as representing the essence of T'ien-t'ai thought.

It is impossible to do justice to the full scope of Sekiguchi's arguments here. Suffice it to say that he shows that not only does Chih-i never employ the term "Five Periods and Eight Teachings" in any of his writings, but also that he never systematically formulated a *p'an-chiao* scheme corresponding to that of the Five Periods and Eight Teachings. In place of the Five Periods, for example, Chih-i emphasizes the Five Flavors (*wu-wei* 五味), a metaphor of far broader range than the more narrowly chronological framework of the Five Periods. Chih-i only enumerates what were later collectively designated as the Eight Teachings twice within the entirety of his voluminous *opera* (see T 34.3b3–4 and T 46.97c21). Nor, more significantly in the present context, does Chih-i distinguish between teachings to be classified according to the method of their exposition (*hua-i chiao* 化儀教) and according to the content of their exposition (*hua-fa chiao* 化法教). Rather, Chih-i separately elaborates in different works the types of teachings which were later categorized according to these two types of classification. In his *Fa-hua hsüan-i* Chih-i discusses the characteristics of the teachings according to the threefold typology—i.e., Sudden (*tun* 頓), Gradual (*chien* 漸), and Variable (*puting* 不定), which later served as the basis for the so-called "Four Teachings According to the Method of their Exposition" (*hua-i ssu-chiao* 化儀四教). While Chih-i sometimes also mentions a fourth type of teaching—the Secret (*mi-mi* 秘密), corresponding to the fourth type of teaching in the Four Teachings According to the Method of their Exposition—his use of the threefold typology—corresponding, as it does, to his three types of meditation (*san chih-kuan* 三止觀)—is much more representative of his thought. It is only in his commentary on the *Vimalakīrinirdeśa Sūtra* and *Ssu-chiao-i* 四教義 (T # 1929) that Chih-i elaborates the four teachings—those of the Tripitaka (*san-tsang* 三藏), Common (*t'ung* 通), Distinct (*pieh* 別), and Perfect (*yüan* 圓)—which were later designated as the four Teachings According to the Content of their Exposition (*hua-fa ssu-chiao* 化法四教).

While it is true that the various elements that were later brought together to form the Five Periods and Eight Teachings scheme all appear separately in different contexts throughout Chih-i's writings, they were never brought together systematically by Chih-i. This task was first accomplished by Chan-jan, and reached its most thoroughgoing expression in Chegwan's *T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao-i*.

A good summary of Sekiguchi's views can be found in his "*Goji hakkyō* no kigen," *Taishō daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 61.1–15. This article also lists all of Sekiguchi's work on this subject written before 1976. An excellent restatement and assessment of Sekiguchi's arguments can be found in David Chappell's "Introduction to the *T'ien-t'ai ssu-chiao-i*," *Eastern Buddhist, New Series*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 72–86.

Sekiguchi's findings are corroborated by the evidence that can be gleaned from writings in the Hua-yen tradition. Neither Fa-tsang nor Hui-yüan make any reference to the Five Periods and Eight Teachings in their discussions of T'ien-t'ai *p'an-chiao*. Both discuss Chih-i's system under the heading of those former scholars who had classified the Buddha's teachings into four categories. The four categories that both Fa-tsang and Hui-yüan enumerate are those of the Tripitaka, Common, Distinct, and Perfect; neither mentions the Sudden, Gradual, and Variable. Ch'eng-kuan, who had studied under Chan-jan, is the first to mention the distinction between the teachings to be classified according to the method of their exposition and according to the content of their exposition.

22 *Yen-i ch'ao*, T 36.62a10–15; cf. Sakamoto, pp. 50–51. The quote at the beginning of the passage is from Ch'eng-kuan's *Hua-yen ching shu*, T 35.512c2, to which this passage is a commentary.

23 T 36.62a21–22 and b1–4.

24 T 50.737a18–20. The most thorough study of Ch'eng-kuan's life has been done by Kamata Shigeo in his *Chūgoku kegon shisōshi no kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku, 1965), pp. 151–191. Kamata argues that the particular form of Ch'an teaching that had the greatest impact on Ch'eng-kuan's thought was that of the Ox-head lineage. He also points out that aside from Tsan-ning's assertion in the *Sung kao-seng chuan* (compiled a century and a half after Ch'eng-kuan's death), there is no other documentary evidence that Ch'eng-kuan studied Northern Ch'an under Hui-yün. He nevertheless concludes that the possibility cannot be ruled out, given the knowledge of Northern Ch'an teachings displayed in Ch'eng-kuan's writings (see pp. 176–181). Later on in the same work, Kamata disputes the generally accepted opinion that Ch'eng-kuan received sanction from Wu-ming in the Ho-tse line of Southern Ch'an, aruging that Ch'eng-kuan exhibits a critical attitude toward both the Northern and Southern lines of Ch'an. Kamata contends, moreover, that the often-made claim that Ch'eng-kuan received sanction fom Wu-ming derives from the *Ch'an Chart* written by his disciple Tsung-mi (himself a successor in the Ho-tse lineage), who, in his desire to unify the teachings and practices of Huayen and Ch'an, grafted Ch'eng-kuan onto the Ho-tse lineage (see pp. 475–484).

25 The *Treatise on the Five Teachings* was an early work, and seems to have been composed before 684, when Fa-tsang met the Indian monk Divākara (see Liu, pp. 24–26). The Northern Ch'an master Shen-hsiu did not enter the capital until 701, when he was given a lavish reception by Empress Wu. There is little chance that Fa-tsang would have had occasion to become acquainted with the Ch'an teachings before this event.

26 The same point is made by Liu, p. 196.

27 Since the text of the *Chung-hua ch'uan-hsin-ti shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi t'u* published in the *Dai Nippon zokuzōkyō* (2/15/5.433c–438c) is missing some sixty characters (see Ui Hakuju, *Zenshūshi kenkyū*, vol. 3 [Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1941], pp. 477–510), all references to this text will be made to the version that has been critically edited by Kamata Shigeo in his *Zengen shosenshū tojo* (*Zen no goroku*, vol. 9) (Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 1971), pp. 260–347. Kamata has supplied the missing sections of the *Zokuzōkyō* text by consulting the Korean commentary, the *Popchip pyŏryo pyŏngip sagi*, by Chinul (1158–1210).

28 Kamata, p. 277.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 282.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 341.

31 See John McRae, "The Ox-head School of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism," Robert M. Gimello and Peter N. Gregory, eds., *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen Buddhism* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1983).

32 As Jeffrey Broughton has pointed out in a personal communication, this point is

reflected in the way that Tsung-mi analyzes the different Ch'an lines in his *Ch'an Preface*. In discussing the teachings and practices of the various Ch'an lines, Tsung-mi distinguishes between their "idea" (*i* 意, sometimes he uses the term *chieh* 解 or *fa-i* 法意), which corresponds to the teaching of one of the scholastic traditions, and their "practice" (*hsing* 行), which is unique.

33 T 48.407b13–17; cf. Jeffrey Broughton, "Kuei-feng Tsung-mi: The Convergence of Ch'an and the Teachings" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1975), p. 238.

34 Tsung-mi is quoting the passage found in T 10. 89a1–2.

35 See T 48.407b21–c2; cf. Broughton, pp. 240–241.

36 See T 48.407b17–20; cf. Broughton, p. 238.

37 T 45.710b1–2.

38 See T 48.407c5–6. The *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* was incorporated into the *Hua-yen Sūtra* corpus, forming chapter 26 in the Śikṣānanda translation. It is baffling that Tsung-mi includes the *Daśabhūmikasūtra-śāstra* as a source of doctrinal authority for this type of sudden teaching, as this type of teaching otherwise seems to be tied exclusively to the *Hua-yen Sūtra* itself. Tsung-mi certainly could not have believed that this text was authored at the same time that the Buddha preached the *Hua-yen Sūtra*. Nor is there anything "sudden" about the explanation of the ten stages of the Bodhisattva path that comprises the subject of this text. Perhaps Tsung-mi felt compelled to mention this text out of a concern for symmetry, as it is customary for him to list both sūtras and śāstras when citing the sources of doctrinal authority for the other teachings.

39 See T 48.407cl.

40 T 48.407c2–3.

41 *Loc. cit.*

42 T 48.407c6–12; cf. Broughton, pp. 242–243.

43 Chan-jan explicitly uses the term *wu-shih pa-chiao* in his *Fa-hua hsüan-i i shih-chien*, T 33.816c23–24, *Fa-hua wen-chu chi*, T 34.171c23–25 and 212a21, and *Chih-kuan fu-hsing chuan-hung chüeh*, T 46.292a20. Cf. also T 46.349c9.

44 See, for example, *Chih-kuan i-li*, T 46.448c22–23. See also *T'ien-t'ai pa-chiao ta-i*, T 46.769a13ff. Chan-jan's authorship of the latter work is not certain. The Taishō text incorrectly attributes its compilation to Chih-i's disciple, Kuan-ting 灌頂 (561–632). Chih-p'an attributes the work to Chan-jan in his *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* (see T 49.206b3–8). Nakazato Teiryū argues that the work was written by Chan-jan and his disciple Ming-k'uang 明曠 (See Ono Gemmyō, ed., *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* [Tokyo: Daito shuppan, 1968], 8.139). Chappell adduces further evidence indicating that Chan-jan was the author (see "Introduction to the *T'ien-t'ai Ssu-chiao-i*," passim).

45 T 33.683c4–5.

46 684a7.

47 Chan-jan deals with this issue in numerous places throughout his *oeuvre*; see, for example, T 33.823b, 887b–c, and 905b, and T 46.292b. His most thoroughgoing treatment can be found in his *Chih-kuan i-li*, T 46.453b27ff., especially 454a2–b6, where he addresses seven types of misunderstanding arising from Chih-i's statement that the *Lotus Sūtra* is a Gradual-Perfect Teaching; cf. Hibi Senshō, *Tōdai tendaigaku kenkyū* (Tokyo: Sankibō busshorin, 1975), pp. 80–82. In his Preface to his commentary on the *Chih-kuan i-li*, Tsung-i (1042–1091) asserts that Chan-jan's reason for composing that work was to refute those who used Chih-i's statement to establish the superiority of the *Hua-yen Sūtra* over the *Lotus* (see HTC 99.284a).

48 For a discussion of the influence of imperial patronage on the Buddhist traditions in the Sui-T'ang period see Stanley Weinstein, "Imperial Patronage in the Formation of T'ang Buddhism," in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds., *Perspectives on the T'ang* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 265–306.

49 For a brilliant analysis of the impact of Hsüan-tsang's new brand of Yogācāra on the formation of the Hua-yen tradition see Gimello, "Chih-yen," chapter four.

50 See Kamata, *Chūgoku kegon shisōshi no kenkyū*, p. 423.

51 See Ikeda Rosan, "Tendaigaku kara enton no kannen ni tsuite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 22.307–310 and "Tannen ni seiritsu suru goji hakkyō ron," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 24.268–271.

52 See *Fa-hua ta-i*, HTC 43.94a; see also Sakamoto, p. 4, note 2.

53 See *Yen-i ch'ao*, T 36.292c7–8. Tsung-mi was the first to list a Hua-yen patriarchate; see his commentary on Tu-shun's *Fa-chieh kuan-men*, T 45.684c10–13, where he names Tu-shun, Chih-yen, and Fa-tsang as the three patriarchs within the tradition (*tsung*). Ch'eng-kuan and Tsung-mi were added to the lineage sometime later (see Sakamoto, p. 1).

54 See Kamata, *Chūgoku kegon shisōshi no kenkyū*, pp. 170–174.

55 Beginning with Tsung-i's commentary on Chan-jan's *Chih-kuan i-li* (see HTC 99.284a), T'ien-t'ai scholars have claimed that Chan-jan composed that work specifically to refute Ch'eng-kuan's assertion that the *Hua-yen Sūtra* was superior to the *Lotus* because it represented the Sudden-Perfect Teaching, as opposed to the Gradual-Perfect Teaching. Recently, however, Hibi Senshō has pointed out that, in point of fact, the *Yen-i ch'ao*, the work in which Ch'eng-kuan first makes this assertion, was written after Chan-jan's death, and that the *Yen-i ch'ao* passage could therefore not have been the target of Chan-jan's criticism. See *Tōdai tendaigaku kenkyū*, pp. 79–80; see also the same scholar's companion volume, *Tōdai tendaigaku josetsu* (Tokyo: Sankibō busshorin, 1975), p. 188.

56 See T 36.50a20–25; see also Ch'eng-kuan's *Hua-yen ching shu-ch'ao hsüan-t'an*, HTC 8.236a–b.

57 There are three places in the *Ch'an Preface* where Tsung-mi distinguishes between the Sudden and Gradual teachings within the ultimate teaching: 1) he identifies the *Hua-yen, Ghanavyūha, Yüan-cheh, Śūraṃgama, Śrīmālā, Tathāgatagarbha, Lotus*, and *Nirvāṇa* sūtras as belonging to the highest category of teaching, noting, however, that there is a difference among them in regard to sudden and gradual (see T 48.405a24–27; cf Broughton, pp. 197–198); 2) after explaining how the Buddha used the gradual teachings to prepare his followers for his ultimate message, expressed in such sūtras as the *Lotus* and *Nirvāṇa*, Tsung-mi adds a note which says: "These [i.e., the *Lotus* and *Nirvaṇa* sūtras], together with the sudden teaching expounded in response to beings of superior capacity, combine to form the third teaching.' (see 407b20; cf. Broughton, p. 238); and 3) in enumerating those sūtras which exemplify the sudden teaching expounded in response to beings of superior capacity, Tsung-mi names all of the sūtras listed in the first passage referred to above except the *Lotus* and *Nirvāṇa* (see 407b28–29; cf. Broughton, p. 241).

104

ON THE CONCEPT OF THE *HIJIRI* (HOLY MAN)

Ichiro Hori

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Introduction

Hijiri means "holy-man" or "sacred-man"[1]. In Japanese religious history the *Hijiri*-groups were originally the reformers of institutionalized Buddhism and leaders of popular movements in Buddhism. As the movements of *Hijiri*-groups became more widespread, they produced some of the most influential and widely-acclaimed Buddhist priests and magicians as well as magico-religious reciters, performers and players. In this paper, however, I shall discuss the problem of the so-called *Hijiri* from the viewpoint of the history of religions. My purpose is to clarify some aspects of the characteristics of Japanese popular Buddhism which have had a far-reaching influence on the spiritual life of Japanese people from ancient to modern times.

Etymological and typological analysis

The original meaning of the word *Hijiri* in Japanese was presumably the honorific name for the charismatic leader of shamans or medicinemen in pre-historic ages. It literally means a man of great knowledge (*shiri*) concerning the calendar or the movement of heavenly bodies symbolized by "sun" or "day" (*hi*). In Chinese also, the character of the word which signifies "wisdom" or "wise-man" (智) consists of a composite character with the *chih* (知) (knowledge) and *jih* (日) (sun or day) in the same way as Japanese *Hijiri*.

The concept of *Hijiri* gradually developed several meanings under the impact of Chinese Confucianism and Taoism—an impact felt not only by the upper classes of Japanese society, but also among the immigrants from Korea. Furthermore, the Taoistic and Confucian concepts of *hsien, shêng-hsien* and *shêng-jen* were introduced into Japan and merged with the ancient Japanese concept of *Hijiri*.

Certain early usages of *Hijiri* strongly suggest the themes of sacred magic kingship, such as are found among ancient Egyptian kings like Amenhotep and

Pharaoh, or the Roman Imperium[2]. These meanings are probably closely related to the Chinese Confucianist concept of *shêng-tien-tzu*, "a wise and virtuous Son of Heaven, emperor". In such ancient sources as "Kojiki[3]", "Nihongi"[4], and "Manyô-shû"[5], this word was used as an euphemism for the Emperor. Emperors were sometimes celebrated by the court poets and courtiers for their holiness as *Hijiri*, i.e., *Hijiri-no-Kimi* (My Lord who is a *Hijiri*) and their reign, *Hijiri-no-Mi-yo* (Reign ruled by a Lord who is a *Hijiri*), and their crown prince, *Hijiri-no-Mi-ko* (Sacred son of *Hijiri*)[6].

Another meaning appears in the legends concerning the mysterious Eternal Land beyond the sea (*Tokoyo*). The imaginary residents of this land were given the name *Hijiri*, in this case to denote semi-gods or genii. This usage also reflected the Taoistic concept of *hsien*. The famous legends of Urashima-no-ko, who later became the most popular hero in the folk-tales known as "Urashima-tarô", and of Tajima-mori, founder of the ancient and powerful immigrant clan from Korea, contain such usages of the word *Hijiri*[7]. We also find the term used to denote persons who had attained a consummate skill in games or arts. For instance, Kanren, a masterhand at the game of *Go* (Japanese checkers) and a teacher of Emperor Daigo (898–930), was called the *Go-hijiri*[8]. Still another example appears in the preface to the "Kokinshû" Anthology[9], compiled by Tsurayuki Ki, where a famous poet of the early Nara Period, Hitomaro Kaki-no-moto, is given the title *Hijiri-of-Waka, waka* being a well-known form of Japanese poetry[10]. Sometimes *saké* (a Japanese rice wine) was called *Hijiri*, and the son of Bacchus, *Hijiri-of-Saké*. This was evidently suggested by *chiu-hsien* in the Chinese poetry of the early Tang Dynasty, as represented by the outstanding poets Li Po and Tu Fu[11].

The concept of *Hijiri* which I shall discuss in this paper is different from all of these, however. It refers to a group of religious reformers who disregarded the existing ecclesiastical orders and institutions of their time and endeavored to establish *outside the structures of Buddhist orthodoxy* a real religious life for the common people. They emphasized religious attitudes and inner piety, and distributed the Buddha's gospel among the masses, following the principle of Mahâyâna Buddhism (the Way of Bodhisattva, or *Bosatsu-dô*).

This movement appeared first in the late Nara Period (about the latter part of the eighth century) with the emergence of the *Ubasoku-zenji* (*upasaka*-ascetic or *upasaka*-magician). These were unauthorized and private Buddhist ascetics and persons who were able to achieve by a superhuman power that which was far beyond the ordinary. The movement continued to develop during the Heian Period (784–1185), when these same types of ascetics came to be known as *Hijiri* or "holy-men", and a greater emphasis was laid upon their training and strict discipline. The literature of this period is rich with references to these humble ascetics. For example, in "Eiga-monògatari"[12] we can find such sentences as, "He (Korenari) was training in the Buddhist practices with more laudable aim than the normal *Hijiri*-group". Again, in the chapter of "*Hashi-himé*" in "Genji-monogatari"[13] there is an episode in which the young prince named

Hachi-no-Miya who entered the Way of Buddha and continued his Buddhist training with firm faith and strict practice, was called a *Zoku-hijiri* (a lay-*hijiri*) by his friends and courtiers, because he had not yet entered the Buddhist priesthood regularly. In about 1004 or after, a paper entitled "Mikawa Zoku-hijiri Kishô Jûni-ka-jō" (The Twelve Personal Contracts for Being a Zoku-hijiri) was written by one of the disciples of Jakushin-*hijiri* who was one of the forerunners of the *Hijiri* movement[14]. Moreover, there are several historical documents and legends which describe the behavior in mountains, isolated forests and peninsulas of many *Hijiri* other than authentic monastery priests[15].

Historical analysis

Japanese Buddhism in its present form is the product of a long historical process; and in studying this development, one must view it within the context of a complex religious scene, which had a long history prior to the introduction of Buddhism. At the time of the official recognition of Buddhism in Japan by Prince Regent Shôtoku in 593 A.D., the nation had been undergoing a great spiritual-cultural upheaval. China was rising to political-cultural eminence in the Far East under the Sui and Tang dynasties. Great numbers of immigrants were pouring into Japan from China and Korea, bringing the learning, skills and religion from the Asiatic mainland. The great extent of this influence is indicated by an official record named "Shin-sen Shôji Roku"[16], which reveals that in the ninth century one-third of the leading families were naturalized Chinese and Koreans. The ancient theocratic clan system was breaking down under the new forces that were assailing the nation, and the people were ready to look at an alien religion for their spiritual foundations.

Prince Shôtoku (574–621), statesman and religious thinker, played a significant role in shape Japanese Buddhism, his influence extending far beyond the bounds of his lifetime. Under him Buddhism developed into a religion of the aristocracy with strong lay leadership. At the same time, Shôtoku's emphasis on the Lotus Sûtra promoted a social consciousness that encompassed all classes. The Lotus Sûtra' promise to salvation for all mankind was in sharp contrast with the pre-Buddhistic Shamanistic folk-beliefs which, with its dual class of gods corresponding to the dual social class of the ancient Japanese society, offered life in the hereafter to the ruling families such as the Imperial and noble families. This social concern was expressed in the building of temples which served as center of philanthropic and cultural activities. Shi-tennô-ji Temple in Osaka City, for example, served as a cultural center for the foreign visitors in that city as well as a center for social welfare activities[17]. A few years after the death of Prince Shôtoku, the Taika Reformation (645) actualized some of his principles.

During the eighth century, known as the Nara Period, Buddhism developed as a state church in Japan, in spite of the saintly evangelist-reformer Gyogi[18] and others who were concerned with the masses. He and his followers must have

been the most active forerunners of the *Hijiri* movement. In the main, the so-called Six Schools of Nara[19] were philosophic and scholaristic in their emphasis.

The next stage of Japanese history, known as the Heian Period (784–1185), shows a remarkable contrast to the Buddhist schools of Nara. Politically, the transfer of the capital from Nara to Kyoto brought about a new mood, one factor for the transfer being to separate church and state. Religiously, two new schools of Buddhism came to dominate throughout the period: Tendai and Shingon.

The Tendai School was established by Saichô or Dengyô Daishi (767–822): Saichô, following the example of Prince Shôtoku and Gyôgi, aspired to develop an indigenous form of Buddhism. While his doctrine was based on the teaching of the T'ien-t'ai School which he studied in China, he also incorporated other systems such as Zen (dhyâna), Vinaya and Mantrayâna. His syncretistic system centered around the doctrine of the Lotus Sûtra, philosophically, theologically and practically. The center of Tendai learning was at Mount Hiei, which later produced outstanding leaders of Japanese Buddhism such as Honen and Shinran, leaders of the Pure-Land School; Eisai and Dogen of the Zen Schools; and Nichiren, founder of the nationalistic Buddhist School.

The Shingon School was established by Kûkai or Kôbô Daishi (774–835). Kûkai studied Mantrayâna, known as the Chen-yen School in China; and transplanted it into Japan as the Shingon School. He, too, incorporated insights of other schools but his central focus was the Great Sun Sûtra, which teaches that the phenomenal world is a manifestation of the only ultimate reality known as the Great Sun-Buddha (Mahâ-Vairocana).

Kûkai and Saichô were different in temperament, but they were both great thinkers and statesmen, as well as social reformers. While their aim was to establish a national, i.e., indigenous religion, they tried to reach the masses without ignoring the upper strata of society. This motivation explains, in part, the close connection between Heian Buddhism and Shinto, the native, pre-Buddhist Japanese folk-belief.

Although Kûkai and to some extent Saichô articulated the pattern of co-existence between Buddhism and Shinto during the Heian Period, this was a logical development of a practice that traced as far back as the Nara Period. For example, when the government built provincial and prefectural ttmples during the Nara Period, they could not ignore the Shinto deities who were worshipped by the masses in each locality. In many cases, Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines shared the same "sacred" or "holy" places. Despite the Buddhist philosopher's teaching to the contrary, there was no question in the minds of the masses that Buddhism and Shinto were two supplementary systems. Gradually, even Buddhist priests began to accept the popular notion that Japanese Shinto deities were incarnations of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. I might add that the co-existence pattern was taken for granted from the ninth to the nineteenth centuries.

Under such historical circumstances, the group of *Hijiri* gradually came into existence in the middle of the Heian Period, succeeding the movements of Gyôgi and the *upâsaka*-ascetics in the mountains in the Nara Period. Saichô and

Kûkai criticized the city-temple form which characterized Nara Buddhism and built their own head temple on Mount Hiei and Mount Kôya, where they undertook to educate disciples in their particular manner under the isolated and secluded circumstances of the mountaintemples. Saichô, especially, criticized rigorously the situation of the authentic official high priests and their temples in Nara, which had already lost their own religious consciousness and functions, and had fallen from grace into the aristocracy and secularism. Nevertheless, in spite of the intentions and efforts of the founders of the Tendai and Shingon Schools, their successors in later ages became more and more aristocratic and secularistic with the passing of time.

The rise of *Hijiri*-groups in the middle of the Heian Period seems to have been a movement of religious reformation which aimed at the development of the Way of Bodhisattva (*Bosatsu-dô*) by the *upâsaka*-istic and anti-secularistic religious forms. The attributes of the original *Hijiri*-groups were something like those of the religious anchorites or hermits who, hiding themselves among the masses, resisted on the one hand the actual religious authorities, and on the other hand, insisted on the authority of the oblates to the salvation of the masses. Consequently, the so-called original *Hijiri* as a group name in Japanese religious history is not a pure successor or variation of the ancient or primitive medicine-man, sacred king, possessed man, or angel, terms which are defined by the words "Sacred" or "Holy-man"[20].

The movement of *Hijiri*-groups, however, was suddenly promoted and popularized by the flourishing of the belief in *goryô*. The so-called Heian Period was characterized by the Shamanistic belief in spirits of all kinds — benevolent and malevolent. If the aristocrats had an articulate notion of the relationship of Shinto and Buddhism, the masses had very little sense of discrimination in such matters. The man on the street accepted all kinds of beliefs derived not only from Buddhism and Shinto, but from Taoism, Confucianism and the more primitive, native Japanese animistic superstitions. This type of thinking gradually penetrated upward, even to the Imperial court. Unusual events such as political change, civil war, epidemic, famine, drought, earthquake, thunder-storm, typhoon, and so on, as well as difficult delivery, disease, and death were believed to be the workings of the spirits.

The first co-mingling of primitive Shamanism with Yin-yang magic and Mantrayâna Buddhism appeared in the latter part of the Nara Period and developed rapidly in the Heian Period. This, I believe, was due to three factors: (1) the introduction of Mantrayâna Buddhism from China by Saichô and Kûkai in 805, and 806, which was received by the people with open arms; (2) the movement of *Hijiri*, which denied the orthodox ecclesiastic system and insisted on the establishment of a real religious life and the distribution of the Buddha's gospel and salvation to the common people outside of that system; (3) the appearance of the *goryô* or belief in *goryô-shin*, which originally consisted of a belief in the malevolent or angry spirits of noble persons who died in political tragedies or intrigues.

The historical cohesion of these three factors brought about the rise of *Upâsaka-ism*. From this point three major streams came into existence in the religious world as the differentiation and development of the *Hijiri*:

1 *Nembutsu* — based on Buddhist Pure-Land School
2 *Shugen-dô* — based on Buddhist Mantrayâna School, mixed with Shinto Shamanism
3 *Onmyo-dô* — based on Yin-yang School, mixed with Shinto Shamanism

I will discuss the first two to illustrate my point.

The term *Nembutsu* has philosophical and religious connotations in Buddhism in terms of the recitation of the name of Amitabha Buddha (*Namu-Amida-Butsu*) which enables men to reach the Western Paradise or Pure Land. This belief was originally founded by Hui-yüan in 334–416 A.D. in China, then introduced into Japan by several Buddhist priests in the Nara Period. In the early Heian Period, Ennin (Jikaku Daishi), one of the disciples of Saichô, brought it back to Japan as a branch of the Tendai sect. Afterwards this belief was articulated by the Tendai priest Kûya for the salvation of illiterate common people who could not understand the lofty Buddhist philosophy. However, this religious belief quickly degenerated into a superstitious magical incantation against the malevolent spirits of the dead (*goryô*). As such the *Nembutsu* magic was widespread and began to undercut the basic core of Buddhism itself. Later, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Genku (Honen Shônin), Shinran and Chishin (Ippen Shônin) attempted to purify and re-systematize the Pure-Land belief. Even today the Pure-Land Schools are the most flourishing and influential. The total number of temples and adherents of the four sects of the Pure-Land School (Yuzû-Nembutsu, Jôdo, Jôdo-shin and Ji) represents 40.6% of the temples and 37.9% of the adherents of all sects, the other parts being represented by about nine sects, including Tendai, Shingon, Nichiren and the three sects of Zen Buddhism.

In contrast to *Nembutsu* magic which was negative in character, warding off the malevolent spirits, the *Shugen-dô* was positive. Originally it was one form of Buddhist Mantrayâna asceticism, often practiced in the mountains, which was believed to enable the ascetic to attain magical superhuman power against the evil spirits. In the course of time, the mountain ascetics incorporated Chinese Taoist beliefs and practices, and formulated a widespread school of its own. For all practical purposes *Shugen-dô* became a sub-sect, both to Tendai and Shingon, and fed into these schools magical beliefs and practices. A significant development in *Shugen-dô* was the role played by female shamans known as *miko*. These female shamans, by the suggestion of the magical spells, fell into trances and became possessed by the unseen spirits who communicated their grievances and prophecies through these female shamans. Though they had formally belonged to the Buddhist sects and practiced the Buddhist prayers and magic according to the Mantrayâna *sûtras* and *tantras* or *dhâranîs*, they

maintained their own uniforms, modes of life and religious teachings. They never cut their hair; they married; and their professions were transmitted by heredity. This violated the Buddhist Disciplines (*Vinaya*) for the priesthood, because they were not orthodox *Bhiksu* but only *Upâsaka*. Sometimes they celebrated Shinto services and agricultural festivals voluntarily as substitutes for Shinto priests.

I believe that their religious and historical ancestors were the archaic shamans caste which was based upon the primitive mountain-worship. Having kept pace with the times, they formed a unique religious organization, accepting and adapting the Chinese Yin-yang theory and the popular Taoism as well as Mantrayâna Buddhism. The *upâsaka*-magicians were sometimes commonly called *Yama-bushi, Shugen-sha, Gyô-ja*, and *Kitô-sha*, as well as *Hijiri in the mountains. Yama-bushi*, the name of which appeared relatively early, means the "ascetic who lies down in the mountain" and who is assiduous in practicing austerities. *Shugen-sha* or *Ken-za*, which is short for *Shugen-sha*, appeared in the earlier documents. It denotes a person who practices his religious austerities and attains a superhuman power or magical power by merit of his penance. The name of the religious organization *Shugen-dô*, the Way of *Shugen*, was derived from this. *Gyô-ja* also means the person engaged in performing religious austerities or asceticism, and *Kitôsha* means one who prays; it embraces the seer, medium and faith-healer, practicing his own magic.

In medieval times, the *Hijiri-in-the-mountains* or *Shugen-sha* occupied many sacred and high mountains and built their Buddhist temples, seminaries and Shinto shrines as well as the priests lodges and visitors lodgings in or on the mountains. Among them, the most famous and earliest organized ones were at Mount Kin-pu in Nara Prefecture, Mount Kumano in Wakayama Prefecture, Mount Hiko-san in northern Kyushu and Mount Haguro in Yamagata Prefecture in Northeast Province. These were the large headquarters of the *Shugen-dô* sects from mediaval to modern times.

Some of the *upâsaka*-magicians belonging to the *Shugen-dô* migrated from village to village, from town to city, to give the common people their magic and prayers, and to take awards and offerings from them. Each had his own parish which was authorized by his headquarters. The *Shugen-sha* of Mount Kumano, especially, traveled and preached their religion from Hokkaido to the Okinawa Archipelago. Some others were called *Sato-yamabushi* or *Sato-shugen* (*Yama-bushi* or *Shugen-sha* who live in the village) in contrast to the itinerant *Yama-bushi*; they settled down in villages at village-shrines, village-temples, independent small Buddha halls or huts. The extent of their influence on Japanese popular beliefs, not only in Buddhism but also in Shinto, is realized by the fact that according to Professor Mizoguchi's study[21] 99.8% of the village Shinto shrines in the northeast and mid-north provinces of Japan had already been occupied by the *Shugen-sha* groups immediately before the Meiji Restoration (1867).

As Buddhism became more and more Japanized and popularized, the title of

Hijiri or *Zoku-hijiri* was enlarged and extended; and at last, in the later Muromachi Period and the early Edo (Tokugawa) Period (from about the middle of the fifteenth to the end of the seventeenth centuries), it came to include many *upâsaka* and lower-class priests who usually engaged in the miscellaneous business or duties in the big temples or shrines, such as the bell-ringer (*Kané-tsuki-hijiri*), the sweeper of the garden or a garden-keeper (*Niwa-hijiri*), the Buddha's or Bodhisattva's hall-keeper (*Dô-hijiri*), the pagoda-keeper (*Tô-hijiri*), the cremator or grave-keeper (*Samjnai-hijiri* or *Onbô-hijiri*) and so on[22]. There were also those who traveled about the provinces soliciting contributions for pious purposes, such as the building of Buddhist temples, pagodas or statues, the transcriptions of Buddhist canons, or working for the public welfare services under the name of Buddha (*Kanjin-hijiri*; *Kaikoku-hijiri*; *Rokuju-roku-bu-h'ijiri* or *Roku-bu*; *Koya-hijiri*, etc.)[23] as well as administering their own Buddhist magic or prayers to the common people and taking a reward from them. Even the outcastes or untouchables, such as the *Etta* or *Hinin* peoples, were sometimes called *Hijiri*. The itinerant dry-goods dealer was also called a *Gofuku-hijiri*, the origin of which came from the *Kôya-hijiri*, the *Hijiri*-group of *Nembutsu* in Mount Kôya[24].

On the other hand, *Nembutsu-hijiri* and *Yama-bushi-hijiri* groups were gradually transforming themselves into various theories and magic by swimming with the currents of the times. And some of them gradually degenerated and degraded into the popular arts, such as story-telling, reciting, performing rituals, acting and playing symbolic music, and dancing of the tabooed, then out-caste minority groups. It then became the forerunner of the present indigenous Japanese dramatic and musical entertainments.

II. Historical development of Japanese popular Buddhism

Historical origins of the upâsaka-magicians in the mountains

Popular Buddhism in the Nara Period flourished in pre-Shingon, Mantraistic forms, as we have already seen. These forms were distinct from the prescribed forms found within the orthodox framework of official Mantrayâna Buddhism. They were part of the total group known as *Zatsu-mitsu* or *Zô-mitsu*, meaning unsystematized, miscellaneous Mantrayâna. The religious needs of the times were served by such leaders as Gyogi-*bosatsu* mentioned above, and by En-no-Shôkaku (E-no-Ozunu or En-no-*gyôja*), another reformer of the *upâsaka* tradition, who is credited with the founding of the *Shugen-dô* sect.

According to the record in "Shoku-Nihongi"[25]; En-no-Shôkaku was a famous magician who purportedly lived in Mount Katsuragi in the middle of the seventh century and was presumed to be a chief of the priestly family which had from generation to generation served Hitokoto-nushi, the god of Mount Katsuragi. This god was well-known as an oracle, because his name was derived from his declaration at his first advent, i.e., the ruler of the logos[26]. In the archaic

shamanistic world, such legend, I believe, should be understood to mean that the priestly family itself had a special hereditary gift for speaking oracle.

The legendary anecdotes recorded in "Nihon Ryō-i Ki"[27], which was compiled by a Buddhist priest in about 822, tell us that En-no-Shôkaku had practiced Buddhist asceticism on Mount Katsuragi and attained a superhuman magical power by the merit of his practices mainly based on the "Kujaku Myôô Ju" (Mahâ-mayûrî-vidyârâjñî)[28]. This magical power was so significant that even his own family-deity Hitokoto-nushi became spellbound on disobeying his order!

Although this particular biography is not yet proven to be historically true, being embroidered and mythologized with many strange anecdotes, there is some reliable evidence to show that many shamans or magicians were practicing austerities in the mountains at that time.

The successors of Gyôgi and En-no-Shôkaku gradually introduced elements of the newly-styled Buddhist magic and ritual of the pre-Shingon sect and popular Taoism into their own primitive Shinto magic or Shamanism, and maintaining their theoretical and philosophical authority within tht Shingon and Tendai Mantrayâna, established the unique *Shugen-dô* sect. The basis of the form and function of *Shugendô* had supposedly come from the system of *Shugen-sha* or *Yama-bushi*. This system was highly esteemed in the religious world of the early Heian Period; when I look back on the origin, it could easily have developed from the primitive mountain-worship or mountain-religion and also from the groups of mountain-magicians who had been called the *Hijiri of the mountain* (Holy-men in the mountains) or *hsien-jen* in Chinese, which may be translated "mountan genie".

Why and how did the "holy-men in the mountains" come into existence in pre-Buddhist Japan? Under what circumstances did they develop? What functions did they have? To which type of ancient Shamanism did they belong? And in what respect were they connected with arctic or Oceanic Shamanism? It is very difficult to answer exactly such questions from the very fragmentary historical and archaeological materials available today.

Judging from the facts of intercourse between Japan and Korea which had begun in the first or certainly by the second century, it should be self-evident that the Japanese popular religions had already co-mingled with the Yin-yang magic and philosophy and Confucianistic ethic as well as the Korean Shamanism by the time that Buddhism came. It is also presumable that some of the pre-Buddhist shamans or magicians, adopting Buddhist magic forms and theories after the introduction of Buddhism into Japan, developed into popular Buddhist magicians, thus opening up a new sphere of activity.

As early as the Nara Period, there appeared many unauthorized *śramanera, śramaneri, upâsaka* and *upâsiki*, and also many of these emerged arbitrarily in the folk society. One group practiced the semi-Buddhist and semi-shamanistic austerities and participated in divination and prayer by their own magical power, while the other group migrated from village to village to teach the easily-understandable theories such as the Law of Rewords in accordance with Deeds,

to administer the magical prayers or rituals, and to supervise social projects and public works.

On the other hand, state Buddhism in the Nara Period was called a philosophical and meditative school and was limited to the priesthood and their own seminary, the character of which was distantly related to the common people. Nevertheless, the function of the scholarly priests in the seminaries, expected of them by the nobles and government, was not the promotion of Buddhist theology but of the public security, prosperity and welfare of the nation on the one hand, and on the other hand, the performance of memorial services for the dead or the spirits of the dead, owing to the rites and ceremonies performed by them. Consequently, many Buddhist priests who were studying their own professional philosophical theories or meditative practices at their temples on ordinary days, were invited and required to serve as Buddhist magicians to drive out the evil spirits or disasters and to be blessed with good fortune.

During the Nara Period, Buddhist temples and priests were intimately related to Shinto shrines and Shinto priests. Accordingly, many of the national Buddhist services under the auspices of the government or of the imperial family were considered as only different forms of Shinto or Yin-yang services. These transformations of Buddhism in Japan seem to me to be an adjustment to the necessary needs in the agricultural state. The Buddhist sûtras to which great importance was attached as being appropriate to state Buddhism were "Dai Hannya Kyô"[29] "Ninnô Gokoku Hannya-haramitta Kyô"[30], "Konkômyô Saishô-ô Kyô"[31], and "Myôhô Rengé Kyô"[32]. They were sometimes called the "Guardian Sacred Books of the State".

Among these, the "Ninnô Kyô" and "Konkômyô Kyô" sûtras were believed to be especially beneficial to the Emperor[33]. In this period the famous Lotus Sûtra was believed to be the sûtra for the purification of sin and for the salvation of women who, according to the pre-Lotus Sûtra's theories, were regarded as unable to attain enlightenment directly because of their original sin. Many kinds of Buddhist services centering around these sûtras were practiced at the temples and in the imperial palaces. Emperor Shômu built two kinds of state-established provincial ttmples in each prefecture known as *Koku-bunji* Temples: one was for Buddhist priests under the principle of "Konkômyô Kyô"; the other was for nuns who followed the Lotus Sûtra. He also built the Tôdai-ji Temple as the center of state-established provincial temples, serving as the headquarters of the Kegon School. On the tablet of one of the gates of Tôdai-ji Temple was written by Emperor Shômu's autograph the following: "Temple dedicated to the Sûtra on which the golden superior King and his country should be guarded by the Four Heavenly Buddhist Deities."

We notice in the historical documents as well as in Buddhist legendary literature[34] that Buddhist magic and ritual gradually gained in importance, taking the place of the ancient primitive Shinto magic and Yin-yang magic (*Onmyô-dô*) which had been introduced from China and mixed with Shinto. For example, there have been discovered at the Shô-sô-in Treasury about 26 written

applications (*Ubasoku Kô-shin Gé*, applications made by *upâsaka*) for the entrance examination into the Buddhist priesthood as requested by the government in the Nara Period. On these applications, under the signature of the their Buddhist teacher, appear the names of *sûtras* and *dhâranîs* or *mantras*, magical formulas or incantations which the applicants had already memorized before taking the examinations. Among them we can find about 19 kinds of *dhâranîs*[35] as well as a few kinds centering around the Lotus Sûtra and the "Konkômyō Kyô", both of which were compulsory subjects on that examination. Among the *dhâranîs* there are "Sen-ju Kannon Ju" or "Dai Ju"[36], "Son-shô Darani"[37], "Jû-ichimen Kannon Ju"[38], "Kokûzô Darani"[39], and others, all of which were believed to be the sources or vehicles of the magic power in the logos and were chanted by many applicants (*upâsaka*).

We have seen that the rise of the *Hijiri* in Japan took place along with many other religious developments: the introduction and influence of Korean and Chinese philosophies, the merging of Buddhist and Shinto forms, the emergence of ascetics among the farming communities, a close attention to the Buddhist sûtras as vehicles of magic power and virtue, and the recognition of magicians by the Imperial Court of the Emperor.

Great hopes for magical skill and power were entertained by even the philosophical and meditative Buddhist priests. It was no wonder that the magical function became a unique tie between Buddhism and the masses in farming communities at that time. Many popular magicians were converted to Buddhism, by the request of the masses, and became unauthorized and arbitrary *śramancra* or *upâsaka*. As the Buddhist magic grew in importance and popularity, it came to have an advantage over the former pre-Buddhistic magic.

This is the reason, I suppose, why the legends concerning En-no-Shôkaku were quite different in "Shoku Nihongi" from those in "Nihon Ryo-i Ki". En-no-Shôkaku in the latter was described as an outstanding Buddhist *upâsaka*-magician who could spellbind his own family-deity by Buddhist *dhâranî* when this deity, Hitokoto-nushi, disobeyed his order. Such conquest of the native deity by a Buddhist magician seems to me a significant example of the superiority of Buddhist magic.

The prosperity of Buddhist magic, however, necessarily gave birth to many evils. Among the many official and private Buddhist magicians there were some who, in conspiracy with or as stalking-horses of politically-ambitious persons who held an individual grudge against an enemy or rival, practiced their own black magic for the sake of their supporters. Some of them instigated people to disturb the peace by their speech. Some divinated, told fortunes, and explained the causal relations between deeds and rewards or between natural phenomena and certain political and economic phenomena. Some down-right impostors treated patients by their questionable magic and knowledge.

The government of the Nara Period rigidly suppressed such unauthorized magical practices, and arrested false magicians on several occasions[40]. Nevertheless, if the government not only requested and promoted the offical Buddhist

magic but also approved it for the purpose of the social security, prosperity and welfare of the nation, it would have been difficult and perhaps impossible to suppress only the popular Buddhist magic and magicians, though there were, of course, wide differences between the two systems of magic and kinds of magicians in both form and matter.

At the end of the Nara Period, according to "Nihon Ryô-i Ki" as well as to "Shoku Nihongi", there were many "*upâsaka* in the mountains" and mountain-temples where the *upâsaka* practiced religious austerities in order to attain superhuman power. Among them, Mount Yoshino (Kin-pu), Mount Katsuragi and Mount Ohminé in Nara Prefecture had already become sites of the famous seminaries and training places.

While Buddhism in the Nara Period was seriously threatened by the policy of the unity of Buddhist church and state, under the policy of the new Heian government which was pushed forward by Emperor Kanmu, Buddhism was completely transformed and separated from the state. Saichô and Kûkai, chosen by the Emperor, introduced the new Buddhist schools named Tendai and Shingon, and were protected by the new government in their opposition to the temples and priests in Nara. None of the Buddhist temples in Nara had been permitted to move to the new capital of Heian (Kyoto). The economic activities and political movements of the temples and priests were rigidly repressed. Illegal and unconstitutional acts of Buddhist priests were severely punished[41]. Buddhism in the Nara Period had finally brought the nation to its knees in the name of state Buddhism, symbolized by the words of Emperor Shômu when he worshipped at the Great Buddha of Tôdai-ji Temple: "I, the Emperor, who served thee as a servant of the Three Treasures (Buddha, Law and Samgha) . . ."[42].

The appearance of Emperor Kanmu brought about a change in the status and position of Buddhism and Buddhist priests. They were forced to yield to the Emperor's sovereignty. This Emperor, however, did not fail to recognize the claims and authority of Buddhist orthodox magic to influence the security, prosperity and welfare of the nation[43].

This situation led to the emergence of the Tendai and Shingon schools and also to a new system of Buddhist magic. These movements met the needs of the times while the state Buddhism of the Nara Period was formally and materially denied. Consequently, the theory and method of training priests also had to be changed by adopting and introducing elements from the popular *upâsaka*-istic and anti-secularistic Buddhism in the rural communities and in the isolated mountain-temples. The former state Buddhism had taken strong root in urbanized or aristocratized ground, so that it was impossible to escape being secularized and aristocratized by it. Virtuous and respectable priests in this period who had attained superhuman power and enlightenment by the merit of their practice of austerities in the mountains were highly esteemed by the Emperor as well as by the masses[44].

Saichô's and Kûkai's approach to mountain-Buddhism

1) Saichô's Approach

In the Heian Period the situation became quite different, especially with regard to state Buddhism and the attitude of the Emperor to popular religion.

By the beginning of the Heian Period it was clear that a religious reform was possible only through channels which were free from political strife. Emperor Kanmu and his followers therefore encouraged and supported "mountain-Buddhism", though they did not unconditionally endorse the unauthorized and arbitrary practices of the mountain-ascetics which had appeared in the late Nara Period. An effort was made to purify and systematize certain forms which had remained unspoiled and yet true to Mantrayistic tradition. As we shall see, this movement was carried out under the leadership of two men especially, whose devotion and initiative was responsible for a whole new age in Japanese religion. Official Buddhism at Nara had lost its authority and the confidence of the public because of the secularism and aristocratized character of the state-priests and state-temples located in the capital. Participation by the state-priests in politics contributed further to this upheaval.

The remarkable development of Emperor Kanmu's reformation was the establishment of the new Tendai and Shingon Buddhist schools, introduced by Saichô and Kûkai under the Emperor's patronage.

Saichô (Dengyô Daishi, 767–822), founder of the Japanese Tendai school, had settled in his hermitage in Mount Hiei near his native land and there he pursued his religious studies and meditative practices immediately after his entrance into the Buddhist priesthood. As the result of his self-awakening, he hated the urbanized and aristocratized city-temples which were easily overcome by temptation, and wanted to seek and practice the real religious way and life in a quiet and secluded place in the mountain. He was presumed to spend his most important training and meditating period from 785 to 802 (from the age of nineteen to thirty-six) in Mount Hiei and never to get down to Kyoto City. Having been strongly influenced by the attitudes and personalities of Chih-kai in Mount Tien-tai and Hui-ssu in Mount Nan-yueh, founders of the Chinese *Tien-tai* School, he then secured permission to go to China under Emperor Kanmu's command in order to study his professional *Tien-tai* theology and practices as well as his comprehensive Buddhism including the *Mantrayâna, Dhyâna* and *Vinaya*. He spent almost all of his time abroad studying at Mount Tien-tai. Consequently, he returned in 805 with strong confidence in his principle of the establishment of a new mountain-Buddhism[45].

He built a temple named Enryaku-ji in Mount Hiei as the head-quarters of the Tendai school. He made unique educational rules and training systems for his Tendai priests in which he prescribed that his disciples must lead a secluded life in the Enryaku-ji Temple in Mount Hiei for twelve years after they had entered into Buddhist priesthood and they must never descend from the mountain during

this training period[46]. He sharply criticized the city-Buddhism of the former style in Nara, saying that large land-ownership was not within their due and lot; the huge sums donated by the Emperor, nobles and government did not suit their means and status; and the big state-temples ruled by official archbishops were not their dwelling-places[47].

Saichô did not necessarily insist on a secluded life in the isolated mountain-temples after the period of training, but he encouraged the actual practices of the Way of Bodhisattva. For example, in his work entitled "Sangé Gaku-shô Shiki"[48], he divided his disciples into three kinds after they had already finished their special trainings for twelve years in the secluded Enryaku-ji Temple on Mount Hiei under his supervision. He called the first kind *Kaku-hô* (priest as a treasure of the state), having completed both theology and practice; the second was called *Koku-shi* (state professor), having completed the theology but not the practices; and the third was *Koku-yô* (priest who works for the state), having completed the practices but not the theology. He also regulated each field of their religious activity. The *Koku-hô*-rank priest had to live permanently at Enryaku-ji Temple in order to educate and train his disciples as well as his junior priests; the second and third-ranked priests were to be appointed as the official provincial priests and they had to perform social works in their province, such as digging wells, ponds and canals for irrigation, building bridges and ships for transportation and traffic; tree plantings, land development works, cultivation of vegetation for famine relief and of medical plants for gratuitous dispensation of medicine to the poor, and so on, as well as chanting the sûtras and meditating.

We might note that Saichô not only strongly held to training his disciples in the secluded mountain-temple in their younger period, but also encouraged them to practice the so-called Way of Bodhisattva (*Bosatsu-dô*), following the teaching of the popular Buddhist priest of the Nara Period, Gyogi-*bosatsu*.

2) Kûkai's Approach

Kûkai (Kôbô Daishi, 774–835), founder of the Japanese Shingon Buddhist school, ranked with Saichô in bearing on his shoulders the new religious world in the early Heian Period. It is doubtful that he had as firm an emphasis and as concrete an opinion concerning the "practices in the mountain" as Saichô had held. However, he too believed that superhuman power could be effectively attained only at secluded places in the mountains.

The personalities and activities of Saichô and Kûkai were extremely different. Saichô founded his school in the face of strong antagonism and controversy from the state-archbishops' group at Nara, though his theology sought to systematize comprehensively and harmoniously the whole of Buddhism on the principle of the Lotus Sûtra. Kûkai, however, was welcomed warmly by all the priests of the old schools in Nara as well as by noblemen and masses, though his Mantrayâna Buddhism was quite different from that of the six schools in the Nara Period. Saichô was very aggressive, straight-forward and uncompromising,

standing quite high in his own estimation, while Kûkai was very conciliatory, but at the same time, practical and resourceful.

Upon his return from China, Kûkai brought his new Shingon Buddhism first to the capital city of Kyoto and the surrounding countryside, where he acquired Takao-san-ji Temple at Mount Takao, Otokuni-dera Temple and Tô-ji Temple. He then advanced to Nara City and prefecture, successfully introducing Shingon in Tôdai-ji, Daian-ji, Gufuku-ji, Chinkô-ji and Murô-ji Temples.

Such signal success was, of course, due to his harmonious personality and resourceful character on the one hand, and on the other, to the highly magico-religious character of Buddhism itself at that time. The introduction of the new forms of prayers and exorcisms based upon the newly systematized theology and *tantrism* of Mantrayāna Buddhism completely fascinated many Buddhist priests regardless of their professional school as well as capturing the attention of laymen.

Kûkai's approach to mountain-Buddhism and his relation to it may be seen in terms of his own religious development. In the preface of his "Sangô Shi(i)-Ki", written in his eighteenth year while he was studying in Kyoto, he writes that a Buddhist monk had given him a sûtra named "Kokûzô Gumonji Hô"[49]. He became converted and believed in the teachings of this sûtra, as the *Real Word* (*Shin-gon*) of the Great Buddha, and went to live in the quiet isolated mountain named Tairyô-daké and Muroto-zaki Peninsula on Shikoku Island in order to practice the religious austerities taught by this sûtra. Subsequently, having completely given up the desire for prosperity and glory in this world, he awakened and keenly felt the importance of seclusion in Buddhist training and discipline. The mountains or isolated places such as a peninsula or forest were essential for the purpose of attaining superhuman power and enlightenment.

In 816 he asked the Emperor for Mount Kôya as a site for Kongô-bu-ji Temple and its adjacent seminary, one of the headquarters of the Shingon school. In his memorial to the Emperor, he wrote as follows: "Buddha Śakyamuni loved to live in secluded high mountains and the Bodhisattva Avalokiteś-vara (Kannon or Kwan-in) usually appear on the isolated summit or lonely peninsula. In China also, the temples and seminaries in the mountains such as Mount Wu-tai-shan or the so-called Mount Tien-shan are now flourishing and the real tradition of Buddhism is upheld and carried on there. In Japan, however unfortunately, on the high mountains and in dense forests there are few real priests who practice religious austerities and meditations, though in the capital and other cities Buddhism is now widespread. According to the Buddhist sûtras, a place of flat ground on a steep mountain-side is the best place to practice the meditation. When I (Kûkai) was young, I took pleasure in roving over hill and dale looking for good places to practice, and in this manner I discovered Mount Kôya. It is three days' travel southwest from Mount Yoshino, and is believed to be one of the ideal sites for a Buddhist seminary"[50].

Kûkai's influence on mountain-Buddhism was decisive because he was able to integrate and systematize the miscellaneous and random elements of the

upâsaka magic and ritual of the Nara Period. He recognized the need for a popular religion which would also be acceptable to the leaders of state Buddhism.

The two founders of the Tendai and Shingon schools in the beginning of the Heian Period, Saichô and Kûkai respectively, insisted on the necessity and importance of the so-called mountain-Buddhism which they said was directly modeled after the monastery system in Mount Wu-tai-shan in northern China. As a result, many Japanese Tendai and Shingon priests such as Reisen, Ennin (Jikaku Daishi), Enchin (Chishô Daishi), Enkaku, Chônen, Soichi, Jôzen and Jôjin visited China and were deeply impressed with what they saw[51]. So the popular mountain-temples and *upâsaka*-magicans in the Nara Period gradually became justified, authorized, and organized with the rise of the Tendai and Shingon schools.

Mantra-istic tendencies in the Buddḥism of the Heian period (784–1185)

Saichô, immediately upon his return from China in 804, held a special initiatory rite (*Kan-jô*) for the new Mantrayâna Buddhism at the Takao-san-ji Temple in Mount Takao near Kyoto City. In founding his school in 805, he divided his officially authorized disciples (*Nenbun Do-sha*)[52] into two professional groups. One was the proper Tendai group, based mainly on the "Mo-hö-ki-kwan"[53] written by Chih-kai, founder of the Tien-tai school in China, and the other was the Mantrayâna group, based mainly on the "Mahâ-vairocana Sûtra"[54].

After Kûkai had returned and officially founded his Shingon school, Saichô occasionally asked him on most courteous terms to explain the forms of rituals and the meanings of Mantrayâna sûtras and śastras. He also sent some of his disciples to Kûkai's seminary to study orthodox Shingon theology and ritual.

Even after Saichô and Kûkai's return from China, the influence of Chinese religion was felt in Japan. The Mantrayâna Buddhism about which Saichô had been extremely concerned, was brought back to Mount Hiei by his successors, especially by Ennin (Jikaku Daishi, the third chief-abbot of the Tendai School) and Enchin (Chishô Daishi, the fifth chief-abbot of the Tendai school and founder of the Jimon branch sect), both of whom went to stay in China for a long period of time to study Mantrayâna and some Tien-tai theology. The Tendai-Esoterism (*Tai-mitsu*), the Mantrayâna branch of the Tendai school, was clearly established by them.

Ennin (793–864) returned in 847 from China where he had spent about nine years studying at Mount Wu-tai-shan as well as in Chang-an, the capital of the Great Tang Dynasty, bringing with him many *mandâlas, sûtras* and *śastras* of both Mantrayâna and Tien-tai schools. He had undergone many hardships and privations caused by the anti-Buddhist movements of Emperor Wu-tsung of Tang in 845. After his return, he asked the Emperor to authorize two more official disciples (*Nen-bun Do-sha*) who might study and practice the Mantrayâna

branch of the Tendai school. One should study professionally the "Vajra-sekhara-sûtra"[55] and the other the "Susiddhikâra-sûtra"[56]. He belived these two sûtras to be the most important Mantrayana-sûtras in his school[57], and wrote voluminous commentaries on each of them.

Enchin (814–891) who had studied in China from 851 to 856, also asked the Emperor for two newly-authorized disciples, especially for the study and practice of the "Ekâkshara-buddhoshnîsharâja-sûtra"[58] and "Mahâvairocana-sûtra" respectively[59].

In the Tendai school, it happened that each year six new disciples were officially authorized by the government. Among them five disciples were professionally studying and practicing each important sûtra of the Mantrayâna branch. Hence a special importance was rapidly attached to the Mantrayâna branch of the Tendai school as the result of the endeavors of Ennin and Enchin. As opposed to Ennin and Saichô, who regarded the proper Tendai branch and the Mantrayâna branch equally, or rather the former superior to the latter, Enchin strongly insisted on the importance and superiority of the Mantrayâna branch. The chief-abbots of two of the headquarters of the Tendai school, Enryaku-ji and Onjô-ji Temples, were mainly occupied successively by Enchin's disciples or the priests of his lineage. Thus the Mantra-istic elements in the Tendai school assumed ascendancy and prosperity.

The Shingon school, on the other hand, had also been kept alive and flourishing by Kûkai's disciples after his death, running parallel with the development of the Tendai Mantrayâna branch called *Tai-mitsu*. *Tô-mitsu*, as Shingon Mantrayâna was named in contrast to its rival *Tai-mitsu*, was then gradually establishing its own theology and practices centering around the Tô-ji Temple in Kyoto and the Kongô-bu-ji Temple in Mount Kôya, with new doctrines and disciplines introduced from China in the ninth century by Jyôgyô, Engyô, Eun and Shuei, who had lived in China from about 830 to 876[60].

The development of Mantra-ism and the rise of the belief in "Goryo"

It becomes increasingly apparent that there were two significant trends operating dialectically in Japanese popular religion of the Heian Period. One was the strong influence of *Mantra-istic forms* as introduced from China by Saichô and Kûkai. The other was the rise of *individualism* in the popular beliefs, as opposed to the emphasis on collective forms and practices. In this section we shall discuss these two inter-related trends and their particular functions among the nobility and aristocracy.

In the new Buddhism of the Heian Period, the tendency of Mantraism represented by the Tendai and Shingon schools spread to the old Buddhist schools of Nara City, and the magical functions of Buddhism which had already flourished in the former times had an increasingly esoteric character. This was due to the most elaborate symbolism in their decorations and impressive rituals

as well as to the mysterious prayers and chants of sûtras and *dhâranîs*. This was to produce a powerful effect on the spiritual life of the nobles and intelligentsia in the capital.

As already noted, Buddhist magicians had sometimes taken advantage of the scrambles for political power. Especially, in order to bring to the zenith Michinaga Fujiwara's political hegemony (966–1024), there were repeated the gloomy rejections and strifes centering around the Imperial Court not only among different rival families, but also between insiders of the same family. The Buddhist magic, prayers and curses came to flourish because of the belief in them as effective and secret means to defeat one's rivals and enemies in contending for personal distinction and family prosperity. Therefore, the religious beliefs of the nobles at that time became more and more self-interested and self-centered. A particular Buddhist priest formed a connection with a particular person of family by his own blood relationship, his temple's relation or his teacher's ties, and practiced his prayers and magic for the benefit of this connected person or related family. This was called "*Shi-Dan-no-En*" (particular connection between priest and supporter) and the priest was called "*O-inori-no-Shi*" or "*Goji-So*", both of which means the priest who protects his supporter by his prayers and magic.

The establishment of this connection between school, sect, temple, or priest and the nobility was frequently abused for the purpose of contests for political power and for retaliations and attacks against one's rivals. For example, it was said that when the right of succession to the Imperial Throne was contested by two half-brother princes, Koretaka and Korehito (later Emperor Seiwa), the Shingon priest Shinzei became a petitioner in behalf of the former prince because of his mother's lineage and the Tendai priest Eryô became a petitioner for the latter prince because of his connection with the prince's maternal grandfather. These two priests contended with each other, using their best magic as weapons[61].

In the middle of the Heian Period (from about 900 to about 1050), noblemen built their own family-temples, a practice which had been prohibited by Emperor Kanmu. And the priests who had some connection with the nobles lived in these family-temples and practiced their prayers and magic for the benefit of the family members. Some priests and temples were backed very prosperously by their patrons' political and economic attentions. Consequently, there were skilled magicians and priests who because of these relations to the nobility in a sense formed anew the "magician" aristocracy.

As a result of the prevalence of Mantra-ism, some Buddhas' and Bodhisattvas' statues and temples became especially favorite objects of worship due to their marvelous efficacy and divine favor, regardless of sectarian and theological connections. The custom of pilgrimages to these popular temples and the use of the temples for devotional purposes became widespread not only among the noble classes but also among the common citizens in the capital. The belief in numerous repeating and chanting of the sûtras and dhâranîs also grew in

popularity. There was a tendency for ceremoies held in such temples to become a kind of social club or gathering.

While the phenomena of superstitions and illusions among the noble-class people seemed to be increasing in frequency and intensity, this movement was accompanied by a rise in the popularity of Buddhist magic. These phenomena were part of the so-called *belief in goryô* or *goryô-shin* which was supposed to have been caused by the perpetual menace against the invisible curse and black magic performed by the enemy on the one hand, and on the other, by the constant fear of the invisible revenge, retaliation and curse of the spirit of the dead enemy and his family members who had been overcome.

This belief had played an important role in the serious self-reflection on the part of those who had achieved supremacy as well as in the self-consolation of the defeated, whose future vindication was assured. From the end of the Nara Period to the middle of the Heian Period, shamans would announce the names and declare the will of the spirits of the dead who had died as victims of the scrambles for political power. This usually happened at times of famine, epidemic, drought, flood, the falling of a thunderbolt, and also in the case of personal illness, evil dreams, difficult childbirth and so on. In order to soothe such revengeful and angry evil spirits, there took place a re-burial of their remains, a posthumous conferment of honorific name and court rank, and Shinto and Buddhist services.

By 863 there had already come into existence five large *goryô-shin*. They were the spirits of two disenthroned crown princes, the real mother of one of these princes, and two ministers who had suffered martyrdom. Around this time, epidemics were frequent and many people had died. Public opinion attributed this to the anger of the *goryô*. Consequently, the *Goryô-yé Festival* was held under the auspices of the Emperor at the Jinzen-on Imperial Garden. In this festival there was music and dances, *sumô*-wrestling, horse-racing and archery games, as well as the Buddhist services in order to soothe these angry *goryô*[62].

After Michizané Sugahara (845–903)[63] had died at his place of exile in Kyushu, a rumor had been in the air that his angry spirit might retaliate upon his enemies. The crown prince happened to die suddenly in 923; and in 930, the Imperial Palace was struck by lightning and several court officials who had overthrown Sugahara's political power died of shock and the Emperor also was indisposed after this, and soon died. Then in 942 a female shaman possessed by the deceased Sugahara's spirit announced that these disasters had been willed by him. Again, in 955 an inspired young child of a Shinto priest also announced the same divine message and proclaimed that the spirit of Sugahara had become the deity of disasters and a chief-deity of the thunder-demons. The Imperial Court, surprised by these divine messages and the public rumor, enrolled his angry spirit among the gods and dedicated to him a shine in Kyoto named the Kitano-Tenjin Shrine. This was an example on the largest scale[64].

The appearance of Sugahara's *goryô* had been a climax of this belief, and ushered in the so-called "*Goryô-shin* Age." We can realize from the diaries,

essays and novels written by the nobles and intellectuals at that time how the people were in constant fear and anxiety about the rampancies of the many kinds of *goryô*. As Lady Sei-Shônagon, the author of the famous essay entitled "Makura-no-Soshi" had wisely pointed out, these trends of the religious world were *abuses of an age* which never manifested a sound-minded belief. The magical Buddhist priests and *upâsaka*-magicians, as well as the shamans and Yin-yang priests, actively promoted these trends in collusion with each other on the one hand, and on the other hand, possessed the confidence of the troubled persons by virtue of their magic. In other words, they threatened the nobles' minds freely, leading them by the nose, for they could also give them a sigh of relief from their troubles.

The reasons for the appearance in the limelight of the *Way of Yin-yang* (*Onmyô-dô*), led by the Kamo and Abé families at that time, were surely present in this *milieu*; however, the old forms of magic still remained, though in an extremely passive state. They divinated and interpreted the causes of disasters or the omens and portents by their astrological knowledge and their sacred book named "Yi-king" (The Book of Change). At their suggestion, the nobles practiced the purification ceremonies, abstinence, confinements to their house on unlucky days, movements in the lucky direction and so on. Nevertheless, after all is considered, it might be said that the magic of the Mantrayâna priests was more up-to-date and mysterious, more positive and aggressive than the Yin-yang magic. The Buddhist magicians held the public confidence, for by their magic and prayers the evil spirits of the dead announced by shamans and Yin-yang diviners could not only be exorcised and driven away but also saved and sent off to the Buddha's Paradise.

As the belief in *goryô* became more and more widespread, the possibility of becoming a *goryô* or a deification of the spirit of the dead was gradually distributed to all human beings regardless of their social status and lineage. In ancient theocratic ages, there might be supposed to be at least two kinds of personalities, souls and spiritual powers; one belonged to the tabooed class or noble-class of people, the other to the laymen and common people. The possibility of deification after death or of transmission of the will through the shaman's mouth were limited to the former. However, under the strong influence of the Buddhist doctrine of *equality* as well as the result of the degeneration of theocratic shamanism, these possibilities were gradually distributed to the common people; each person, regardless of class status, began to be conscious of the possibility of his own deification in the form of *goryô*-belief.

The will-power and implacability of an individual, especially in his last moments of life, were believed to be most effective toward becoming a *goryô* and revenging on his enemies in his after-life. Thus the top figures in the political and economic world as well as the defeated ones had equally to become magico-religious, believing in the future life for purposes of their freedom from danger and calm resignation to fate. It was in this way that the *Kenza* (*Shugensha*) and the *Nembutsu*-prayers achieved their great prominence.

III. Emergence of the Hijiri-group and its character

Emergence of the Hijiri-group

The original meanings of *Hijiri* have been clarified to some extent by the descriptions in the opening section. *Hijiri* as a specifically religious concept came into existence in the middle of the Heian Period, succeeding the formed *ubasoku(upâsaka)zenji* group of the Nara Period[65], as represented by Gyôgi-*bosatsu*[66] and En-no-*ubasoku*[67]. It was gradually formed on the basis of feelings which were common to both the special religious ascetics who had firm faith and strict practices, including the observance of the Buddhist discipline of forbearance and mercifulness, and the religious hermits who had endeavored to achieve a higher form of religious experience and consciousness in the isolated and secluded mountains or hermitages.

Buddhism in the Nara Period made a sharp discrimination between state Buddhism and private or popular Buddhism, because it had developed under the patronage and control of the state. The attitude of the government toward private beliefs and practices was negative and rather suppressive. Many Buddhist priests had tried to become official priests by taking the state examination for licensure, or to be priests of up-to-date information after studying abroad. The *Biku* (*Bhiksu*), an officially authorized Buddhist priest, was treated on the same footing with the government officers. Many state-temples donated by the government or by the Imperial Family had their own lands and people as their economic foundation, organized and controlled separately. There was a bureau for religious affairs in the government, the headquarters of which was called *Sô-gô*[68]. The headquarters for the state-temples and the big clan-temples were also called *San-gô*[69].

The official Buddhist priests belonged to the religious and social status of their own temple. Their status could be promoted by length of service from their initiation ceremony as well as by their study and practical merits. Among the official Buddhist priests, the so-called *Gaku-sô* (literally, scholarly monk), there were many lower-class private priests who engaged in the practical affairs of managing the temples, Buddha halls and serving the high-class official priests. One class, called the *Dai-shu* or *Shû-to* (literally, masses), sprang up in rivalry with the *Gaku-sô* group. Afterwards, this *Dai-shu* or *Shû-to* group seized power in their temples and formed a great political and economic bloc against other politically powerful families.

Many state and clan temples were built for the sole benefit and purpose of their own aims and functions, and gained and held political and economic independenc, so that their religious functions were never opened to the masses or the public. The character of the priests in the state or clan temples, as well as those of the *Gaku-sô* and *Dai-shu* groups, equally became more and more political and secularistic than religious. Moreover, the nobles of the Heian Period were strongly superstitious; they feared the revenge of the spirit of the dead enemy;

they believed in the necromancy and telepathy performed by female shamans; they believed in divinations based on astrology and the calendar according to the professors of the Yin-yang philosophy (*Onmyô-Hakase*)[70]. Consequently, the religious functions of the *Gaku-sô* were mostly limited to scholarly discussions about their own theology in the official rituals, the performances of the mysterious rites and services which induced the nobles and noblesses' minds to the mysterious world of phantoms, magic such as praying for rain, for confusion of the enemy, for someone's recovery from illness, for an easy childbirth, and so on[71]. They were honored by awards, donations and promotions of their ecclesiastical grade and status, which were extended to them by the emperors, nobles or supporters in each of these cases.

Generally speaking, the world of institutionalized Buddhism was a kind of wordly society which nominally opened its doors to the common people. Nevertheless, with the lapse of time, many princes, princesses, and children of noble families went into the religious world and occupied the higher and important ranks and positions in the temples. As a result of this, the state and the large temples inevitably became more and more aristocratic, formalistic and secularistic. Consequently, if a person awakening to a real religious need wanted to try to maintain the life of seeking after Buddhist truth and enlightenment as well as to distribute the Buddha's gospel to the common people, he had to deny the organization and form of the official Buddhist order or escape and seclude himself from it anew. In other words, one had to retire again from a religious world which was originally considered unworldly. In this context the groups of *Hijiri* appeared.

Anti-secularism and Upâsaka-ism of the early Hijiri-groups

The character of the *Hijiri* was originally private and arbitrary, and always negative to the actual world, especially to authority or social status. However, because the religious needs of the common people did not necessarily end within the limits of the present world, *Hijiri*, with an anti-secularistic character and super-mundane behavior and attitude, gained high esteem among people who were unsatisfied with official Buddhism. The personalities and conducts of an early small group of *Hijiri* infused a fresh spirit into the religious world. The character of the *Hijiri* was clearly formed by them. Though their behavior seemed to be eccentric and unusual at first sight, they never departed in the least from their unshakable faith, strict practices and humanity.

Genpin-*hijiri*, who died in 818, had been appointed to the ecclesiastical rank of *Sô-zu*, one of the highest official ranks of the governmental *Sô-gô*, because of his highly-esteemed scholarship. He declined this appointment with thanks, but the Emperor did not recognize this, so he escaped from Kyoto to a small hut at the foot of Mount Miwa in Nara Prefecture. Afterwards, seeking Buddhist truth and distributing the Buddha's gospel, he traveled through several provinces and at last hid himself from the world to become a ferryman in a small village. The

legends about his personality and deeds as well as his poems were later in great demand among the people, and several priests revered him for his virtue[72].

Kûya-hijiri, a pioneer of the *Nembutsu-Hijiri* or *Amida-Hijiri*, had been a *upâsaka* and belonged to the Tendai sect. According to the biographies written by his friends, Yasutané Yoshishigé (Jakushin) and Tamenori Minamoto[73], he also hid himself among the citizens of Kyoto City, recommending and strongly urging them to the practice of *Nembutsu*. It is said he was a son of the emperor, but he never confessed his identity. One day he descended from Mount Hiei, the location of one of the headquarters of the Tendai school; he had studied there and found it very annoying and noisy in the mountain, while in the city of Kyoto it was very quiet and peaceful—or conducive to his work. He was called and *Ichi-Hijiri* by the citizens, which means a *Hijiri* in the city. He continued to pray unceasingly to the Amitabha Buddha (*Nembutsu*; *Namu Amidabutsu*); thus he was also called an *Amida-Hijiri*. One of Kûya's biographers wrote that before Kûya appeared, there were few who had practiced the *Nembutsu-samâdhi* in any of the temples or communities; furthermore, the common people had eschewed it. However, once Kûya appeared, praying to *Nembutsu* himself and strongly urging the people to pray to him, the whole nation was soon worshipping the Amitabha Buddha. This was the real merit of the reverent *Hijiri* Kûya. He also traveled through several provinces to distribute the Amitabha's merciful gospel as well as to serve social welfare works. He entered prisons to enlighten the immates[74].

In 984, twelve years after Kûya's death, Genshin (Eshin-*Sô-zu*) was devoting himself to writing his famous work entitled "Ohjô-Yô-shû" (A Selection of Sacred Words Concerning Going to the Amitabha's Western Pure Land). Following the *Nembutsu* practices founded by Ennin (Jikaku Daishi) in the Tendai School, he lived in seclusion at Yogawa on the inner Mount Hiei, for he despised honor and reputation in this world; there he made up his mind to practice the life of *Hijiri*. His work, his personality and his scholarship exerted as far-reaching an influence on the nobles as Kûya had on the common people. He started the *Gei-kô* service in which was performed a play of the coming down of the Amitabha Buddha to welcome the spirits of his believers, accompanied by many Buddhist saints and angels in the Pure Land Hall (*Gokuraku-dô* or *Amida-dô*) which imitated the Amitabha's Paradise. He also founded a religious association named *Nijugo-Zammai Kesshu*, the aim of which was that the members of this association could be reborn without fail in the Amitabha's Pure Land after death as a result of the concentrated merit of *Nembutsu* by like-minded persons[75]. These efforts made by Genshin, co-jointly with Kuya's endeavors and Jakushin's movement to promote the virtues of Nembutsu among common people as well as among the scholars and intelligentsia, had a deep influence on the Japanese people. As a result, there was an increase in the number of *Hijiri* who practiced *Nembutsu* in the mountains centering around Mount Hiei as well as the lay-*Hijiri* (*Zoku-Hijiri*) in the cities and rural communities. In the later Heian Period, there appeared in Kyoto and its suburbs many *Nembutsu-Hijiri* or *Amida-Hijiri* who imitated Kuya's deeds[76].

Yasutané Yoshishigê, who called himself Jakushin after he took holy orders in Buddhism, lived at the same time as Kuya and Genshin. He was also known as *Naiki-no-Hijiri* because he had formerly been a court official in the department of *Nai-ki* (Secretariat). After his conversion he began the *Kan-gaku-ye* Meeting, the aim of which was for the students and professors of the state university in Kyoto and the awakened scholarly Tendai priests to assemble once a month to discuss the theories of the Lotus Sutra in the daytime, to pray to *Nembutsu* in the evening, and to express their religious feelings and awareness in Chinese and Japanese poetry. He wrote a book entitled "Nihon Ohjô Gokuraku Ki" (The Compiled Biographies about the Persons Who Went to the Amitabha's Pure Land After Death) during 985–986. He recorded his intention in the preface of this book as follows:

> I had already prayed to Amitabha Buddha in my youth; however, after I was forty years old, my belief in the *Nembutsu* became more and more ardent. So that I chant the name of Amitabha Buddha in my mouth, and meditate on the Amitabha Buddha and his Pure Land's figures in my mind. These practices I have never forgotten in every moment of my daily life, not even for a moment. Any temples and halls in which the statues of Amitabha are enshrined, or where the *mandâla* of the Pure Land are, I have worshipped at them without exception. Any laymen or priests, men and women, who have the intention to be reborn in the Amitabha's Pure Land after death. I have formed a pious connection with all of them without exception.

Jakushin's legendary biography and actions are full of eccentricities. For example, he wandered about the country strongly urging the people to embrace *Nembutsu* as well as to observe the Buddhist masses. He always tendered the animals, even the fat horses and bulls. If he found temples or Buddha's halls or pagodas and stupas on his route, he never failed to get off his horse and worship at them piously. One day, the biography says, he was invited to visit the home of one of his disciples but he did not come until sunset. The host, wondering why he did not arrive at his house which was close to a hermitage, went to search for him. The disciple found him in a grave yard along the road, where he had gotten off his horse and was worshipping at each tomb, shedding tears and offering *Nembutsu* to each spirit of the dead. When he went to Mount Tô-no-miné Temple to ask for the instruction of Zôga-*Hijiri* who resided there, Jakushin heard every sacred word and wept with great thanks. Zôga encouraged his firm and pious faith with praise[77].

The legend of Kyôshin-*hijiri* (or -*shami*) also had a far-reaching influence on the *Nembutsu-hijiri* in later ages, such as had Jakushin, Tameyasu Miyoshi and Eikan (or Yôkan) in the Heian Period, Shinran and Chishin in the Kamakura Period, founders of the Jodo-shin and Ji sects in the Japanese Pure Land School. Kyôshin-*shami* supported his wife and son by his day-labor in a small farming

village in Hyôgo Prefecture. He was converted to the *Nembutsu*-belief and repeated the name of Amitabha Buddha every day and night incessantly. Villagers nicknamed him *Amidamaru*. He died in a small hut repeating the "*Namu Amida-butsu*". After he died his corpse was given to the dogs as he had willed. It was said that Shinran usually talked about the personality and behavior of Kyôshin as his model. Chishin visited Kyôshin's remains several times and wanted to die there. Afterwards, the *Noguchi Dai-Nembutsu* Festival was dedicated to the memory of Kyôshin by Tan-*Amidabutsu*, one of Chishin's disciples, and it is practiced even today[78].

Zôga-*hijiri* was a famous scholar of the Tendai school. However, he hated the secularism of the Tendai monasteries and escaped from Mount Hiei under pretense of madness, and at last lived in seclusion in Mount Tô-no-miné. He never went down the mountain to Kyoto even when the Emperor invited him. One day, a concubine invited him in order that she might receive the Buddhist initiation from him. He declined several times with thanks. The concubine, however, never gave him up, because she had great respect for him. At last he made an exception and reluctantly consented, going to her palace in Kyoto. Nevertheless, he did not give her the commandments of Buddhism, but was eccentric in his conduct and indulged in striking remarks in order to be given up by her, and hurried home. Having completely abandoned all tenacity for this world, he died sitting in Buddhist contemplation and praying the Lotus Sûtra[79]. There were many priests and laymen who adored him for his personality and behavior, and contracted warm friendships with him. Among them were Shöku-*hijiri* as well as Genshin and Jakushin-*hijiri*.

According to the biographies and legends concerning Shôkû[80], he acquired faith in Buddhism from his early days. However, it was not until he was 36 years of age that he joined the Buddhist priesthood. Then he stayed at Mount Kirishima and Mount Seburi in Kyushu, where he assiduously practiced the austerities of the Lotus Sûtra, received a mysterious power, and attained enlightenment. He finally came to Mount Shosha in Hyôgo Prefecture and built a Buddhist temple on the top of the mountain. His personality and deeds were extremely unusual and there were many anecdotes about him. He composed one poem entitled "Kan-tei-Go" (Words About the Secluded Retreat) as follows:

I, a hermit at a secluded retreat am
Poor and also humble;
Who is not ambitious after wealth and distinction;
But love my own life;
Though the four walls are crudeness,
The Eight Winds cannot trespass on them;
Though one gourd for wine is empty,
The *Samâdhi* is full to the brim spontaneously;
I do not know anyone,
(So that) there is neither slander nor praise;

No one knows me,
(So that) there is neither hatred nor affection;
When I lie down with my head resting on my arm,
(The) delight and happiness exist in it;
For what purpose should I wish again for
The unstable lap of luxury like a floating cloud!

Another anecdote says that one day Lady Izumi, a famous poetess and beauty of that time, came down to Mount Shosha from Kyoto in order to ask for instruction of Shôkû-*hijiri*. He, seeing her ascending Mount Shosha in the distance, said that there was a female ogre coming; and hid himself in the other hermitage. She wrote a Japanese poem (*waka*) and offered it to him. This poem is one of the most famous in her anthology:

I who might pass from the darkness to darkness
To the Moon which is now coming out from behind the mountain,
Oh! my Moon, please throw your light on me from afar![81]

Many priests and laymen adored him for his virtues and visited him in order to receive his evangelization and salvation. Among them were the Retired Emperor Kazan in Pious Life, Michinaga Fujiwara, Genshin, Jakushin, Zôga and so on. And not a few people followed in his footsteps in later ages.

These early *Hijiri* had the significant characteristics of *anti-secularism* and *quietism* based on their own religious minds; in addition, they threw a fresh light on and gave instruction to the common spiritual life because of their unique personalities. Hence, there necessarily appeared many followers in their wake among the masses or laymen. Kûya, Shôkû and Jakushin, as well as their forerunners such as Prince Shôtoku, Gyôgi and En-no-Shôkaku, were all laymen or Buddhist *upâsaka* (*ubasoku*) or *śramanera* (*shami*) until their middle age or later. Therefore, they took no account of the system of apprenticeship, which was based on the age of receiving the commandments of Buddhism in order to become a *Bhiksu* (*Biku*) or of the order system of priesthood. Their situation of "*upâsaka-ism*" gave full scope to their real intention in the religious life. The religious functions and the spirit of seeking after religious truth which had gradually been lost in the Buddhist monasteries and the large temples under the patronage of the Imperial Family or powerful nobles were nurtured and promoted by the group of *Hijiri* and distributed by them to the common people.

There are other examples of *Hijiri*. Sanshû-*hijiri*, who resided in Mount Ibuki in Gifu Prefecture, lacked learning of Buddhist theories, knew nothing beyond the practice of *Nembutsu* and went to Amitabha's Pure Land after death[82]. Ruri-*hijiri* of Tennô-ji Temple, who had also despised the monastery life, hid himself as a citizen of Osaka and became a mendicant priest as a *Nembutsu-hijiri*, withholding from the people his knowledge of Buddhist theology[83]. Hyôtô-*hijiri*, who had been a famous scholar in the Tendai School at Mount Hiei, was

suddenly re-converted, wandered about the country from door to door as a mendicant. He never slept in a house at night, but practised the incessant chant of *Nembutșu*, and had a rebirth in Amitabha's Pure Land after death[84]. The significant characteristic seen in all of these is that their attitudes and functions were the very opposite of that of priests in the official monasteries and large temples[85].

IV. Development of the Hijiri-groups

We have seen how the belief in "*goryô*", or spirits of the dead, played such an important role in the Japanese religious history, especially during the Heian Period. This belief was originally directed only to the souls and spirits of the nobility, aristocracy and the politically-powerful families. It gradually became generalized, however, so that even the peasants could hope for the salvation of their spirits through the belief in *goryô*. Indeed, the *Age of Goryô-shin* found expression on every social and economic level and also within all the existing religious structures—Buddhism, Shinto, Yin-yang magic, Shamanism, and, as we shall note below, in the different kinds of *Hijiri* groups which were forming to meet the popular religious needs. The inter-relationships between the belief in *goryô* and the *Hijiri* is the subject of this chapter. Two types of *Hijiri* are discussed: the *kenza*, or "*Hijiri* in the mountains", known earlier as the *upâsaka* magicians; and the *Nembutsu-Hijiri*, who were closely related to the Pure Land School of Mahayâna Buddhism.

The rise of the "Kenza-group" connected with the belief in "goryô-shin"

As the belief in *goryô-shin* became more and more popularized, the shamans, Yin-yang priests and Buddhist performers and exorcists connected with this belief mutually gave an impetus to one another in an endless chain. Among them, the Mantra-istic priests usually practiced an aggressive magic against the *goryô*, with the active intention of subsuming the Shinto deities into Buddhist hierarchy and theology. Because the deified human soul and the spirit of the dead were believed to be saved and sent off to the Buddha's Paradise by Buddhist rituals and magic, it is not to be wondered at that the Shinto deities were believed to be the local and temporary manifestations of the prime noumena of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and could attain enlightenment or be saved by Buddhist practices and prayers.

The Mantra-istic priests of both Tendai and Shingon schools seemed to have the effect of a new impetus for the shamans and Yin-yang priests as they worked together with each other. As the Mantra-istic priests won the public confidence, the demand for the *kenza*-group or the so-called "*Hijiri* in the mountains" was suddenly advanced, because magical and superhuman power was generally believed to be attained by superhuman austerities as well as an unshakable faith and strict discipline.

These trends necessarily promoted also the sudden increase of the "*upâsaka*-magicians in the mountains". In about 1000 A.D., a famous female essayist Lady Sei-shônagon satirized the *kenza* in an essay entitled "Unusual Things" as follows:

> The '*kenza*' seems to make great efforts. As he has to climb from mountain to mountain such as from Mount Mitaké to Mount Kumano etc., in order to practice his austerities, he must have had many fearful experiences. At last, if word should go out that he had a miraculous character and superhuman power by virtue of his trainings, he would be very busy every day and night with his many supporters' invitations to travel here and there. So that he cannot seek a place for peaceful living, neither in his novitiate days nor in his most prosperous days[86].

Consequently, the famous mountain-temples which had been originally discovered, selected and set apart by the early *Hijiri*-groups in order to practice religious austerities became the central seminaries for these disciplines, and were treated with great respect and confidence. As early as 836, the seven temple-mountains (Mount Hiei, Mount Hira in Shiga Prefecture, Mount Ibuki in Gifu Prefecture, Mount Atago in Kyoto Prefecture, Jinpô-ji Temple in Osaka Prefecture, Mount Kinpu-sen and Mount Katsuragi in Nara Prefecture) were especially styled the "Seven Highly-Powered Mountains" (*Shichi Kô-zan*) by imperial command and were given yearly official donations to pray for bumper crops. The performers of this ritual in the mountains were called "*Acârya* of the Seven Highly-Powerful Mountains" (*Shichi Kô-zan Ajari*)[87]. Again in 848, when the government announced an examination for excellent *upâsaka*-magicians in private life, there were several hundred who gathered from various places to apply for it, carrying on their backs a special kind of creel (*oi*) and in their hands a special priest's staff (*shakujô*). Of these, seventy *upâsaka* passed the examination and were approved as official Buddhist priests (*Bhiksu* or *Biku*)[88]. Moreover, in 857, the government asked for a report of the names of temples and priests in the deep northwestern mountain recesses of Kyoto and donated to them sums of rice and salt[89]. In 866 the Emperor sent for a priest who had a reputation for his miraculous virtue and power by the merits of the practices of austerities in the remote mountain recesses in Mount Yoshino and gave him audience and a huge donation[90].

There were two types of "*upâsaka*-magicians in the mountains", those who lived permanently in certain mountains practicing their austerities, and those who made pilgrimages to several famous Buddhist mountains and mountain-temples. As the custom of making pilgrimages from mountain to mountain was believed to be effective toward attaining superhuman power, this came into existence as one of the most important and widespread practices of Buddhist asceticism.

As I have already pointed out, the mountain-seminaries on Mount Wu-tai-shan in northern China were introduced and copied by Saichô and Kûkai and

their successors, especially Ennin and Enchin. Ennin named his diary, "Nittô Guhô Junrei-kô Ki" (The Record of Pilgrimages for Seeking the Buddha's Law in Tang China). This is the first appearance of the word "*junrei*" (pilgrimage) in Japanese religious history. At the same time that Saichô and Kûkai built their temples modeled after the seminary system in Mount Wu-tai-shan, the five summits in the western mountains of Kyoto City were compared with the five summits in Mount Wu-tai-shan and worshipped as holy mountains.

Sôwô (831–918), one of the disciples of Ennin, who was an excellent *kenza* in high esteem, practiced and lived permanently in Mount Hiei. However, he wanted to combine the two types of training and so began the new practice of making a round of pilgrimages to the several summits as well as to all the halls and pagodas of the Buddha in Mount Hiei every day for one thousand days. (*Kai-hô Gyô*)[91].

The importance of these pilgrimages was advanced decisively by the practices of the two retired Emperors Seiwa and Uda. In 879 Emperor Seiwa, who had retired and entered into the Buddhist priesthood under the guidance of Shuei (809–884), made pilgrimages to eleven famous mountain-temples where he chanted the sûtras and worshipped at statues of the Buddha, staying at each place for several days to practice the disciplines. Finally he stopped at Mount Mizunoo which he decided should be the place of his death. There he entered upon some extremely ascetic practices. He rigidly abstained from many kinds of food and ate maigre only once in two or three days. Having thus given up all desires of this world, he died while sitting in Buddhist contemplation in the next year after nineteen months of practice. It was said that because his corpse never inclined, but sustained an upright posture as if alive, and could not be laid in a coffin, they took it on a formal Imperial palanquin and cremated it according to Buddhist custom. He died at the age of 30[92].

The retired Emperor Uda of the Pious Life also had practiced the austerities with pilgrimages into the mountains. After finishing his training and practices under the guidance of the famous Shingon priests Yakushin (827–906) and Kanken (853–925), he followed the orthodox religious tradition of the Shingon school. This was the first time that a retired emperor officially had received the mantle of a Buddhist school and was ranked into its religious lineage. He made pilgrimages to several sacred mountains such as Mount Hiei, Mount Yoshino, Mount Kinpu, Mount Kôya and Mount Kumano between 898 and 907[93]. He and his entourage wore white robes modeled after the *upâsaka* on their mountain pilgrimages. According to the poem composed by one of his suite, Sosei, these pilgrimages were called *yama-bushi* or *yama-bumi* (to step on the mountains)[94].

If even the retired emperors emphasized and practiced pilgrimages to the sacred mountains and mountain-temples, it was understandable that many priests and *upâsaka* as well as laymen should suddenly attach importance to the *yama-bushi* or *yama-bumi* practices.

This *yama-bushi* practice of Uda was succeeded and promoted by his disciple Jyôzô (891–964), who was a son of the famous Confucianist scholar Kiyotsura

Miyoshi and highly esteemed for his miraculous virtue and magic. He was called "the greatest *kenza* that ever lived". According to his biography[95], he entered into the Shingon Buddhist priesthood at the age of seven, then practiced Shingon asceticism in Mount Inari, Mount Kumano, Mount Hiei, Mount Ohminé, Mount Nachi, Mount Haku-san and Mount Kinpu. After he had become a *Bhiksu* and enjoyed his reputation as the greatest *kenza*, he fell in love with the daughter of one of the nobles and they were married[96]. His reputation was not impaired, however. Even though this may be an exception, we realize from it that the *kenza* did not necessarily gain the respect of the public by a rigid observance of the Buddhist commandments, but by his superhuman virtue and power at that time. One might say that this was an example of the possibility and justification for regularizing the *upâsaka*-istic form into Mantrayâna Buddhism, opening the way for the founding of the *Shugen-dô* sects.

Shôbô (Rigen Daishi, 832–909), another Shingon priest of the same time, was believed to be a restorer of the *Shugen-dô* sect, though this legend is doubtful as historical fact. He also practiced his austerities on Mount Kinpu and Mount Ohminé[97].

Thus, as the practices of austerities in the mountains as well as the pilgrimages to the sacred mountains and mountain-temples were flourishing, the custom of the so-called *Mitaké-moudé* (pilgrimages to Mount Mitaké or Kinpu) among the laymen and nobles as well as the masses began to be very popular. These pilgrimages were made in order to receive divine favors and attain spiritual enlightenment and peace by the merit of one's own practice. This tendency necessarily gave rise on the one hand to the prosperity of the famous sacred mountains, and to the appearance of professional guide-priests named *Sen-datsu*, who guided the laymen to their own mountains from Kyoto while teaching them the rules of religious purification and abstinence before and along the way of the pilgrimage; while in the mountains many permanently-residing leader-priests called *O-shi* taught, prayed for, and guided the temporary lay-ascetics in the mountains. They built their own seminary and lodge around the main temple in order to shelter their supporters.

At the end of the Heian Period, Mount Kumano was at the peak of its prosperity. This was mainly due to the two retired emperors: Shirakawa, who made pilgrimages to this mountain nine times in his life; and Go-Shirakawa, who made thirty-four of them. At that time a proverb of the "Pilgrimages of Ants to Mount Kumano" came into fashion, symbolizing the prosperity of this mountain. After this, Mount Kumano came under the control of the Tendai and Shingon schools as a result of the merits of *Sen-datsu*, who served the emperors' pilgrimages as leaders and guides. And the so-called *Shugen-dô* sects were gradually established around Mount Kumano under the theological leadership and management of both the Tendai and Shingon schools.

The rise of the "Nembutsu-Hijiri group" connected with the belief in "goryô-shin"

The belief in *goryô-shin* seemed to effect a sudden rise in *Nembutsu* practices and *Nembutsu* prayers at the same time as that of the *Kenza* or *Shugen-sha* in the mountains. As already pointed out in a former section, one of the most significant rituals of early Buddhism in Japan was a memorial service to the spirit of the dead closely connected with the way of salvation in after-life. At the beginning of the Heian Period, the Lotus Sûtra was considered to be one of the most powerful sûtras for the salvation of the spirit of the dead. The *Hokké-Hachi-kô*[98], *Hokké-Sen-pô*[99], and *Hokké-Senbu-yé*[100] rites and ceremonies were held mainly for this purpose.

On the other hand, the Amitabha's Sûtras[101] were already introduced into Japan from China by several Buddhist priests in the early Nara Period, and lectures about them were given in the Imperial Court (652 A.D.). According to historical documents, there were several priests who believed in Amitabha Buddha and practiced *Nembutsu*-prayer for the purpose of their rebirth in the *Sukhâvatî* (the Western Pure Land) of Amitabha Buddha.

The first school to accept this belief in Japan was the Tendai School. At first, Saichô introduced practices of four kinds of *samâdhi* (*sammai*: meditations) based on the teachings of "Mo-hö-ki-kwân" (*Maka-Shi-kan*) written by Chih-kai, founder of the Tien-tai School in China. One of these four *samâdhi* was called *Jyôgyô-jyôza-sammai*[102]. It was based upon the "Pratyutpanna-buddhasammukhâ-vasthita-samâdhi"[103], which teaches meditation by means of repeated chantings of the name of Amitabha Buddha (*Namu-Amida-butsu*) and of attentive and ceaseless contemplation for ninety days of the Amitabha's figure and his Pure Land. This method of meditation had been introduced into the Tien-tai School by Chih-kai from the Chinese Pure Land School founded by Hui-yüan (334–416 A.D.) in Mount Lu-shan.

Afterwards, Ennin brought back this *samâdhi* named *Jyôgyô-jyôza-sammai* from Mount Wu-tai-shan seminary in China and built his own professional seminary in Mount Hiei. This *samâdhi* was also called the *In-zei Nembutsu* because of the reptition of *Nembutsu* in a sing-song tone; or the *Fudan Nembutsu* because of the incessant chanting of *Nembutsu*; or *Yama-no-Nembutsu* (*Nembutsu* in the Mountain) because this *Nembutsu* had originated at one of the seminaries of Enryaku-ji Temple in Mount Hiei. It was said that in 865 this *Nembutsu* practice became one of the annual rites of the Tendai School and was observed unceasingly from the dawn of the eleventh to the midnight of the seventeenth of August of the lunar calendar centering around the harvest moon.

The *Jyôgyô-dô* Seminary for the *Jyôgyô-jyôza-sammai* pratices and its *Nembutsu* practices gradually influenced the temples and priests of the Tendai School. In the middle of the Heian Period, the most popular daily practices of the Tendai temples and priests were the *sâmadhi* based on the Lotus Sûtra (*Hokké-sammai*) in the morning and the *Nembutsu-sammai* in the evening;

chanting the name of the Lotus Sutra in the morning (*Asa Daimoku*) and repeating the name of Amitabha Buddha in the evening (*Yû Nembutsu*).

Though originally this *Nembutsu-samâdhi* had aimed at the salvation in the future life of the priests and believers for their object, it gradually enlarged its function to become a memorial service for the spirit of the dead, with the expectation that the Amitabha's helping hands would be extended to them. Thus, the professional *Nembutsu*-priests and *Nembutsu*-prayers have been connected with the funeral ceremony as well as with the memorial services for the dead.

When the funeral services for the late Emperor Daigo were held in 930, the professional *Nembutsu*-priests, selected from among the Tendai priests, lined both sides of the street at eighty-six places where the funeral procession passed, repeating *Nembutsu* prayers to the deceased Emperor's spirit and ringing their special bells and gongs[104]. Following this, we find many such examples in several historical documents and diaries of that time[105].

According to these documents, when the sick person lay at death's door, *Nembutsu*-priests entered the sick-room in place of the *Kenza*-magicians and offered their prayers to make his last moments easier. Then after his death they prayed on the one hand for the protection of the body which might be in danger of disturbance from the evil spirits, and on the other hand, they prayed for the early rebirth of the spirit of the dead into the Amitabha's Paradise. During the period of mourning which lasted for seven weeks after the death there was customarily held also the incessant repeating of the name of Amitabha Buddha as a memorial service to the spirit of the dead.

The cohesion of the *Nembutsu*-practice with the practice based on the Lotus Sûtra centering around the Tendai School necessarily brought about the cohesion of the *Nembutsu*-performers with the *Kenza*-group. Both of them in company revolutionalized the popular Japanese concept of the soul through the sudden rise of the belief in *goryô*, as I have already pointed out. It was then that *Nembutsu* became to be one of the most powerful forms of magic against *goryô* for sending off the spirit of the dead and also the evil spirits to the Amitabha's merciful hands in his Western Pure Land. The professional *Nembutsu*-performers also came gradually to embrace some of the *Kenza*-istic asceticism. The fact that both *Nembutsu* performers and *Kenza* ascetics were equally called *Hijiri* by the common people should, I believe, be attributed to this common characteristic.

As the movement of the *Nembutsu-hijiri* group led by Kûya, Genshin and Jakushin, whom I have already mentioned, became more and more popularized and widespread, the Mantra-istic characteristics such as mystery, symbolism, asceticism and the merit of numerous repeated prayers were introduced into the *Nembutsu* practices.

For example, we can find such mysterious and symbolic elements in the *Kangaku-yé* Meeting founded by Jakushin, the *Gei-kô* Service founded by Genshin, as well as the *Shiju-hachi-ko* for the repetition of "*Namu Amida-butsu*" and the recitation of the 48 vows of the Buddha described in the Larger

Sukhâvati Sûtra, the *Oh-jô-kô* for the rebirth to the Pure Land after death, the *Amida-kô* for praying to Amitabha Buddha, the *Bodai-kô* for the salvation and enlightenment by Amitabha Buddha, the *Fudan-Nembutsu-yé* ceremonies, all of which were based on the teachings of the Amitabha's Sûtras. These had as their object a firm belief in salvation in the future life by means of the religious sentiments such as were evoked by the masked procession of beautiful angels and Bodhisattvas of the Pure Land, sweet music and dances, and the mimic play of the coming down of Amitabha Buddha to welcome the spirit of his believers. Many *Amida-dô* Halls were built and dedicated to Amitabha Buddha in order to provoke the peoples and create a religious illusion of Amitabha's Paradise. To meet this purpose they were constructed and decorated in accordance with the descriptions in the Sûtras concerning Amitabha Buddha. They were usually called "Halls for the Coming Down of Amitabha Buddha" (*Gei-setsu-dô*), "Illuminated Halls" (*Hikaru-dô*), "Golden Colored Halls" (*Kon-jiki-dô*) or "Paradise Halls" (*Gokuraku-dô*). Many paintings and scrolls represented the circumstances of Pure Land and the figures of Amitabha Buddha and his accompanying angels and Bodhisattvas who appeared from the Western Heaven and came down to welcome his believers, the former of which were called *Jôdo-mandâla* or *Jôdo-hensô-zu*, and the latter, *Raigô-zu*. When a person fell into a critical condition, the *Nembutsu*-priest let him take hold of the five colored strings attached to the hands of a golden statue of Amitabha in order to assure him directly of the welcome and salvation of the Buddha. This custom called *Ito-hiki* flourished in the middle of Heian Period. Michinaga Fujiwara was one who died holding the five-colored strings tightly and repeating the name of Amitabha Buddha[106].

Concerning the *Nembutsu*-ascetics, there were several practices such as fasting, flaying one's own palm or plantar skin, touching a flame directly to the palm, copy-writing the Buddhist scriptures using one's own blood as ink, self-amputation of fingers and toes, and so on, in order to offer them to Amitabha Buddha as well as to testify to their firm belief. Sometimes they sought death at their own hand by drowning, by burning themselves or hanging so that they might go directly to Amitabha's Pure Land by virtue of their unusually strong will-power. Some of them announced their intention in advance. Many citizens and believers gathered at the appointed place and witnessed these things, weeping and worshipping with adoration. They often experienced a common illusion. Some persons could see the five-colored clouds which came down from the Western Heaven or could hear the melodious music from the air which announced the descent of the Amitabha Buddha to welcome the suicide-*Nembutsu*-ascetic[107].

The chanting of *Nembutsu* in extended repetitions was also one of the typical trends at that time. For instance, Yôkan (or Eikan) was said to have practiced the repeating of the name of Amitabha Buddha 10,000 times a day in his younger days. After his prime of life, he practiced it 60,000 times a day without missing a single day[108]. One nun named Anraku also repeated the "*Namu Amida-butsu*" prayer 50,000 times on every ordinary day and 100,000 times on every festival

day as her daily routine[109]. Chôi of Kurama-dera Temple practiced the *Nembutsu* prayer, counting the number with red beans from March 1127 to August 1141. His total number of repetitions of the "*Namu Amida butsu*" during these thirteen years and five months reached about 1,427.33 bushels (287 *koku* 6 *tô*). He also strongly urged the repeating of *Nembutsu* among worshippers and pilgrims and counted their numbers by the fruits of the linden-tree (Bodhendrum, Tree of Enlightenment, which is sacred for the Buddhists). The total count was said to be 17,653.053 bushels (3,557 *koku*)[110]. Gansai, who lived near Asuka-dera Temple in Nara Prefecture, also counted the number of *Nembutsu* for about fifteen years or more, and his total was 3,474 bushels (700 *koku*)[111]. Again, Kyôshin repeated the *Nembutsu*-prayer 100,000 times a day and 1,000,000 times twice a month.[112].

On the other hand, it should be mentioned that there were several examples of the most brutal persons or extremely impious or pagan persons who could go to the Amitabha's Western Paradise by virtue of only one chant of the name of the Buddha at the moment of their death[113].

Many legends tell us that even some professional *Nembutsu*-priests who strived for numerous repetitions of the Buddha's name, fell into evil courses after death if their belief and consciousness had been disturbed by a straying mind just at the moment of their death[114]. This idea, I am sure, might indicate that the concentrated mind at the moment of death is paramount in determining the destiny of one's future life, just as the possibility of deification or of becoming a *goryô* was believed to have depended primarily upon a determined mind in the last moment of life. "Nothing is impossible to a determined mind at the moment of death" was the public belief at that time.

Even though the merit of quantity as over against quality in *Nembutsu*-practices had been discussed for a long time by scholars of the Pure Land School, this was not only a theological problem among professional priests but also a common problem among people who were expecting a peaceful life after death in that work-a-day world. Especially the emphasis on the possibility and distribution of salvation in after-life of even a dissolute, uneducated and pagan person by only one chant of *Nembutsu*, if he had a firm and pious belief at this moment of his death, opened the door of the Pure Land to all human beings, though this doctrine was attended by many evils on the other hand. This doctrine, along with the Lotus Sûtra's saying that "all human beings originally have *Buddha-ness* without discrimination" from its One-Vehicle Principle, developed the Way of Salvation through "Other Power" or through the 48 benevolent vows of Amitabha Buddha as the "Easy Way".

Thus, the thought of the Pure Land School and *Nembutsu*-practices had sprouted in the Tendai School, then were promoted and developed by the movement of early *Hijiri*-groups among the noblemen and masses as well as among the Tendai priests. They were later gradually transmitted into various sects such as Hossô, Sanron, Kegon, Ritsu and Shingon. However, until Genkû (Hônen Shônin: 1133–1212) founded the proper Jôdo School according to the teachings

of Shan-tao in the Tang Dynasty, this movement was confined to an affiliated branch or to mere individual belief and practice within each school. The *Nembutsu* branch in the Tendai school was at first originated by Ryônin (1072–1132) in 1124 and it became afterwards an independent *Yuzû-Nembutsu* sect. Integrating the Tendai and Kegon (Avatansaka) theologies with the teachings of the Chinese Pure Land School, Ryônin systematized his own doctrine. This was that one person's merits of faith and repetition of the Amitabha's name circulated and adopted to all other persons' merits, and all other persons' merits were transferable to one's own merits, so that all human beings could gain the benefit of rebirth into the Western Pure Land after death. This doctrine was based on the teachings of the faith of the Pure Land School, the "One-and-All" idea of the "Avatansaka-sûtra" and the "Salvation-for-All" idea of the Lotus Sûtra[115].

Concurrently with this movement, the popularized *Nembutsu* magic against the *goryô* was spreading among the masses. Famines, epidemics, civil wars, big fires, and so on, were the most-widely feared fatal disasters among the people of the capital city Kyoto, because under the poor conditions of the current monetary system and their medical and social facilities, their economic foundation depended upon their own material resources, and their supply of food upon the provincial farming villages. According to the historical documents and diaries[116] written from the middle to the end of the Heian Period, when the famines and plagues attacked Kyoto, the streets and river banks were covered with the bodies of victims and there was no room to walk. As the belief in *goryô* became more and more popular, the disaster-demons or deities such as the god of plague, the demon of colds, the demon of thunder-storms as well as the noxious insects causing the famine, etc., were gradually considered as actual variations of the spirit of *goryô*. There were frequent demonstrations by the popular *Nembutsu*-magicians or *Hijiri*. They performed the *Nembutsu*-rituals as a preventive against the *goryô* who had become the gods of plague or noxious insects, etc., on the one hand, and on the other hand, they offered the *Nembutsu*-prayers for these innocent victims which were believed to be a fair chance for becoming new *goryô*.

Sometimes, *Nembutsu-Hijiri* advanced in the midst of the battlefields to offer *Nembutsu* to the spirit of those who had fallen as well as to give the dying soldiers the assurance of salvation by the Amitabha Buddha, urging them to pray the *Nembutsu*. According to a letter sent by Ta-amidabutsu[117], who lived in Kamakura at the ruin of the Hôjô Feudal Government at Kamakura in 1333, the battlefield resounded with repeated *Nembutsu* cries and prayers uttered by the soldiers of both sides under the influence of the activities of *Nembutsu-Hijiri* and the Pure Land Schools.

The fear of the spirit of the dead brought many ancient shamanistic ritual forms and customs into the popular *Nembutsu* practices. For example, dancing was re-introduced as a preventive against the gods of plague as a particular *Nembutsu* ritual form. Musical instruments also appeared in the rituals. This became one of the most significant characteristics of the popular *Nembutsu*

magic, though some Buddhist scholars have explained that this custom might have come from a conventional phrase at the end of many Buddhist sûtras that "all attendants, rejoining and dancing at the teachings of Buddha, saluted him and went away". However, the form of dancing accompanied by music and singing songs in a circle around about the central altar or symbol is presumed to be a particular form for the ritual of ancient Shintoistic *Chin-ka-sai* or *Hana-shizumé-no-matsuri* in several Shinto Shrines such as Ohmiwa, Sai and Ima-miya, all of which were dedicated to the deities of plague or great *goryô-shin* gods[118]. This was held to keep the blossoms from falling, because the primitive people had believed that the gods of plague would roam about and sprinkle the epidemic with the falling of the blossoms. Hence, this ritual form originated in many of the shrines' own magic festivals connected with the gods of plague. Further, the *Michiaé-no-matsuri* took place under the leadership of Shinto and Yin-yang priests who entertained the gods of plague with dancing, singing and music, also offering them several kinds of food on the public highways in order to check the advance of the gods of plague from the outside[119].

These ancient and primitive ritual forms should not be supposed to be unrelated to the customs surrounding the ancient funeral rites[120]. Subsequently, these ritual forms were probably associated with the Buddhist ritual of walking in a circle around a central Buddhist altar, sprinkling paper flowers and chanting the sûtra in order to exalt the Buddha's virtue. The new form of *Nembutsu-dancing* (*Nembutsuodori*) and the *dancing-Nembutsu* (*odori-Nembutsu*)[121] came into existence and gradually flourished among the masses. Later, such magical *Nembutsu* arts became differentiated and transformed into various polite forms of music, singing and dancing as well as symbolic pantomimes and dramatic plays. According to the "Genkô Shaku-sho" written by Shiren (Kokan) in 1321, many *Nembutsu*-priests and priestesses usually attended the banquets to perform their *Nambutsu* singing and dancing and to entertain the guest, together with the *geisha*-dancers[122].

V. Differentiation and survival of the religious activities of the Hijiri-groups

While the *upâsaka*-magicians in the mountains gradually organized the *Shugendô* sects as branches of both the Tendai and Shingon schools, the popular *Nembutsu*-priests became differentiated in two ways: first in the organization and systematization of the independent Pure Land School founded by Genkû (Hônen Shônin), Shinran (1173–1262) and Chishin (Ippen Shônin, 1239–1289); and secondly by the formation of the minority groups named *Sammai-Hijiri, Jishû* (*Rokuji Nembutsu-shû*), *Kané-uchi-Hijiri, Hachi-ya*, or *Hachi-tataki, Chasen, Sasara, Nebutchô* (originally may be *Nembutsu-shû*), *Nama-dango* (originally came from *Namu-Amida-butsu*), *Jan-bon* (originally came from the sound of the gong) and so on[123]. These groups had settled down in or around farming and fishing villages or near their cemeteries as well as in the large

temples and shrines. They performed the same magical and religious functions as the lower class priests or beggars.

The founders of the orthodox Pure Land Schools denied the animistic and magical *Nembutsu* which was flourishing among the masses, but insisted on the return of *Nembutsu* beliefs and practices to their original forms, according to the teachings of the sûtras and the theologies systematized by Chinese priests of this school. However, in spite of their reformative intention, they organized their sect along quite different lines from the other Buddhist schools. This was due to their religious heritage of early *Hijiri*-groups, which had been antisecular and *upâsaka*-istic.

For example, Genkû never built even one temple of his own, because he believed and declared that any place where the masses practiced *Nembutsu*, any small farmer's or fisherman's hut where a few persons prayed and repeated the name of Amitabha Buddha, was to be his own temple or seminary. According to his famous holograph, entitled "Ichimai Kishô-mon", he denied the philosophical and meditative *Nembutsu*-practices and urged his disciples to abandon all superficial knowledge which might interfere with the attainment of a pious and naive belief in the Amitabha Buddha[124].

Shinran also denied the formal temple-and-priest-system of his time, following his teacher Genkû's principle and the tradition of the *Hijiri*. He never lived in a temple, but in huts or small hermitages. Taking a step forward, he "stressed household religion as more important than temple religion. Though reared as a Tendai monk himself, he gave up the monk's way of life, married, reared a family, and in other ways lived like a normal citizen or farmer of Japan", according to the descriptions of Dr. Reischauer[125].

Chishin organized his Ji sect, which advocated pilgrimages for itinerant priests from village to village and from temple to shrine in order to disseminate the Amitabha's gospel to the masses as well as to offer their *Nembutsu* practices to the deities and the Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. He likewise never built his own temples, declaring that the monuments for Buddhist priests should be "nothing but their remains". Chishin's religious activities were carried out on such pilgrimages and he himself died as an itinerant. His principal temple was named Yugyôji, which literally means "temple for the itinerant priests". By an unwritten law of this temple, the abbot was to go on a pilgrimage all over Japan and die along the way of his pilgrimage. If he dies in a temple, he must breathe his last breath in the temple-garden wearing his pilgrim's outfit. He also introduced the popular dancing-*Nembutsu* (*Odori-Nembutsu*) forms into his sect for the purpose of attaining religious ecstasy, bringing all his attentions and energies to bear on the dancing-*Nembutsu* prayer[126].

The later *Nembutsu-Hijiri* groups which settled down here and there in the rural communities became small out-caste minority groups, though they still maintained some of the *Nembutsu* functions such as funeral services, memorial services and some magical techniques, exemplifying the historical law of changing from the *sacré pur* to the *sacré impur*. Some of them, having dropped their

Nembutsu functions, were degraded to the status of the lowest-class people who engaged in home manufacture of the *chasen* (tea-whisk), *sasara* (bamboo-whisk, a musical instrument) or other bamboo wares such as baskets, spatulas, ladles, or straw-sandals—techniques believed to have been transmitted from their ancient ancestor *Kûya-Hijiri*. Some of them served as sentries on festival days, in detective services, or the miscellaneous services at funeral rites. Others made visitations from door to door to give blessings, reciting the traditional happy songs or sentences and dancing at the end and beginning of the New Year and at the *Bon* Festival[127]. Some groups, composing and transmitting the *Nembutsu*-dancing (*Nembutsu-odori*) and dramas, became professional actors or puppet-performers.

For example, in the Northern Kyushu villages there were several famous professional *Nembutsu*-players and actors. The *Nembutsu*-dramas played by them were called *Ashiya-Nembutsu, Uéki-Nembutsu, Jichû-Nembutsu, Jika-Nembutsu* and so on, depending on the name of their seat of origin[128]. The *Kabuki* Play was said to have been originated by a famous female *Nembutsu*-dancer named Okuni in Shimané Prefecture and a male actor Sanza Fuwa[129].

Utą-Nembutsu (literally, Singing *Nembutsu*-songs) was supposed to have originated in the *Inzei-Nembutsu* mentioned above, together with the Dancing-*Nembutsu* prayer. This was performed by special *Nembutsu*-priestesses named *Uta-bikuni* (Singer-nuns) in distributing the Amitabha's gospel to the masses in the form of melodious religious songs and hymns. Afterwards, some of them became secular ballad-singers, while other gradually were degraded to the status of itinerant beggars or prostitutes[130].

The *Dancing-Nembutsu*, however, still survives all over Japan, clustered around several centers. For example, in Kyoto City, there is the *Jika-Nembutsu-Odori*, the *Tôrô-Odori*, the *Hanazono-Odori*, the *Daimoku-Odori* and the *Nembutsu-Odori*, all of which were performed at the *Bon* Festival in July of the lunar calendar and in the wake of the ancient *Dancing-Nembutsu*. Also, in Nara City there is the *Kyôki-Nembutsu-Odori*, in Shikoku Island the *Namaudé-Odori* (originally *Namu-Amida-Odori*), in Ibaraki and Chiba Prefectures the *Tendô-Nembutsu-Odori*, in Tokyo and Saitama Prefectures, the *Kasai-Nembutsu Odori*, or *Hôsai-Nembutsu-Odori*, in Fukushima Prefecture, the *Jingara-Nembutsu-Odori* or *Yûten-Nembutsu-Odori* and in Kyoto Prefecture, the *Rokusai-Nembutsu-Odori*. It is said that the *Kashima-Odori*, widespread in the southern Kanto and eastern Shizuoka provinces, also originated from the *Dancing-Nembutsu* for the purpose of warding off the *goryô* or gods of plague[131].

Many annual festivals have developed from the *Dancing-Nembutsu*. Among them, the most popular is tht *Mushi-okuri-Nembutsu*, which means the "*Nembutsu* for sending off noxious insects to the outskirts of the village". The villagers usually perform the *one-million-Nembutsu* prayers (*Hyaku-man-ben Nembutsu*) to the accompaniment of drums, gongs and flutes under the leadership of the *Nembutsu-Hijiri* or the pious village elders. Sometimes, this practice was held in order to pray for rain or to send off the demons of plague and

colds[132]. The *Bon* Festival is held especially for the seasonal return of the ancestral spirits and of all spirits of the dead. Among the many spirits there were believed to be souls of those who died leaving no relative behind, and also hungry or angry souls of the dead. Following this belief, two special altars are prepared in the *Bon* Festival: one is for ancestral spirits and the other is for the soul of dead with none to provide spiritual benefits for it. It is supposed that the farmers in ancient times thought of this not only as a crisis period in which the agricultural processes were suspended, but also a time of crisis for the farmers themselves who had a consciousness of and belief in their own co-existence with rice. The *Dancing-Nembutsu* was specifically sought for this season. *Bon-Odori* (*Bon* Festival Dances), one of the most popular and wide-spread annual functions in Japan, may have been transmitted from the *Dancing-Nembutsu* which originally had been learned from the *Nembutsu-Hijiri*. Even today, in some areas, the *Bon-Odori* Dancing is performed for the spirits of the dead who died during the past year as well as for those who died an untimely death. This is done under the leadership of the *Nembutsu-Hijiri* or the temple-priests. Thus we can point out the many survivals of ancient primitive belief in *goryô* which lie behind the rites of the *Bon* Festival[133].

Among *Shugen-dô* priests, the itinerant *yama-bushi* or *shugen-sha*, together with the village-*yama-bushi* (*sato-yama-bushi* or *sato-shugen*), participated in the spiritual life of farmers and fishermen as well as of the common citizens. They had their own fixed sphere of supporters and parishioners, and visited from door to door once or twice a year to distribute the talismans ant amulets printed by their official headquarters and also to pray for the well-being of their parishioners' families.

The village-*yama-bushi* also visited each family in his village on its particular festival day every month, chanting the sûtra and performing each family member's star ritual. Sometimes, a family member asked the *yama-bushi* to tell his fortune from the aspect of the house, well, water-closet or tomb, or by means of Yin-yang divination, or divination of the compatibility in temperament between husband and wife, or bride and bridegroom. These *yama-bushi* were also asked to pray for the sick and against other misfortunes[134]. Some of them learned and transmitted particular recitations or ballads called *Yama-bushi-Saimon* or music and dances called *Yama-bushi Kagura* or *Hôin-Kagura*. These arts became differentiated and transformed into popular professional narration in the farming villages and also in the cities[135].

Though a few village-*yama-bushi* had their own temples or hermitages, many of them lived in the enclosure of or near their village Shinto shrine. There they served the Shinto deity as professional priests both in Buddhistic and Shintoistic forms of worship. Especially in the northeast and mid-north provinces, almost all of the village Shinto shrines were occupied by the village-*yama-bushi*. After the Meiji Restoration, many of them, quitting the Buddhist priesthood, became professional Shinto priests under the policy of the separation of Buddhism and Shinto.

On certain occasions, they married the village female shamans (*miko*), and

shared in their work. A shaman would-pronounce the cause of a misfortune or disaster, falling into trance and communicating with the spirit of the dead, then her husband could practice his magic and prayer to soothe and ward off the evil spirits or angry spirits of the dead[136].

VI. Summary and conclusion

The *Hijiri* was a holy-man who might originally have been a charismatic leader of the shaman caste. Subsequently, under the influence of Confucianism and Taoism from China, the word "*Hijiri*" was gradually differentiated and transformed into several meanings such as the honorific name for the sacred king, for imaginary genii in the mysterious land beyond the sea or mountain, for persons who had attained consummate skill in arts and techniques, as the literary name for wine and for the son of Bacchus, and so on.

However, the *Hijiri*-group in Japanese religious history is different from these except for its character of "non-conformity". The early *Hijiri*-groups which appeared in the middle of the Heian Period were successors and reformers of the forerunners of popular Buddhism in the Nara Period such as Gyôgi and En-no-Shôkaku, whose aims had been the spiritual and material salvation of the masses. In order to achieve their intention, they tried to integrate and adopt the Yin-yang philosophy and magic, the shamanistic technique of divination and oracle, and Confucianistic and Taoistic philosophies and ethics. They also tried to be intimately related with Shinto shrines in order to harmonize with Japanese native bliefs and Buddhism.

They were originally unofficial Buddhist priests called *upâsaka* or *śramanera* (*ubasoku* or *shami*) as opposed to the official Buddhist priests called *bhiksu* (*biku* or great monk), who were authorized and guaranteed in their status by the state. Because the official priests lived in state-temples or temples of powerful clans and studied their own theology and meditation, they were monopolized by the Imperial Family and the nobles. With very few exceptions the official temples and priests did not open their doors to the masses. Consequently, the masses had to pay respect to and depend upon the private priests as their spiritual and material saviours, because these priests had attained supernatural or superhuman power by the merits of their firm faith and strict practices in the isolated mountains or forests as well as having been engaged in public welfare services and social works in the name of Buddha's mercy.

Official Nara Buddhism was characterized by state control, city temples and several philosophical schools. At the end of the Nara Period, state Buddhism came to a deadlock under the policy of the unity of Buddhist church and state, and it was attacked by the new move toward disestablishment led by Emperor Kanmu of the Heian government. The capital was transferred from Nara to Kyoto (*Heiankyô*), leaving the large city temples and their priests behind. The political and economic activities of the official priests were severely governed by state law and by imperial edict, and Buddhism was compelled to yield to

political sovereignity. Saichô and Kûkai, chosen by Emperor Kanmu to reform Nara Buddhism, adopted a training system for private popular priests, and also introduced the new Buddhist schools, Tendai and Shingon, into Japan from China as religions for the new capital. Saichô built Enryaku-ji Temple in Mount Hiei while Kûkai founded Kongô-bu-ji Temple in Mount Kôya. They hardened their bodies and minds in the isolated mountain regions and trained their disciples in the same environment.

However, superstitious and animistic beliefs were so prevalent among the nobility as well as among the masses at that time that the magico-religious needs of the times suddenly welcomed the Mantrayâna magic brought by Saichô and Kûkai in its newly-styled and most powerful form. As a result of this tendency in the religious world, the Tendai school was completely Mantra-nized by Saichô's successors. On the other hand, there was a most significant belief in *goryô* or *goryô*-shin at the basis of popular beliefs in the early Heian Period. This belief possibly originated in ancient Shamanism and, under the influence and offensive of Buddhism, Yin-yang and Taoism, was transformed into the belief in individual and personal evil or malevolent spirits of the dead.

Although this belief may be only a survival of superstitious and animistic religion, it seems to me that the flourishing belief in *goryô* at that time should be considered an important historical moment in the history of Japanese popular religions, because many heterogenous elements of foreign religions were comingled and mixed with each other, completely centering around this belief and taking their share in the religious activities against *goryô*. This belief had a great influence not only on Shinto religion and on the soul-concept of Japanese people, but also on Japanese Buddhism and the Yin-yang school. The female shamans and Yin-yang magicians together with the Buddhist magical ascetics played an active parts in religious life.

Under such circumstances, the Mantra-istic practices of the Tendai and Shingon schools became more and more popular and in great demand by the nobility and the masses. However, the official Mantrayâna priests were too busy to cater solely to noblemen. As they were held in high esteem among these groups, they were able to control and twist the noblemen around their little fingers. They became rich and high-ranking priests. Then they fell from grace into secularism. They gradually lost their superhuman magical power and frequently betrayed the people's confidence: hence the emergence of the so-called *Hijiri*-group. In this context it is not surprising that the early *Hijiri* insisted on anti-secularism on the one hand, and on *upâsaka*-ism on the other, as over against the existing ecclesiastical forms and circumstances. They also insisted on the return to the real spirit of their founders, as well as to their lay and *upâsaka* leaders who had searched after religious truth and a real religious life. Their behavior and personality was quite unusual and unworldly in comparison with the normal secularistic priests at that time. But they maintained their unshakable faith and strict practice in the secluded and isolated places, and were little interested in the prosperity, luxury and glory of this world.

As the official Tendai and Shingon priests degenerated further and further into secularism, the people entertained great respect for the *Hijiri*-group, and depended upon them for attaining spiritual enlightenment and peace. On the other hand, as the belief in *goryô* became more and more popular, the masses asked them for spiritual help. In response to this demand, the two popular and unique Buddhist forms and movements came into existence: the *Shugen-sha* or *Kenza-group*, and the *Nembutsu-Hijiri* group.

Originally they traveled from mountain to mountain and from village to town to pursue their training and to perform their social functions for the salvation of the masses, and the spirits of the dead. Later, the *Shugen-sha* group was organized at several holy mountains; then it belonged to both the Tendai and Shingon schools. They were resystematized and re-organized theologically and formally. However, they still maintained their unique principles of *upâsaka*-ism and non-conformity to the last, although there were deviations and evils among many.

The *Nembutsu-Hijiri* became differentiated in two ways: firstly, in the organization and systematization of the independent Pure Land School founded by Genkû, Shinran and Chishin under the sect names of Jodo, Jodo-shin and Ji; and secondly, by the formation of minority groups and groups of public entertainers. This differentiation process was promoted by the change from the Monarchical Age of Heian to the Feudal Age of Kamakura. Although Genkû, Shinran and Chishin organized and adapted the popular *Nembutsu* practices to the new Buddhist sects, they also insisted on anti-secularism and *upâsaka*-ism. All of them denied the so-called *temple-Buddhism* and strongly favored *household-Buddhism*. Shinran married and lived in a hut as a normal citizen and farmer. Chinshin died as an itinerant.

Both the *Shugen-no-Hijiri* and *Nembutsu-no-Hijiri* thrust themselves into the masses of the lowest class. Some of them visited as itinerant priests, while the others settled down in poor and small villages. Some of them served the Shinto deity of their village shrine. Others served the villagers as leaders of the annual festivals, funeral and memorial services, as well as divinaters, fortune-tellers and magicians. They also acted as important advisers in their villages, public and private. In several areas such as in parts of Gifu, Hiroshima, Wakayama, Shiga and other prefectures, we can find accounts of many lay-*Nembutsu* priests who belonged to the Jôdo-shin sect and were called *Ké-bôzu* (the haired Buddhist priests). They lived in ordinary farm-houses, having only a larger Buddhist altar and a small gong. On ordinary days they engaged in agriculture while on the festival days or when the funeral rites or memorial services took place, they were invited by the villagers to pray, preach and serve. They wore their black robes, offering the *Nembutsu* and chanting the sûtras to the spirits of the dead in their villages[137].

Generally speaking, among the most predominant schools within Buddhism, the Tendai, Shingon, and Zen Buddhist schools have been accepted by the upper classes and intelligentsia, while the *Shugen-dô*, *Nembutsu* (Pure Land School),

and *Nichiren* sects have flourished especially among the common people. The *Shugen-dô* sect and the Pure Land school, especially, had deep roots among farmers and fishermen as well as among the out-castes. Thus, the *Hijiri*, differentiating and degenerating in various directions, became the most popular religious leaders in the rural communities from the Heian Period to modern times. Of course, their merits and their shortcomings may be balanced against each other in Japanese spiritual and cultural history. Nevertheless, their influence on the Japanese common people is so strong and so deep that we cannot discuss Japanese folk-beliefs and popular religions without considering the activities of *Hijiri* in the long history of Japanese religion.

Notes

1 Cf. G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, London, 1938, Part II, A "The Sacred Man", p. 191–241.

2 Cf. G. van der Leeuw, *op. cit.* pp. 115–127.

3 *Kojiki* is one of the oldest written Japanese mythology. Under the Imperial decree of Emperor Tenmu (reigned 673–686) this was compiled by Oh-no-Yasumaro and Hiéda-no-Aré. The latter was a professional reciter of the extraordinary memory that he could repeat with his mouth whatsoever his eyes saw, and remember in his heart whatsoever struck his ears. He was chosen by the Imperial commission and commanded to commit to memory the genealogies of the Emperors and the true traditions as they were ascertained. After the Emperor's death, Empress Genmyō then issued a decree commanding Oh-no-Yasumaro to write down such of the ancient lore as had been memorized by Hiéda-no-Aré. The manuscript was completed probably in the year 712. This is the *Kojiki* or *Furu-koto-bumi* (Records-of-Ancient-Matters), and it is the prime scripture of the Shinto. It is written in quasi-Chinese, but largely phonetically, Chinese ideographs being used to represent the Japanese sounds, and was first printed from manuscript copies preserved by the Shinto priesthood, in 1644. It brings the story of the race down to the year 628.

4 According to the "*Sacred Scriptures of the Japanese*" by Post Wheeler, New York, 1952, the *Nihongi* is that meantime the compilation begun under the Emperor Tenmu remained, except for the portion used in the *Kojiki*, unutilized. During the reign of the Empress Jitō (687–696), further material had been collected, and in the reign of the Empress Genmyō, who assisted the work of the commission by the appointment of additional literary editors, the resultant accumulation was compiled in the so-called *Kana-Nihongi* (Syllabled-Chronicles-of-Japan). The compilation was then submitted to Prince Toneri ... Their joint revision, which was completed in 720, is known as the *Nihongi* (Written-Chronicles-of-Japan). It consists of thirty-one volumes, thirty of which are extant. This work was written not in the ancient Japanese characters but in Chinese, then the classic tongue, and the legends have unmistakably been tampered with, presumably to make them conform more nearly to the newer standard of culture that had been introduced with the Chinese language and literature. While the subject matter of this compilation is the same as that of the *Kojiki*, the older material is amplified and re-classified, and the whole recital is perceptibly tinctured with Chinese philosophy. Some few legends are omitted and others added, while variants are given of the main episodes. It continues the story down to the year 697 (p. xxiii–xxiv).

5 *Manyô-shû* is the oldest offcially compiled anthology of Japanese poem, *waka*, which was and is a most popular form of Japanese poem, having 31 syllables. This

anthology was presumably compiled by Yakamochi Ohtomo at the end of Nara or the beginning of the Heian Period, the end of the eight century.

6 *Kojiki*, chap. III; *Nihongi*, chap. VI; *Manyô-shû*, chap. I, no. 29–30, etc.

7 For example, in *Nihongi*, there is a story as follows: The Emperor Suinin commanded Tajimamori to go to the Eternal Land (*Tokoyo-no-Kuni*) overseas and get the fragrant fruit that grew out of season, now called the *tachibana* (a kind of mandarin orange). After the Emperor's death, he returned from the Eternal Land, weeping and lamenting, and said: "... This Eternal Land, is no other than the mysterious realm of *Hijiri* (gods and genii) to which ordinary mortals cannot attain ..." (chap. VI: Ref. to the translation by ASTON: *Nihongi*, London, 1896. Vol. I, p. 186–187). Another example, also in *Nihongi* (chap. XIV): "A man of Tsutsukawa in the District of Yosa in the Province of Tamba (Taniwa), the child of Urashima of Midzunoé, went fishing in a boat. At length he caught a large tortoise which straightway became changed into a woman. Hereupon Urashima's child fell in love with her, and made her his wife. They went down together into the sea and reached the Eternal Land (Tokoyo) where they saw the *Hijiri (genii)*." (Ref. to ASTON, *op. cit.*, p. 368). We find this legend in *Manyô-shû* too. Later this became one of the most famous and popular folk-tales, named "*Urashima-tarô*".

8 *Oh-kagami*, chap. I; *Yamato-monogatari*, chap. I; *Nichû-reki*, chap. IV, "Mei-jin", etc.

9 *Kokin-shû* is the second officially compiled anthology succeeding to the *Manyô-shû*. This was compiled by Tsurayuki Ki in the reign of Emperor Daigo.

10 *Waka* is a very popular form of Japanese verse, having 31 syllables.

11 *Manyô-shû*, chap. V. These poems were composed by Tabito Ohtomo who was a rather of Yakamochi Ohtomo, the compiler of *Manyô-shû* Anthology.

12 The *Eiga-monogatari* is a narrative which described the historical development and attainment of prosperity and glory of the Fujiwara Family centering around Michinaga (996–1027).

13 *Genji-monogatari* is "The Tale of Genji", originally written by Lady Murasaki who lived in the same age as Michinaga Fujiwara.

14 This paper was written in order to teach the norm of life attitude for the so-called *Zoku-Hijiri* (lay *Hijiri*, or *upâsaka-Hijiri*). The author was supposedly Jakujô (962–1034) who was a former governor of Aichi Prefecture and became a typical leader of the *Nembutsu Zoku-Hijiri* group under the influence of Kûya, Jakushin and Genshin. See the later sections.

15 Cf. *Eiga-monogatari*, chap. XXXIX; *Shô-yû-ki* Diary (of a noble of the Fujiwara Family in the same age as Michinaga); *Genji-monogatari*, chap. "Waka-murasaki"; *Makura-no-Sôshi* written by Lady Sei-shônagon who was a famous essayist and also a contemporary of Lady Murasaki.

16 *Shinsen-Shôji-roku* (Newly Selected Records of Family Titles and Names) compiled in 815 A.D. by imperial order. There were 326 powerful *Ban-betsu* Families who were naturalized foreigners among 1,065 noble class families around the Imperial Court which were divided into three groups, *Kô-betsu* (335) who were believed the cadet families of princely lines, *Shin-betsu* (404) whose members were believed to be descended from the mythical gods who founded the country, and *Ban-betsu*.

17 *Jôgû-Shôtoku-Hôô-Tei-setsu*; *Nihongi*, chap. XXII; HORI, Ichiro: *Wagakuni Minkan-shinkô-shi no Kenkyû* (A Study of the History of Folk-Religion in Japan), Tokyo, 1955, Vol. I, pp. 157–161; 165–170. Shitennô-ji Temple has had four centers of social services: a charity hospital, a charity dispensary, an orphanage and an old people's home. These were the first public social services of the Buddhist temple in Japan.

18 Gyôgi (670?–749) was an outstanding leader of popular Buddhism in the Nara

Period. He endeavored to popularize Buddhism for the common people by his easily understandable teachings and by his several kinds of public services done in the Buddhist spirit, such as the foundation of a charity hopital, a charity dispensary, an orphanage and an old people's home; or as excavations of canals for navigation and for irrigation; the building of irrigation ponds; bridge constructions; harbor constructions in the Inland Sea near Osaka and Kobe; free clinics; free lodging houses and so on. All of these institutions and projects were managed by his disciples who lived in small seminaries named *Dôjô* near the projects. According to the authentic biography in "*Shoku Nihongi*" (the second official historical record succeeded by *Nihongi* edited from 697 to 791), he was called a *Bosatsu* (Bodhisattva) by the masses even while he lived. He was an *upâsaka* for a long time. Then in 745 Emperor Shômu (701–756), applauding his virtue and religious personality as well as his enterprises, elected him to the rank of *Dai-sô-jô* (a highest archbishop). He built 49 *dôjô* (seminaries) around the capital for the purposes mentioned above. His death in 749 at the age of eighty was greatly lamented by the nation as well as by the Emperor. See *Shoku-Nihongi*, chap. XVII. Also Hori: *op. cit.*, 1955, Vol. I, pp. 256–293.

19 The six Buddhist schools in the Nara Period were (1) *Sanron* School (Madhyamaka or Middle Doctrine School; San-'un in China). Introduced by Korean missionary Ekan in 625 A.D. (2) *Jôjitsu* School, based on Harvarman's *Satyasiddhi Sâstra* and affiliated with the *Sanron* School. *Chêng-shis* in China. Introduced by Ekan. (3) *Hossô* School Yôgacâra School founded by Asanga and his brother Vasubandhu. *Fa-hsiang* School in China. Introduced by Dôshô (628–700), a Japanese priest who studied under Hsüan-tsang, founder and transmitter of this sect from India. Then, by Chitsû and Chitatsu in 658 and by Genbò (–746). (4) Kusha School. Kôśa School based on the *Abhidharma-kôśa-śâsra* written by Vasubandhu. Chû-shê in China. Buddhist Hinayâna Realism. An outgrowth of the Sautrântika branch of Sarvâstivāda. Brought to Japan by Chitsu and Chitatsu in 658 and again by Genbô in 735. This was affiliated with the *Hossô* School. (5) *Kegon* School. Avatansaka. *Hua-yen* in China. Brought to Japan by Shinshô (Shen-hsiang) and Ryôben in 736. This was founded by Fa-tsang (643–712), the Great Master of Hsien-shou in China. The main tenet of this school's doctrine is universal causation by the *Dharma-dhâtu* (the World of Law). (6) *Ritsu* School. Disciplinary or Vinaya School. Lü in Chinese. Introduced by Dòsen (702–760) and Ganjin (688–763).

20 Cf. G. VAN DER LEEUW: *op. cit.*, pp. 191–241.

21 MIZOGUCHI, Komazô: "*Tôhoku, Hokuriku-chihô ni okeru Shugen Chaku-sai*" (On the Coloration or Influence of *Shugen-dô* or *Shugen-sha* on the Northeast and Midnorth Provinces in Japan) in *Shukyo Kenkyu*, Ann. IV, No. 4, pp. 192–198.

22 Cf. *Daijôin Jisha Zôji-ki* written by Jinson of Kôfuku-ji Temple in Nara; *Tammon-in Nikki* (Diary of a priest named Eishun at Tammon-in Seminary at Kôfuku-ji Temple). Both of the authors were of the later Muromachi Period (about 1450–1500).

23 HORI, Ichiro: *Waga-kuni Minkan-shinkô-shi no Kenkyû* (A Study of the History of Folk-Religion in Japan), Tokyo, 1953, Vol. II, pp. 597–650.

24 HORI, Ichuro: *op. cit.*, pp. 33–54; 473–511.

25 *Shoku Nihongi*, chap. I, 679 A.D.

26 According to the *Kojiki*, this god had appeared saying: "I am the deity who judges with a word the evil and with a word the good—the Great Deity of Katsuragi, Lord of One Word." Chamberlain translated this sentence as "I am the deity who *dispels* with a word the evil and with a word the good . . ." saying however, that the "import of the obscure expression 'dispelling with a word the good' is not rendered much more intelligible by Motoori's attempt to explain it". So that I translated this word into judge. (CHAMBERLAIN: *Ko-ji-ki*, Tokyo, 1906, pp. 339–400).

27 First Buddhist legendary literature in Japan. The full name of this book is "*Nihon-koku Genpô Zen-aku Ryôi-ki*". The author was a Buddhist priest belonging to Yakushi-ji Temple in Ñara and having a belief in the Yin-yang and Taoist philosophy as well as in Tendai Buddhism.

28 Nanjô Catalogue: No. 306–311. *Fo-shwo-tâ-khuṅ-tshioh-wâṅ-shan-khen-kiṅ* in Chinese.

29 *Mahâprajñāpāramitā-sûtra*. Nanjô Catalogue: No. 1.

30 "*Prajñāpâramitâ* on a benevolent king who protects his country." Nanjô catalogue: No. 17.

31 *Suvarnaprabhâsottamarâja-sûtra*. Nanjô Catalogue: No. 126. This is the sûtra which states that the golden superior king and his country should be guarded by the Four Heavenly Buddhist Deities.

32 *Saddharma-pundarika-sûtra*. Nanjô Catalogue: No. 134.

33 According to the *Nihongi* (chap. XXIX) in 676 Emperor Tenmu sent the messengers to all parts of the country to expound the *Konkômyô* and *Ninnô* Sûtras (Nanjô: No. 126 and 127). This is the first appearance of the Emperor's belief in these two sûtras in the historical document.

34 For example, *Nihon Ryôi-ki and Sanbô-E-kotoba*, the latter of which was written by Tamenori Minamoto in 984 A.D.

35 The 19 *dhârani* are the *Buccho-ju*, the *Jû-ichi-men-ju*, the *Sen-ju-ju*, the *Kanceon-bondarani*, the *Yakushi-ju*, the *Dai-hannya-ju*, the *Rishu-ju*, the *Hôkô-ju*, the *Konshô-ju*, the *Hokké-darani*, the *Kokûzô-ju*, the *Hachimyô-kyô-darani*, the *Nyoi-darani*, the *Konpon-darani*, the *Shichi-butsu-yakushi-ju*, the *Saishô-ô-kyô-darani*, the *Shihashoju*, the *Sui-ju*, the *Shîchi-butsu-hachi-bosatsu-darani*.

36 *Sahasrâksha-sahasrabâhv-avalokitesvara-bodhisattva-dhârany-riddhi-mantrasûtra*, or *Mahâkârunika-mantra*. Nanjô Catalogue: No. 318–320.

37 *Sarvadurgatiparisodhana-ushnîsha-vijaya-dhâranî* (Sûtra spoken by Buddha on the honorable and excelling Dhāranī of Buddha's Head). Nanjô Catalogue: No. 348–351.

38 *Avalokitesvaraikadasamukha-dhâranî*. Nanjô Catalogue: No. 327–328.

39 *Ākâsagarabha-bodhisattva-pariprikkhâ-saptabuddha-dhâranî-mantra-sûtra*. Nanjô Catalogue: No. 368.

40 For example, these suppressions were described in "Sô-ni Ryô" (Regulation for Buddhist Priests and Nuns) in *Taihô-Ritsu-Ryô* which was compiled in about 701 and regu'ated the activities and modes of life of Buddhist priests and nuns. Other examples were seen in 717, 729 and 764 in *Shoku-Nihongi*, and in 799 in *Ruiju Koku-shi*.

41 Emperor Kanmu impeached the official priests in Nara as well as the Archbishop's Committee for their maladministration of the Imperial order as much as 30 times during his reign of 25 years. He denounced the Buddhist priests in Nara as follows: "In the former capital, Nara, there are so many Buddhist temples and Buddhist priests that many reports concerning the illegal and despotic activities of the priests there are heard." Or, "The activities and the modes of life of the present Buddhist priests do not differ at all from those of the laymen."

42 *Shoku-Nihongi*, chap. XVII, 749 A.D.

43 In the Emperor Kanmu's edicts, he said that in order to exercise the calamities and disasters as well as to be blessed with the good fortune and prosperity, Buddhism should be a superior religion. Again he said: "The teaching of Buddha is profound and deep. The person who transmits this teaching from generation to generation is the priest. The security, prosperity and welfare of the nation are necessarily dependant upon his superhuman divine power." (*Ruiju Sandai Kyaku*, chap. III; *Shoku Nihoṇgi*, chap. XXXVIII, etc.).

44 For example, in 799, the government donated sums of rice to Enson, Shôki, Zenkô, and Bunen who were practicing their religious austerities in the mountains (*Ruiju-Koku-shi*, chap. 186). Again, in the memoirs written by Ségyō in 802, he said that the Buddhist priests are travelers in Three Worlds (past, present and future) who have no houses, no native lands, no parents and no families. "They must settle down in the mountain in order to seek for the True Way; they must settle in the forests in order to practice their meditations; they, however, must not forget their vocation to serve the state and nation, though they must be detached from this world." (*Ruiju-Koku-shi*, chap. 187).

45 *Ei-zan Daishi Den* (Biography of Dengyô Daishi) in the *Complete Collection of Dengyô Daishi*, Vol. V).

46 *Sangé-Gakushô Shiki* which consisted of six articles and eight articles, written by Saichô (*Op. cit.* Vol. I).

47 *Ken-kai Ron Engi*, chap. I, which was written by Saichô, *Op. cit.* Vol. I. NUMEN, V

48 *Op. cit.* Vol. I.

49 "Law or rules spoken by Buddha for seeking to hear and hold the *dhâranî* of the most excellent heart, and of fulfilling all prayers belonging to the Bodhisattva Ākâsagarbha" (*Fo-shwo-bhü-khuṅ-tsâṅ-phu-sâ-naṅ-mân-ku-yuen-tsâi-shaṅ-sin-tho-loni-khiu-wan-kh'-fâ* in Chinese). Nanjô Catalogue: No. 501, translated by Subhakarasimha in 717 A.D. into Chinese. The original was already lost.

50 *Shô-ryô-shû*, chap. IX in the *Complete Collection of Kôbô Daishi*, Vol. X. This book was believed to be compiled by Kôbô Daishi himself among his poems, essays and memories, although there are supposedly several spurious articles which were included by mistake in the latter.

51 They wrote diaries or memoirs concerning their journeys in China. Among them the most famous ones are Ennin's Diary, "*Nitto Guhô Junrci-kô Ki*", which recently was translated into English by Edwin O. Reischauer in 1953; Enchin's diary, "*Gyoreki-Sho*"; and Jojin's diary, "*San-Tendai-Godai-san Ki*". They recorded in these diaries their impressions and experiences as well as the systems and activities of the seminary at Mount Wu-tai-shan.

52 The so-called *Nen-bun Do-sha* were those disciples licensed each year by the government as official Buddhist priests. The applicants who passed this examination were sponsored and authorized as the new official disciples of each school. In the beginning, the Tendai School was permitted to adopt two *Nen-bun Do-sha* each year.

53 *Maka Shi-kan* in Japanese. This is one of the most important sacred books of the Tendai School. According to the Nanjô's Catalogue, it should be translated "*Mahâsamatha-vipasyanâ*(?)" or "Great cessation and seeing clearly", or "Meditation and knowledge". Nanjô Catalogue: No. 1538. It was said to be compiled by one of Chih-kai's disciples in 594 A.D.

54 Called formally "*Mahâvairocanâbhisambodhi*", *Tâ-phi-lu-kö-khâñ-fo-shan-pien-kiâ-kh'-kiṅ* in Chinese. This sûtra means "the sûtra on Mahâvairocana's becoming Buddha and the supernatural formula called Yugandhara (? lit. "adding-holding") according to the Nanjô's Catalogue (No. 530) which was translated by Subhakarasimha in 724 A.D. *Dai-Birushana-kyô* or *Dai-nichi-kyô* in Japanese.

55 "*Kin-kâṅ-tiṅ-yü-kiê-kuṅ-liâo-khu-nien-suṅ-kiṅ*" in Chinese. It should be translated "Sûtra for reciting, being an abridged translation of the Vajra-sekhara-yoga (–tantra)" according to Nanjô's Catalogue No. 534. *Kongô-chô-kyô* in Japanese.

56 Called formally "*Susiddhikâra-mahâtantra-saddhanopâsikâ-patra*". "*Sushih-ti-kié-lo-kiṅ*" in Chinese and *So-shitsu-ji-kyô* in Japanese. Nanjô Catalogue: No. 533.

57 *Ruiju San-dai Kyaku*, chap. II, which was the Classfied Collection of Laws and Ordinances compiled by the government during 901–922.

58 "*Yi-tsz'-fo-tiṅ-htn-wâṅ-kiṅ*" in Chinese and *Ichi-jiChô-rin-ô-kyô* in Japanese. Translated into Chinese by Bodhiruci in 709 A.D. Nanjô Catalogue: No. 532.
59 *San-dai Jitsu-roku*, chap. 50 in 886, which is the sixth official historical record covering the period from 859 to 888, compiled by the government.
60 *Nittô Go-ka Den*, a collection of accounts of the journeys of five Shingon priests who went to China to study Mantrayâna Buddhism in the middle of the Heian Period. Also see *Shoka Shôrai Moku-roku*, a collection of Mantrayâna Buddhist texts brought by several priests on their return from China.
61 *Gen-kô Shaku-sho*, chap. XIII, "Biography of Eryô". This book contains compiled and classified biographies of famous Japanese Buddhist priests as well as an outline of Japanese Buddhism with a chronological table from its beginning to 1300 A.D., written and presented to the Emperor by a Zen Buddhist priest named Shiren (Kokan) in 1321. According to another document (*Gô-dan-shô* written by Hiromoto Ohé) the Tendai priest Shinga became the one who prayed in behalf of Prince Korehito (later Emperor Seiwa) instead of Eryô.
62 *San-dai Jitsu-roku*, chap. VII.
63 He was a famous scholar and politician at that time. Emperor Uda promoted him to a responsible post in order to set him against the Fujiwara Family, who swayed politics with their high hand. After the Emperor retired, his rivals slandered him before the new young Emperor Daigo and condemned him to exile in Kyushu.
64 *Ku-ji Kon-gen*, Article of "Kitano-matsuri'; *Kitano Engi; Tenman-gû Taku-sen Ki; Fusô Ryaku-ki*; HORI, Ichiro: *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 414–418.
65 In the Nara Period, the so-called *ubasoku-zenji* (*upâsaka*-ascetic) was an unauthorized and private Buddhist ascetic or practioner who did not receive the Buddhist initiation ceremony or undergo the state examination for license.
66 *Shoku Nihongi*, chap. XVII; *Gyôgi Nenpu* (Biography of Gyôgi); HORI, Ichiro: *op. cit.* See Note 18.
67 En-no-Shôkaku was a famous magician who lived in the middle of the seventh century. His family was beieved to have had a priestly function serving the god of Mount Katsuragî in Nara Prefecture. It is said that the *Shugen-dô* Sect was founded by him, but this is not yet an established historical fact. However, there is some reliable evidence to show that many shamans and magicians practiced and trained in the mountains, accepting the new-styled form of Buddhist Mantrayâna in that period.
68 The *Sô-gô* consists of a *Sô-jô* (bishop or archbishop), a *Sô-zu* (sub-bishop) and a *Ri(tsu)-shi* (head controller of disciplinary affairs). Afterwards, these titles became only honorary ones given by the government to scholarly and outstanding Buddhist priests.
69 The *San-gô* consists of three classes. The head of *San-gô* was called *Ji-shu* (head of the temple).
70 See HORI, Ichiro: *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 76–8.
71 HORI, Ichiro: *op. cit.* pp. 84–88.
72 *Fukuro-Sôshi*, chap. IV; *Gô-dan Shô*, chap. I; *Ho-sshin-shû*, chap. I; *Koji-dan*, chap. III; *Ko-kon Cho-mon-shû*, chap. V, etc.
73 *Kûya Rui* written by Tamenori Minamoto immediately after Kûya's death. "Shamon Kûya" in the *Nihon Oh-jô-goku-raku-ki* written by Jakushin who died in 997.
74 *Nihon Oh-jô-goku-raku-ki*.
75 *Zoku Honchô Oh-jô-den*; *Ni-jû-go Zammai Kishô* written by Genshin in 986 and in 988.
76 *Kon-jaku-monogatari*, chap. XVII–2; XXIX–9, etc.
77 *Zoku Honchô Oh-jô-den*; *Kon-jaku-monogatari*, chap. XIX; *Ho-sshin-shû*, chap. II; *Shi-ju Hyaku-innen-shû*, chap. VIII, etc.
78 *Nihon Oh-jô-goku-raku-ki*; *Oh-jô Jû-in* written by Eikan; *Go-shû-i Oh-Jô-den*

written by Tameyasu Miyoshi; *Miné-ai-ki*; *Genkô-Shaku-shô*, chap. IX; *Ippen-Hijiri-E*, chap. IX and XI; *Kai-ja-shô*.

79 *Hokké Gen-gi*, chap. III; *Zoku Oh-jô-den*; *Kon-jaku-monogatari*, chap. XII–33; *Uji-shû-i-monogatari*, chap. XII; *Shi-ju Hyaku-innen-shû*, chap. VIII; *Wa-shû Tô-no-minê-dera Zôgo-shônin Gyôjô-ki*; *Tô-no-miné Ryaku-ki*, chap. I, II, etc.

80 *Shôku-shônin-den*, written in 1010; "Shosha-zan Shônin-den" in *Chôya Gunsai* which was said to have been written by the Retired Emperor Kazan; *Honchô Hokké Gen-gi*, chap. II-45; *Shosha-zan Engi; Kon-jaku-monogatari*, chap. XII–24; *Ko-kon cho-mon-shû*, chap. XI, etc.

81 *Izumi-shikibu-shû* Anthology, chap. I.

82 *Kon-jaku-monogatari*, chap. XX, -12.

83 *Ho-sshin-shû*.

84 *Ko-ji-dan*, chap. III.

85 According to the *Hokké Gen-gi, Zoku Oh-jô-den, Shû-i Oh-jô-den, Go-shû-i Oh-jô-den, San-gé Oh-jô-den, Shin-shu Oh-jo-den* and others, there were *Roku-man-bu-Hijiri*, Kô-*Hijiri*, Mandô-*Hijiri*, I-sshuku-*Hijiri*, Hadaka-*Hijiri*, Odawara-*Hijiri*, Iwakura-*Hijiri*, Mimasaka-*Hijiri*, Kita-Tsukushi-*Hijiri*, Iga-*Hijiri* and Tanahara-*Hijiri*, etc.

86 *Makura-no-Sôshi*, 4th section.

87 Shaku-ké Kan-pan-ki, chap. I.

88 *Shoku-Nihon Kô-ki*, chap. XVIII. This is the fourth official historical record compiled by the government, 824–850.

89 *Montoku-Jitsu-roku*, chap. IX. The fifth official historical record during the reign of Emperor Montoku from 851 to 859.

90 *San-dai Jitsu-roku*, chap. XV. The sixth official record during the reigns of Emperors Seiwa, Yôzei and Kôkô from 859 to 887.

91 He was a founder of the *Gyô-mon-ha* Branch in the Tendai School. *Mudô-ji Kon-ryû Oshô-den*.

92 *San-dai Jitsu-roku*, chap. XXXVIII.

93 *Fusô Ryaku-ki*, chap. XXII and XXIII; *Nihon Ki-ryaku*, the latter part, chap. I; *Oh-kagami*, chap. I; *Ninna-ji Gyô-den; Genkô-Shaku-sho*, chap. XVII and XXIV, etc.

94 *Sosci-hôshi-shû* Anthology; *Go-sen waka-shū* Anthology, chap. XV; other examples of the word *Yama-bushi* or *Yama-bumi* are in *Genji-monogatori*, chap. "Te-narai"; *Hama-matsu-chûnagon-monogatari*; *Utsubo-monogatari*, etc.

95 *Dai-hôshī Jyôzô-den*.

96 *Yamato-monogatari*, chap. I; *Nihon Kô-sô-den Yô-bun-shô*, chap. I; *Shû-i Oh-jô-den*, chap. II.

97 *Shôbô-sôjô-den*; *Daigo-ji Engi*; *Genkô-Shaku-sho*, chap. IV; *Kinpu-sen Himitsu-den*, chap. II.

98 Lectures and rituals on the Lotus Sûtra which continued for eight days and nights. The original scroll of the Lotus Sûtra consisted of eight volumes and a ritual was held on each volume every day. The most important was the fifth day, based on the fifth volume which was called *Go-kan-no-hi* or *Itsu-maki-no-hi* (Day for the fifth volume of the Lotus Sûtra) and a special service took place.

99 Rite for chanting the Lotus Sûtra in order to pray for the peace of this world and salvation in after-life as well as to pray for the spirit of the dead as a memorial service, by repenting and purifying the sins or impurities.

100 Rites for chanting the Lotus Sûtra one thousand times in one week. Today it is held during the spring equinoctial week at the Buddhist temples of the Tendai School.

101 There are three Sûtras concerning the Amitabha Buddha: the first is *Sukhâvatyamritavyûha-sûtra* (*Fo-shwo-ö-mi-tho-kiṅ*) translated into Chinese by Kumârajîva in 402 A.D.; the second is the *Buddhabhâshitâmitâyurbuddha-dhyâna*(?)*-sûtra* (*Fo-*

shwo-kwân-wu-liân-sheu-fo-kin in Chinese which was translated into Chinese by Kâlayasas in 424 A.D.; and the third is the so-called "*Larger Sukhâvati-vyûha-sûtra*" or "*Buddhabhâshita-mahâyânâmitâyur-vyûha-sûtra*". The original of this book was lost in 730 A.D. Nanjô Catalogue: No. 200, 198, and 863.

102 *Jyô-gyô* literally means the practice which is done while incessantly moving around and *Jyô-za* means the same practice done while sitting immobile.

103 This should be translated "Sûtra on the samâdhi called pratyutpanna (etc.)". *Pân-keu-sân-mêi-kin* in Chinese. Nanjo Catalogue: No. 73, translated into Chinese by K'leu-kiâ-khân of the Eastern Hân Dynasty.

104 "Ri-hô-ô-ki" (Diary written by a prince) in Daigo-ji Zôji-ki, in the article of the eleventh of October, 930.

105 For example, in 952 at the funeral services for the late Emperor Sujaku (*ibid.*, 20th of August); in 1001 for the late Minister Morozane Fujiwara (*Den-ryaku*); in 1096 for Imperial Concubine Ikuho-mon-in (*Chu-yu ki*, Diary of Munetada Fujiwara); in 1107 for the late Retired Emperor Horikawa (*ibid.*).

106 See Hori, Ichiro: *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 304–317.

107 *Op. cit.*

108 *Shu-i Oh-jo-den*; *Genkô Shaku-sho*; *Shi-ju Hyaku-innen-shu*, chap. VIII.

109 *Shu-i Oh-jo-den*, chap. III.

110 *Genkô Shaku-sho*, chap. XII.

111 *Op. cit.*, chap. XVII.

112 *San-gé Oh-jô-den.*

113 Even brutal robbers or murderers could go to the Western Paradise by only one utterance of "*Namu-Amida-butsu*". See *Ho-sshin-shu; Ohjo-gokuraku-ki*; *Kon-jaku-monogatari* and other legendary literature. Cf. Hori, Ichiro: *op. cit.*, pp. 310–311; 316–317 notes.

114 Hori, Ichiro: *op. cit.*, pp. 310–311.

115 *Go-Shûu-i Oh-jô-den*, chap. II; *Genkô Shaku-sho*, chap. XI; *Yuzû Enmon-shô*; *Yuzû-Nembutsu Engi*; *Shô-myô Geuryû-ki* and others. See Hori, Ichiro: *op. cit.*, p. 291–294.

116 In *Shoku Nihon-kô-ki*, 842; 994 in *Hon-chô Sei-ki*; 1001 in *Nihon-kiryaku* and in *Gon-ki*; 1105 in *Chû-yû-ki*, etc. See Hori, Ichiro: *op. cit.*, pp. 459–461.

117 He was a chief-abbot of Yugyô-jī Temple in Fujisawa near Kamakura, which was and is one of the headquarters of the Ji Sect in the Pure Land School founded by Chi-shin. This curious name, Ta-*amidabutsu*, was originated by Chôgen (Shunjô-bô), one of the disciples of Genkû. He traveled about provinces soliciting contributions for the re-construction of the Todai-ji Temple, which had been destroyed by the war-fire. He also urged and favored *Nembutsu* practices among masses. He struck on this idea which would force his followers to repeat *Namu-Amida-butsu*: he called himself *Namuamidabutsu*. Then he began to give his disciples and followers the religious name of *amidabutsu*, prefixing one word to it, such as *Ta-amidabutsu, Kan-amidabutsu*, and *Jô-amidabutsu*. Later, these names were cut down to *Ta-ami, Kan-ami, Jô-ami* or *Ta-a, Kan-a, Jô-a*, etc. Thereafter these were called *Ami-gô* or *A-gô* which were their title name as *Amidabutsu*. This idea rapidly came into fashion. There were already several priests named so-and-so *amidabutsu*, such as Ben-a and Nan-a, among the leading disciples of Genkû. Afterwards, Chishin also accepted this idea and gave the name of *amidabutsu* to his disciples. According to historical and ethnographical documents, we can find many such *A-gô*, not only among the Pure Land School's professional priests and popular *Nembutsu-Hijiri* in villages, but also among retired village laymen, out-caste peoples, public entertainers, artists and actors, as well as Yin-yang magicians and medical doctors. Even today there are several families whose names originated from this custom, such as

Hon-ami, Tan-ami, Kô-ami and so on. The name of Kanzé, one of the master families of the Kanzé School of the Noh Play, also came from the names of their two great ancestors, Kan-ami, and Zé-ami. The ancestor of Tokugawa Shogunate was said to be Toku-ami who had been a priest of the Ji Sect. The name of Tokugawa came from this ancestor's name.

118 *Ryô-no-Gi-gé*, chap. VI, "Ki-shun" (Later Spring) in the chapter named "Jin-gi Ryô", which describes the annual Shinto festivals held in the Imperial Court or under the auspices of the Department of "*Jin-gi-ryô*". See HORI, Ichiro: *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 696–699.

119 *Ryô-no-Gi-gé*, chap. II; *Engi-shiki*, chap. III; "Rinji-sai" (occasional Shinto festivals held in or under the auspices of the imperial court and government). See HORI, *op. cit.*

120 According to the ancient Chinese ethnographical documents such as "Weichih" written in the third century A.D., the funeral customs in ancient Japan were described as follows: "When some one died, all family members observed mourning for about two weeks. During this period, the chief mourner cries and weeps, while the others are singing and dancing, eating and drinking in the house of mourning. After this, the body is buried". According to the *Kojiki*, when Ama-no-Waka-hiko died suddenly by the Heavenly arrow, the survivers and relatives gathered at the mortuary and held the *eragi* of crying, weeping, singing and dancing. Moreover, in *Nihongi*, when Izanami, a creative goddess, gave birth to the Fire-god, she was burned, and died. She was, therefore, buried at the village of Arima in Kumano, in the province of Ki (Wakayama Prefecture). In the time of flowers, the inhabitants worship this goddess by offerings of flowers. They also worship her with drums, flutes, flags, singing and dancing. See HORI, Ichiro: *Min-kan Shin-kô* (Folk-belief), 1951, Tokyo, p. 216–217.

121 At first, *Nembutsu-Odori* and *Odori-Nembutsu* might have had the same meaning. Later, however, *Odori-Nembutsu* meant the professionally religious dancing-*Nembutsu* which were originally under the leadership of *Nembutsu-Hijiri*, while the *Nembutsu-Odori* meant the professionally artificial dancing, dramas, music and so on, which were derived from the *Odori-Nembutsu*, but lost their religious elements.

122 "Geisha-dancer" is used for convenience. At that time they were called *Shira-byôshi* or *Kei-sei*, which means professional medieval female dancers in white robes or medieval courtesans.

123 Cf. HORI, Ichiro: *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 380–395. Especially pp. 597–624 concerning the *Sammai-Hijiri*.

124 *Kurodani Genkû-shônin-den*; *Hônen-shônin Gyôjyô-gazu*; HORI: *op. cit.* Vol II, pp. 318–326.

125 E. J. JURJI, comp.: *The Great Religions of the Modern World*, Princeton, 1946, p. 134. *Eshin-ni Sho-soku*; *Mat-tô-sho*; *Kai-ja-sho*; TSUJI, Zennosuke: *Nihon Bukkyo-shi*, Chusei-hen I, (The History of Japanese Buddhism, Medieval Age, No. I), Tokyo, 1948, pp. 368–369; 396–398; 401. HORI, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 327.

126 *Ipen-Hijri-E*; *Ippen-shônin Gyôjyô Nenpu-ryaku*; *Ippen-shônin Go-roku*; HORI: *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 337–352.

127 Cf. HORI: *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 380–384 (*Hachi-ya*); pp. 385–387 (*Cha-sen*); pp. 338–390 (*Sasara*); pp. 390–395 (*Kané-uchi*); 432-440 (*Hachi-tataki*).

128 HORI: *op. cit.* II pp. 382, 423.

129 TAKANO, Tatsuyuki: *Nihon En-geki-shi* (History of Japanese dramas); KONAKAMURA, Kiyonori: *Kabu Ongyoku-shi* (History of Japanese music, dancing and drama).

130 HORI: *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 698–703

131 HORI: *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 422–440.

132 HORI: *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 410–421; 422–431.
133 HORI: *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 457–470.
134 HORI: *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 153–175.
135 Cf. HONDA, Yasuji: *Rikuzen-hama no Hoin-Kagura*, Tokyo, 1934; *Shimoisuki Kagura no Kenkyu*, Tokyo, 1954.
136 HORI, *op. cit.* II, pp. 651–677.
137 HORI, *op. cit.* II, pp. 353–366.

105

BUDDHIST SELF-IMMOLATION IN MEDIEVAL CHINA[1]

Yun-hua Jan

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Between May and October, 1963, seven Buddhist monks and a nun soaked their robes with kerosene, lighted fires, and burned themselves to death in protest against the religious policies of the South Vietnam government led by the late President Ngo Dinh Diem. Their actions served as an immediate and major cause for the fall of the Diem regime and also posed a serious problem of academic interest, namely, what is the place of religious suicide in religious history and what is its justification?

"Religious suicide" may more appropriately be termed "self-immolation," for the action of these self-immolated monks was one which brought their lives to an end with a spiritual motivation and a strong sense of determination. Thus self-immolation signifies something deeper than merely the legal concept of suicide or the physical action of self-destruction.

Many people consider that self-immolation raises a crucial problem in the history of religion. They ask whether such a violent action is justifiable according to religious doctrine. According to Buddhist teaching, for example, he who shall "deprive a human being of life, or by uttering the praises of death shall incite to suicide," is guilty of the action of *Pārājikas*. To commit such a violation involves permanent expulsion from the Sangha. Thus we find in this context that "suicide is condemned without qualification."[2]

Although it is true that suicide is prohibited as a great sin by Buddhist discipline, it is also true that many instances of such violent action have been recorded in the history of Buddhist religion. For example, the *Kao-seng-chuan* ("Biographies of Eminent Monks") written by Hui-chiao (497–554), the *Hsü Kao-seng-chuan* ("Further Biographies of Eminent Monks") by Tao-hsüan (596–667), and the *Sung Kao-seng-chuan* ("Sung Collection of Biographies of Eminent Monks") by Tsan-ning (919–1001), respectively, record more than fifty monks who have attempted or committed self-immolation.[3] Their actions have been classified by the historians as *Wang-shen* or *Yi-shen*, terms which literally mean to abandon or lose the body. A few other monks who died in defense of their

religion have been classified under the category of protectors of their religion. Although a few of these biographies remind us, in their excess, of the exaggerated kind of moralization found in the Confucian examples of filial piety (which likewise are mostly legendary),[4] many of the biographies of these self-immolated Buddhists are soberly historical. From this, one can clearly see that the Chinese Buddhist historians regarded such action as virtuous and worthy of emulation. This view was also approved by the Buddhists of Japan[5] and is now approved in Vietnam.

The object of this paper is a comprehension of the three main aspects of Buddhist self-immolation in medieval China, namely (1) circumstances and motives, (2) sources of inspiration, and (3) historical estimates or the attitude of Buddhist biographers to the subject. These aspects have remained unnoticed until recent times. The circumstances and motives of those Chinese monks who immolated themselves by fire have been studied by Professor Jacques Gernet, but the other cases and the inspiring factors causing these self-immolations and their historical estimate have awaited scholarly attention.[6]

In regard to Part I, it is very difficult to give a clear-cut classification of motives in these cases of self-immolation. In fact, many of these seem to be the result of psychological complexes. Their actions were often motivated by multiple factors. Under this circumstance, the division of this paper is only for the convenience of discussion. Similarly, neither is it possible nor is it necessary to have the full translation of these Chinese biographies in a paper such as this. In most cases, I have only narrated stories, sometimes quoting and translating from the texts when I have considered them to be significant. In order to show that this practice of self-immolation was a common practice in many parts of China rather than only a localized custom, geographical locations connected with these cases have been mentioned in particular.

In Part II, the factors favoring self-immolation have been discussed and different sources of inspiration traced. But these factors and sources do not mean that immolation was more prevalent in China than in India, nor can one claim that Confucian or Taoist teachings always approved and encouraged such violent actions. On the contrary, religious suicides were more popular in India, as shown in a recent research publication.[7] There is firm and strong condemnation of self-destruction in Confucian doctrines, and the instructions for loving one's life also exist in Taoist scriptures. One can only assert that so far as this Buddhist practice is concerned, the Chinese attitude seems more clear-cut and positive. These cases have more historical significance than their Indian counterparts. The passages quoted here from the Confucian classics and Taoist scriptures are only the extracts which influenced Buddhist self-immolations. The views opposing self-immolation as found in Confucian and Taoist texts do not fall in the scope of the present paper.

I

The motive and cause of self-immolation in Chinese history varies. Some monks abandoned their lives in imitation of the Bodhisattvas, or as an expression of their devotion and gratitude to the Lord Buddha or to a particular scripture or to their own faith. Others abandoned their lives for the expansion of the Buddhist religion or because they disliked their bodies and worldly life. And some ended their lives in protest against religious persecution and thus to protect their religion.

The means of this self-immolation also varies from death by fire, to drowning, jumping from a height, self-inflicted wounds, fasting, or being devoured by animals.

A. The Lotus Sutra[8]

Most of the monks who burned themselves to death were inspired by the doctrine contained in the *Lotus Sutra*. For example, Fa-yü (d. 397?), a monk who resided at P'u-pan in the present Shansi province, had "often desired [to follow] the path of Bhaiṣajyarāja, to burn his body as a performance to worship." Thereafter, when he obtained a permit from the military governor, he "immediately ate incense-powder, wrapped his body with clothes, chanted the *She-shen p'in* chapter (i.e., the *Yüeh-wang pen-shih p'in* of the *Lotus Sutra*), lit a fire and burned himself" to death.[9]

Similarly, Hui-shao (d. 425), a monk who resided at a monastery in Lin-ch'uan in the present Kiangsi province, "had a secret idea of offering his body through fire. He often engaged persons to chop and accumulate a heap of wood inside a stone cave in a forest on the East Hill. In the center of that cave, he arranged a space sufficient to accommodate his body." After he bade farewell to his colleagues, he secretly fled to the cave. "When night came, he performed the religious rites and offered incense. After that, he lit the wood with a candle, entered the cave, and chanted the *Yüehwang pen-shih p'in* chapter [while amid the flames]. Before Huishao could complete his performance, the people found out that he was missing and rushed to the spot where wood was heaped. Alas! the firewood was burnt up, but the voice of the chanting had not yet ceased. When the fire flamed up to his forehead he was heard to sing the phrase *Yi-hsin* (mindedness). After the phrase [ended], he passed away."[10]

The other monks who abandoned their bodies under the same inspiration were Seng-yü (d. 455) of Wu-hsing and Hui-yi (d. 463) of Kuang-ling.[11]

The influence of Bhaiṣajyarāja's example on Chinese monks was a lasting one. During later times, there was a monk named Hui-t'ung (d. between 641 and 649), a native of Wan-nien county of Yung-chou (in the present Shensi province). When this monk was reading the chapter of *Bhaiṣajyarāja* in the *Lotus Sutra*, he started loathing his body and prepared to abandon it. He privately accumulated firewood and vowed that he would perform the practice.

"Towards the end of the Chen-kuan period (627–649), he heaped firewood like a shrine in a forest during the night, read the sutra up to the *Bhaiṣajyarāja* chapter, and ordered the firewood to be lighted. Fire then blazed up under an angry blast of wind and both the smoke and flame were vigorous. The monk sat loftily cross-legged, chanting the sutra with his normal voice. . . . By the time dawn had come, his body was destroyed by fire. His bones were collected and a pagoda was thus erected to his memory."[12]

During the latter part of the T'ang period (618–906), as well as the succeeding centuries, a few other monks abandoned or attempted to abandon their bodies under the same inspiration. For instance, the monks Wu-jan (d. between 836 and 840) of Mt. Chung-t'iao, Ching-ch'ao (d. between 936 and 944) of Mt. Lu-shan, and Hung-chen (d. between 947 and 950) all attempted to abandon their bodies as a result of their devotion to the *Lotus Sutra*.[13] Most of these attempts were, however, unsuccessful. They may be regarded as an indication of the declining influence of this sutra upon the monks.

Two changes in motivation for self-immolation appear during the ninth and tenth centuries. One is that, in addition to the *Lotus Sutra*, other scriptures such as the *Avataṁsaka-sūtra* (*Huayen ching*) or those of Pure-land Buddhism, now inspire monks to abandon their bodies.[14] The other is the growing tendency to replace immolation of the entire body by the sacrifice simply of one arm, a few fingers, or even a single finger.

B. Imitation of the Bodhisattvas

Another motivation for abandoning life came from the stories about Bodhisattvas who had sacrificed their bodies for the sake of other beings. An example of such inspiration is the monk T'an-ch'eng, who in order to prevent possible panic among his fellow villagers, offered his body to a tiger. Acharya Shao of Tzu-chou, in present Ssuch'uan province, tried to do the same but was unsuccessful. Fa-chin (d. 435) of Liang-chou, in present Kansu province, cut flesh off his body to feed other people, thus saving them from famine.[15]

The story of monk Seng-fu is more moving and dramatic. We read that, following his renunciation of worldly life, Seng-fu

> silently thought of cutting off his relation with this world. At that time, there was a robbery in a village. A male child was captured by the robbers, who planned to remove its heart and liver in order to offer them to a god. Seng-fu was strolling on the road near the village at the time, and when he saw the robbery, he inquired about the abduction. Thereupon, he took off his robe and tried to redeem the child by his own body. The bandits ignored his proposal. Seng-fu argued: "Are the chief viscera of an adult unusable for sacrifice?"
>
> "When you cannot give up your own body, what is the use of using big words?" replied the bandits.

> Seng-fu then thought: "When the time comes, this illusory body of mine must die. If I use my death to rescue the child, I shall be alive though my body may perish." He therefore snatched a knife from the bandits and cut open his chest down to his navel.

On seeing this, the bandits were shocked and fled and thus the child was saved.[16]

Among others who died for a similar cause was Monk P'u-an (d. 609), who cut off a piece of flesh from his thigh and thus saved the lives of three pigs from slaughter.[17]

Whereas the monks mentioned above abandoned their bodies mainly because of external circumstances, which induced them to follow the course of the Bodhisattvas, there are others who immolated themselves because of an inner compulsion. The story of Monk Hsüan-lan (d. 644) provides an example. This monk, a resident of Ch'ang-an, had secretly fled from his monastery to the bank of River Wei, where he attempted to drown himself. Being rescued, however, he told his rescuers: "I intended to follow [the way of] the Mahāsattvas ("great beings"). I also vowed to abandon my body long ago. To give away things which are extremely difficult for one to part with is a correct action that is prescribed by the scriptures. Please do not obstruct me, because it will have evil effects on deeds practised by you and me." Through this argument, he convinced the others, following which he folded his hands, invoked the name of the Buddhas of the ten directions, and immediately jumped into the stream.[18]

C. The highest devotion

Apart from the influence of the scriptures or the example of the Bodhisattvas, the abandoning of the body has also been regarded by certain monks as an expression of their faith. There were monks who ended their lives because they thought that their bodies were the best kind of offering to the Buddha. This devotion is well demonstrated in the biography of Monk Seng-ch'ing (437–59). It was stated that this monk had "cultivated pure living (*fan-hsing*) and vowed and sought to see the Lord Buddha. He first gave away his three fingers and then promised to abandon his body. Thereafter, he gradually refused to take food and only drank sesameseed oil. On the eighth day of the second month of the third year of the Ta-ming period (March 23, 459), he burned his body before an image of Vimalakīrti, which he had made sometime before. Thus he fulfilled his religious vows."[19] Similarly, monk Yüan-hui (819–96) of Chia-hsing burned off his fingers as an offering to relics of the Buddha.[20] Monk Tao-chou (863–941) of the Kansu region sacrificed one of his arms as an offering to the image of Mahākaruṇā.[21]

With the spread of the Pure-land doctrine, certain followers of this sect also resorted to the destruction of the body as a way for gaining rebirth into the Pure-land. In this connection, we come across the name of T'an-hung, originally a native of Huang-lung, and an expert in Buddhist discipline. He went to Chiao-

chih (i.e., the Tonkin region of present North Vietnam), where he devoted himself to chanting the text of the *Wu-liang-shou*[*ching*] and *Kuan ching*, and gave himself up to peaceful meditation. During the second year of the Hsiao-chien period (455), he collected firewood on a hill, secretly mounted the pyre and set it alight. He was badly burned but was rescued by his disciples. After his burns had healed, he again went to the valley and set fire to his body. This time he died according to his wishes. This seems to be the earliest historical reference to Buddhist self-immolation in Indo-China.[22]

Another case was of a lay disciple of Master Shan-tao, the most eminent patriarch of the Pure-land sect. This disciple once asked the Master: "If one chants the name of the Buddha, will it be possible for him to have rebirth in the Pure-land?" After he received an affirmative reply, he at once paid his last reverence to the Master. Subsequently, he folded his hands, invoked the name of the Buddha, went out from the monastery, and climbed to the top of a tree. There he again folded his hands, faced the west, and threw himself to the ground, where he expired.[23]

D. Dislike of body and life

To destroy the body as the way to sever one's relation with this world is another motive behind certain cases of religious suicide. Under this category, the following are worthy of mention. Monk Fa-k'uang (d. 633), a native of Hsien-yang (in present Shensi province), "had an uncommon moral integrity in his youth. He was more inclined to the Confucian ideals of conduct." Some years later, when he became a monk, he used to live strictly according to the monastic discipline. He often said: "Only because of birth and death am I involved in the endless wheel of transmigration." He therefore "constantly felt dissatisfaction and wished to abandon [his body]. On the twenty-first day of the second month of the seventh year of the Chen-kuan period (April 5, 633), he entered into the Chung-nan mountain. When he arrived at a place about forty li inside the Charcoal Valley (T'an-ku), he hung his clothes on a tree, cut his throat," and thus ended his life in this world.[24]

There was an anonymous monk of Fen-chou (in present Shansi province) who "disliked birth and death. It was difficult for him to pass days in this evil world, so he vowed that he would abandon his body. At first, he gradually limited his food and took incense. When the occasion of his meeting death came, monks and laymen were assembled. Incense, flowers, banners, and umbrellas [were offered to him] and arrangements were made for his escort. People followed him to the Tzu-hsia-hsüeh cliff. At the top of the cliff, the monk faced towards the west, with a solemn expression on his face. People sang 'Hail, hail!' as a farewell to him for his happiness. The monk then let his body fall from the overhanging cliff. After he had fallen to the ground below the cliff, he was found in a sitting posture. When people rushed to see him, they found that he had already passed away."[25]

Another example concerns two sister-nuns of Ching-chou (in present Hupeh province), who "read the *Lotus Sutra* together and deeply disliked their bodies." Both of them therefore burned themselves to death in the same flame after performing religious ceremonies.[26]

E. Fulfillment of a promise

Self-immolation was also regarded by certain monks as the fulfillment of their promises, or as a compensation for their previous debt. According to the *Kao-seng-chuan*, the first monk in Chinese history who abandoned his body was named Seng-ch'ün. This monk lived as a recluse on a mountain top during the Eastern Chin dynasty (317–419). One day, when he was going to cross an extremely narrow bridge to fetch water, he saw a duck with a broken wing lying on the bridge in such a manner that it quite blocked his way to the water pool on the other side. He had no wish to touch the injured duck, because the slightest movement might cause its death. Yet there was no alternate route to reach the water, and so he himself resolved that he would abstain from drinking. Eventually this led to his death. As he was about to expire, he told others that once, when he was young, he had broken the wing of a duck. Therefore he regarded the injured duck lying on the bridge as a symbol of retribution for the sin which he committed earlier.[27]

Motivated by a similar idea, Monk Tao-hsiu (d. 629) refused to wear silken garments because of the thought that the silken goods had been manufactured at the cost of the life of the silkworms. Since no other cloth was available for him, he went naked and would seem to have died through exposure to cold.[28] Another monk named P'u-ching (887–955) of Chin-chou burned himself to death to fulfill his vows.[29] Monk Shou-hsien, a native of Ch'uan-chou (in present Fu-kien province), told his brethren during the Ch'ien-te period (963–67): "I have my debt and vow which are not yet fulfilled. This makes me often feel uneasy." Consequently, he entered into the Nan-yüeh mountain and offered his body to a tiger.[30]

F. Martyrdom

If the above-mentioned monks or nuns immolated themselves for moral or devotional reasons, there were others who sacrificed their lives for politico-religious reasons. Such men were monks who used the violent act of self-destruction as a protest against the political oppression and persecution of their religion. The psychological difference between them and the foregoing cases is that, generally speaking, the monk who died for religio-political reasons did so in reaction to external forces, whereas in the earlier cases, the main inspiration was religious devotion or awakening arising within the self.

According to the *Hsü Kao-seng-chuan* or *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks*, the earliest monk who abandoned his life in protest against political per-

secution was Tao-chi, a monk of Yi-chou (in present Ssuch'uan province). During 574 A.D., when Emperor Wu of the Northern Chou dynasty (557–81) proposed to take anti-Buddhist measures, this Tao-chi, in a remonstrance to the throne, strongly opposed the policy. As he found that his argument and remonstrance were fruitless, Tao-chi and seven of his friends performed the confessional rites for seven days, and then started fasting. They died together. Their protest, however, did not produce any favorable result.[31]

The next example is that of Ching-ai (535–79), a native of Hsing-yang, who "began his career as a [Confucian] scholar, was widely learned in the [Confucian] canons and histories." However, after seeing some Buddhist mural paintings depicting the sufferings in hell, he set his mind on religion, renounced his family life, and became a monk. Toward the end of the Northern Chou dynasty (557–81), when Emperor Wu banned Buddhism within his territory in 574, Ching-ai tried his best to modify the royal decision. When his attempt failed, "he saw that the Great Law had perished. Monks and lay devotees have nothing to depend on. He was helpless and unable to assist the Buddhists. He told his disciples: 'I am unprofitable for the world. I should immediately abandon my body. ...' Therefore, he loathed his body more and more as time went on." He sent away his disciples, sat alone on a rock inside the mountain, cut off his flesh piece by piece, hung his bowels on branches of a tree, and expired during the year 579.[32] Unfortunately, his self-inflicted cruelty failed to have any effect on the government's policy toward Buddhism.

In contrast to the futility of the above stories, readers may receive some consolation from the story of Monk Ta-chih, a native of Shan-yin (in present Chekiang province). After he was ordained into the order, he became a disciple of Chih-yi (538–97), the great patriarch and founder of the T'ien-t'ai Buddhist sect and "regarded the meditation and chanting of scriptures as his duty and made effort to specialize in these two subjects despite hardship."

Concerning Ta-chih, we read further:

> During the Ta-yeh period (605–17), [the government] made a purge of Buddhism and hermits (i.e., monks) were banished. Ashamed at the disgrace that had fallen on religion, he [Ta-chih] changed his clothes and religious way of life. His head was covered with a piece of mourning scarf, and he wore coarse clothes. He grievously and continously wept in the shrine hall of the Buddha for three days and nights. When the monks of the monastery came to comfort him, Ta-chih said: "It is because I am distressed by the evil karma that I upset myself to such an extent. I shall exert myself to the utmost in order to explain the correct teachings clearly."
>
> Subsequently, Ta-chih left his monastery at Lu-shan. After arriving at the eastern capital (Lo-yang), he submitted a memorial to the throne, in which he expressed a prayer: "I wish Your Majesty would make the effort to nourish the Three Jewels. [If you agree to this], I will burn one

> of my arms at Mount Sung, to show my gratitude to Your Majesty." The Emperor assented and arranged for a great assembly to be provided with food. All seven classes of disciples assembled. Ta-chih fasted for three days, and then ascended a high and canopied platform, where, using a bar of red hot iron, he burned his arm till it turned black and was scorched. He also cut off flesh from the arm and exposed his arm bone. Thereafter, he wrapped the injured arm with clothes, poured [molten] wax over it and lit it. The light from his arm shone brightly over the cliffs and peaks [of the mountain.]

The biographer further states that "on seeing his sufferings, all the people expressed their painful and sorrowful emotion. Though the fire had burnt him, his expression remained unchanged. He talked and smiled as usual. Sometimes he chanted passages on the *Dharma*, and sometimes praised the virtues of the Buddha. He preached the Law continuously. After his arm was burnt to ashes, he came down from the platform by himself. He then sat in *Samādhi* for seven days and died in a sitting posture."[33]

Though the biographer did not mention the result of Ta-chih's sacrifice, another Buddhist historian states that after Ta-chih's action, "although the edict [for purge of Buddhists] had been proclaimed it was not enforced."[34]

The cases discussed in the foregoing pages, although brief, contain conclusive evidence and characteristic features of the Chinese Buddhist immolations. According to the examples mentioned in Chinese histories, the motives of secular suicide were different from the Buddhist immolations. Those who belonged to the powerful strata of society, such as generals who had lost their battles, dethroned rulers, ministers who had lost their master's favor, prisoners of war, etc., destroyed their own lives to defend their honors, or perhaps to uphold their ideals, to prove their fidelity or correctness. Among the plebeians, suicides were often motivated by a feeling of helplessness, shame, injury, or for desire of revenge, or as the ultimate expression of protest against frustration in life.[35]

The religious suicides committed by the Taoist priests were mainly to obtain immortality. Their motivation was, to some extent, similar to that of the Hindus of India as enumerated by U. Thakur.[36] These Hindu motivations for religious suicides were the hope of freeing one's soul from rebirth, reaching the land of Brahma, being born again in a good family, obtaining heavenly pleasures, etc. In the Taoist and Hindu cases mentioned above, whether religious or secular, spiritual or material, the suicides more or less involved personal interests. Therefore, suicide was the ultimate method for solving one's problems. The immolated one dies for his own self. In this respect, most of the self-immolated Chinese Buddhists differed. As we have seen, some monks destroyed their bodies to further their own interests, that is, for rebirth, because of hatred for the body, etc.; yet most of the monks ended their lives not for personal reasons but for the benefit of other people or beings. This broad and generous approach obviously was

inspired by the doctrines of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and thus gave a noble and distinctive character to Buddhist immolations in medieval China.

Psychologically speaking, suicides occur when a person faces extreme mental pressure and when his mental balance is in a state of excitement. Some of the Buddhists were different. Although certain monks died under external pressure, most resolved to do away with their bodies due to some inward urge. Their mental condition was peaceful, and their determination was made after a lengthy period of cogitation. Contrary to notions held by common people, the self-immolated monks considered their end to be not one of painful death, but a happy path of transmigration. Here, on this point, the Buddhist outlook toward life and death again exercised an immense influence on their followers.

II

A

The evidence presented in the foregoing pages reveals that the self-immolation of Chinese Buddhist monks was, in the first place, inspired by various scriptures. Some were based on Buddhist canons which undoubtedly originated in India, but other texts were written in China and represent Chinese tradition. However, even those monks whose immolation was primarily inspired by texts of Indian origin were to some extent also influenced by Chinese tradition. In the following pages we shall attempt to analyze the main lines of influence.

As we have seen, the *Lotus Sutra* was one of the main sources for the self-immolation of Chinese monks. The story of Bhaiṣajyarāja's sacrifice is contained in chapter xxii of the *Miao-fa lien-hua ching*, the Chinese translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* or *Lotus Sutra*. According to this story, the Bodhisattva Bhaiṣajyarāja, during a previous existence, had once served the Candrasūrya-vimalaprabhāsaśrī Buddha. His devotion to the Buddha enabled him to obtain "the concentration by which one can manifest all forms." In order to show his gratitude to the Buddha, he then took various kinds of incense, applied oil on his body, and burned his body as a living candle. The fire which destroyed his body lasted for 1,200 years. As a result of this extraordinary action, he attained Bodhisattva-hood in his next birth, and was called Bhaiṣajyarāja.[37]

This story involves the question of gratitude and reward for good deeds, which are motivations common to other ancient traditions, including that of China. Hence there is no occasion for surprise that the Chinese should have acted upon this story in the *Lotus Sutra*.

B

The next influence inspiring self-immolation was, as we have seen, the imitation of the Bodhisattvas. It is well known that, according to Mahāyāna Buddhism,

a Bodhisattva possesses six basic perfections of virtue (*pāramitās*). Among these, the first is *dāna* or alms-giving. Achievement of this virtue-perfection requires one to give away one's worldly wealth, son or wife, or even one's own life. Such almsgiving benefits others, and at the same time helps the giver to achieve the virtue-perfection. According to various Buddhist texts, notably the *Jātakas*, the *Avadānas*, and the travel accounts of Chinese pilgrims to India, Gautama Buddha achieved all six of these virtue-perfections by the time he attained enlightenment. Because this could not be done within a single lifetime however, the Buddha was reborn many times to complete his career as a Bodhisattva.[38]

Besides these legendary stories, the doctrine of almsgiving was also persistently preached in certain important Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures. For instance, in the most important canon *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā-śāstra*, the virtue of *dāna* is discussed again and again. In chapter xi of the *Śāstra*, two categories of *dāna*, the Outer and the Inner, are recognized, among which that of the Inner is the most significant. According to the *Śāstra*, the "Inner offerings" include giving away one's head or marrow, or even one's whole body or life.[39] In chapter xii, the *Śāstra* specifies three levels of performance of *dāna*, namely, the inferior performance—one gives away his food and ordinary things to others as offerings; the middle performance—one offers his clothes and precious articles; the superior performance—one offers his own blood, flesh, wealth, kingdom, wife, and all his possessions as alms.[40] Here, giving away one's life or one's body, either partially or wholly, is highly commended.

C

Despite the approval of self-immolation provided by the foregoing texts, such an act was generally condemned and prohibited by Buddhists in India itself. This fact clearly emerges, for example, in the *Pārājikas* and in a text like *The Questions of King Milinda*.[41] Both Hsüan-tsang (602–64) and I-ching (635–713) observed during their travels in India that, although cases of religious suicide occurred, such actions were regarded by the Buddhists as "false custom"[42] and "misled men to be heretics."[43]

I-ching goes on to condemn this action still more clearly. He states:

> It was the Bodhisattva's work of salvation to offer his body to a hungry tiger. It is not seemly for a Śramaṇa to cut the flesh from his body in order to give it away instead of a living pigeon. It is not in our power to imitate a Bodhisattva.[44]

I-ching further states that violent ways of self-destruction "are entirely out of harmony with the Vinaya canons," that "if one destroys life in such a way, the great object of one's existence is lost," and that it is a "sin (which cannot be undone), just as a broken stone cannot be united. One has to be careful of this point."[45]

The contradictions between Indian and Chinese Buddhist views concerning the imitation of the legendary behavior of the Bodhisattva are of great interest. To a certain extent, they reflect general differences of thinking between these two traditions. In India, it would seem that legends about the Bodhisattvas were possibly only mythological explanations used metaphorically to express praise for selflessness and great mercy. They were to be understood idealistically or poetically, rather than literally. This aspect of Indian thinking has been characterized by Professor Nakamura as "the fondness for myths and poetry."[46]

In contrast, the Chinese laid more stress on practice. This characteristic has been described by Nakamura as "the concrete expression of concepts" and "the tendency towards practicality" within which he includes what he calls the "worldly tendency in religions."[47] It is possible that under this traditional influence, the Chinese monks considered the Indian mythical and imaginary explanation of ideals as practical precepts, to be followed literally. To them, ideal and practice were one and the same. Therefore, the Chinese monks who destroyed their bodies or lives were not in their own minds and the minds of other Chinese, guilty of any error, but were setting a good example to other monks.

D

According to the fundamental Buddhist doctrine of the four Noble Truths, suffering exists; suffering has a cause, which is the craving for existence; this craving can be eliminated; and the Noble Eight-fold Path is the way to achieve this goal. Though the Buddhists consider life as something miserable, they did not go to extremes concerning body and life, so that such violent action as self-immolation was, in general, as we have seen, discouraged and prohibited. However, when we look into Chinese tradition, and especially the Taoist classic *Chuang-tzu*, we find there the expression of dislike of body and life. For instance, in *Chuang-tzu*, life is described as "a huge goiter or excrescence," "dirt and dust," and manhood as filled with toil. On the other hand, the *Chuang-tzu* rather glorifies death. In certain places, *Chuang-tzu* described death as "the breaking of a turmoil," "a return home," and "a rest." It claimed that the happiness enjoyed by the dead exceeds that even of a king of men.[48] It is probably from this dislike of body and glorification of death that religious Taoism later developed the theory of *Shih-chieh*, signifying "la libération du corps est une fausse mort," as rendered by H. Maspero. Thus in certain medieval Taoist canons, we find that "those men who used a precious sword for the liberation of the corpse (*Chien-chieh*) are the best examples of metamorphosis." It is also likely that the same tradition helped to inspire the Buddhist action of self-immolation, since, despite quarrels and conflicts between the two religions, there were many Buddhist monks well acquainted with the Taoist scriptures. This is proved by Tsan-ning's remark on the subject. In his book *Sung Kao-seng-chuan*, Tsan-ning writes: "When the immortals die under the edge of a sword, it is called liberation of the corpse by sword"; therefore, that monks may have ended their lives unnaturally "is not a matter of shame."[49]

E

When we look upon the Buddhist martyrs, their actions appear to be non-Buddhistic. This is so because at the moment of their death or injury not only did they adopt very cruel and violent means but they did so with a passion. This is directly contradictory to Buddhist doctrine which always advises people not to be governed by emotion. According to Chinese tradition, on the other hand, if one dies for the defense of a virtuous principle or ideal, then despite the violence involved, this action is a correct one. Ch'ü Yüan (*ca.* 343–290? B.C.), the earliest distinguished man of letters in Chinese history, is said to have tragically drowned himself in a river in protest against the stale policy conducted by his political enemy. Many other cases may be found in which scholars, officials, or others committed suicide in protest against bad government, or government by alien conquerors, or against ill treatment or oppression.

In the Confucian classics, of course, the defense of principles is repeatedly emphasized. According to the *Li-chi* (*Book of Rites*), for example, Confucius told his followers: "When you meet with calamity, do not [try to] escape from it by improper means."[50] Likewise in the *Analects*, the Master said: "The determined scholar and the man of virtue will not seek to live at the expense of injuring their virtue. They will even sacrifice their lives to preserve their virtue complete."[51]

The same positive attitude toward virtue was strongly reaffirmed by Mencius, the most influential Confucian thinker after Confucius himself. He said: "So, I like life, and also like righteousness. If I cannot keep the two together, I will let life go, and choose righteousness."[52]

These Confucian passages have exercised a long-lasting and deep influence on Chinese life, inspiring a goodly number of historical persons to sacrifice their lives in order "to preserve their virtue complete" or to "let life go and choose righteousness." Some of the Chinese dynastic histories, indeed, include a special category of biographies of such virtuous persons, written under the heading of *Chung-yi*, or the Loyal and Righteous Ones. We have seen that the Buddhist biography of certain self-immolated monks included accounts of persons who had seriously studied the Confucian classics and histories before being ordained into the Saṅgha. It is therefore no surprise to find that the Chinese Buddhist biographers repeatedly quote Confucian passages such as those given above to justify Buddhist self-immolation.

III

This brings us to the attitude of the Buddhist biographers themselves toward this controversial problem. How did they judge this action, whether from an historical point of view, or from that of monastic discipline? Both points are of great interest, since the Chinese writers were not only notable historians, but also eminent Masters of the Vinaya canons in their respective ages.

A

Hui-chiao (497–554), author of the *Kao-seng-chuan* or *Biographies of Eminent Monks*, and also the first historian who classified the self-immolated monks under the heading of "Abandoning the Body," makes the following comment on the practice:

> Now the most valuable thing of all embodied objects is the body; the most precious thing to one's feelings and mind (*ch'ing-shih*) is life. This is why persons eat flesh and drink blood, ride on stout horses and wear fur clothes for their enjoyment. They eat the *shu* [herb] and put pills in their mouths, in order to nourish their nature (*hsing*) and to prolong their lives. They stingily refuse to pluck out a single one of their hairs even if it would benefit the whole world. If they were asked to give up one meal in order thus to save another's life, they would refuse to do so, as they only care for themselves. This is indeed an excessive fraud.[53]

After thus criticizing the selfishness of ordinary human beings, Hui-chiao then draws attention to the differing attitude of saintly persons toward life and body:

> Of course, there are persons who possess broad knowledge and wide views. These persons can abandon their own benefit for the good of others. They are able to comprehend that the Three Realms (*san-chieh*) are merely the residence of mortality during the long night; they also understand that the four forms of birth (*ssu-sheng*) are the spheres of dream and illusion. They consider the spirit as feathers, the body as a jar of food. Therefore, they pay no heed to their bodies, from top to feet. They give away their kingdoms, cities or wives as if these are only worthless straws. The monks whom I am commenting upon are such sort of persons.[54]

From this quotation it is clear that, according to Hui-chiao, these self-immolated monks, whatever might be the manner of their unnatural death, are worthy beings provided that they died from noble motives. The reason is that such determined and compassionate action is rare in this selfish and stingy world. According to Hui-chiao, these self-immolations are inspired by selfless motives of mercy and compassion toward others, based in turn on a saintly and profound understanding of the impermanence of life. This understanding can only be apprehended by the saint, and not by ordinary people.

This leads to the controversial question of whether in the final analysis the action of self-immolation is justifiable or not. The Buddhist historian expresses his opinion as follows:

> At present, those who injured their physical form, in so doing damaged the body of virtue (*fu-t'ien*), thus causing both gain and loss. The gain is that they realized the unmindfulness of their body; the loss is that they disobeyed the precept.[55]

This then is Hui-chiao's estimate of religious suicide. It is actually a balance sheet: on the one hand, he admires the indifferent and unselfish attitude shown by these monks; on the other, he notes that such a violent practice goes against the monastic discipline of the Buddhist. At the same time, however, taking into consideration the exceptional courage of these monks, and comparing them with ordinary people of the world, who lack a noble aim in life, Hui-chiao concludes that their "action and achievements shall be respected for a thousand years, and their fragrant memories shall remain precious for all future generations."

B

The tribute paid by Hui-chiao to the self-immolated monks is not merely his personal feeling, but represents a common opinion within the Buddhist community. Tao-hsüan (596–667), for example, author of the *Hsü Kao-seng-chuan* or *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks*, writes on religious suicide as follows:

> So far as my humble knowledge goes, to follow chastity and to regard life lightly has been a difficult task since ancient days. "To escape by improper means" is an easy way even at present. In the biographies of dedicated persons several categories of examples are established; in the Classics words to describe virtuous and mean men shine forth. These serve to warn and admonish ordinary people, and to enlighten the spiritual ones. Only the Way (*Tao*) occupies the highest point, only the Virtue (*Te*) produces things. Thus these [who immolated themselves] were able to forget both success and failure, and to dismiss both right and wrong. They understood the root and source of the fluctuating [world] and the attachments [of life]. They comprehended the Law of illusion. Because of this, the intelligent person knows that the body is an empirical combination, like dust, and has no nature of its own. He considers that life and calculation are similar to flowing water, and phenomenon is merely the reflection of mind. Therefore, all beings being illusory, how can a wise man preserve himself for ever?[56]

Thus Tao-hsüan also considers the self-immolated monks as "dedicated persons," who were "intelligent" and set "good examples" for Buddhists. Moreover, he not only justifies the action of these monks by Buddhist doctrines but also quotes passages such as "do not [try to] escape from it [calamity] by improper means" from the Confucian text; and "Only the Way occupies the highest point, only the Virtue produces things" from the Taoist scripture. At the

same time, he also considers their actions to be comparable with those of other "wise men," etc., recorded in the dynastic histories of China.

From the Buddhist point of view, Tao-hsüan puts forward certain questions, the first of which is: "If one says that people when they dislike their lives, should uproot the very cause of life itself (*sheng-yin*), what then is the need for them to cut off their bodies?" Tao-hsüan himself answers this as follows:

> The accumulation of causes is lasting and complicated. The body is the embodiment of accumulation. Because the body is the most important thing of life, to destroy the body is the only proper treatment.[57]

The second objection raised by Tao-hsüan is that "according to the discipline, those who throw their bodies from a precipice have sinned against the Prime Category of the rules in the Vinaya texts (*ch'u-chü*)." To which, however, he answers: "But when the aspect of emotion is considered, these people have made a great renunciation through their own will (*sui-hsing*)."[58] Thus Tao-hsüan's opinion is more or less like that of Hui-chiao, who said that even though immolation is wrong so far as the monastic rules are concerned, the action still is admirable from the point of view of the sentiment and courage of the doer.

C

Tsan-ning (919–1001), the third distinguished Buddhist biographer of medieval China, author of the *Sung Kao-seng-chuan* or *Sung Collection of Biographies of Eminent Monks*, wrote the following comment on self-immolated monks in the form of a verse:

> To give away the thing that is difficult to part with,
> Is the best offering amongst the alms.
> Let this impure and sinful body,
> Turn into something like a diamond.[59]

Like his two predecessors, Tsan-ning quotes passages from the Confucian classics like "When you meet with calamity, do not [try to] escape from it by improper means" in order to justify religious suicide by the Buddhists. However, he says: "What ordinary people consider as difficult is easy for the Bodhisattvas." Concerning the monks who died from the sword, whose biographies he wrote, Tsan-ning comments: "When the immortals die under the edge of a sword, it is called liberation of the corpse by sword. Even though these monks may have ended their lives unnaturally, [their actions] should still not be considered shameful, since, [compared with the immortals], these monks possessed more correct practices and more fruitful attainments."[60]

Similarly, Tsan-ning has high praise for a monk who offered his body to feed a tiger:

> Master Ming's accomplishment of great almsgiving shows his aloofness from stinginess and greediness. His accomplishment of immateriality of the Three Wheels (*san-lun*) of this world has achieved high virtue. His accomplishment of giving away the thing that is difficult to part with has purified the Buddha-land. His throwing away of his body instantly has caused immense benefit.[61]

In another part of his book, Tsan-ning not only approves of these monks who actually immolated themselves but also supports those whose attempts at suicide were not successful and led only to partial self-injury. However, he admits that his reason for including those unsuccessful monks in his book is, first, because even attempted self-immolation is something extraordinary, and second, because it becomes increasingly difficult during the late period of Buddhist decline to find persons who not only attempted self-immolation but succeeded in their attempt. Using these two reasons, Tsan-ning suggests that monks who attempted suicide but did not succeed, and who perhaps only partially injured themselves, might be compared with the "Upright Officials" (*hsün-li*) who are recorded in the dynastic histories of China.[62] This indicates to what a high degree Tsan-ning approves of self-immolation.

Regarding the controversial problem of whether, from the monastic disciplinary point of view, religious suicide is justifiable or not, Tsan-ning's attitude is much more positive than that of his two predecessors. Thus he is critical of the Hīnayāna teaching on the subject:

> The Hīnayāna teachings consider suicide as an aggravated offense, more serious than all other sins when it is committed under the pressure of circumstances. This is why no people [under Hīnayāna] dare to burn themselves.[63]

According to Tsan-ning himself, "there are two categories of people, of which one is afraid of self-immolation, . . . whereas the other desires death for rebirth." Tsan-ning believes that so far as the second category is concerned, their destruction of body is fruitful. Thus he says: "They will be reborn as soon as their lives have ended." He urges further:

> When the great determination is initiated, the dark room of a hundred years long will be lit by a single lamp. What is wrong with this action? Therefore people of this practice should not let this petty doctrine stand in their way to the Great Foundation.[64]

In another place of his book, Tsan-ning again affirms the same attitude, saying that "those who are able to achieve the great virtue, cannot be hindered by the small fault."[65]

D

The foregoing pages indicate a change of attitude on the part of historians. The change is from a noncommittal view to a more positive view which becomes more and more one of total approval. It is a shift from an objective view to a comparatively subjective view in which the emphasis moves away from monastic discipline to religious sentiment. At the same time, the shifting view of the historians toward self-immolation reflects a general process of change in Buddhism in China—one in which a primarily abstract and spiritual emphasis gives way to a more concrete emphasis upon the practical action needed to actualize the spiritual aim. This new tendency is particularly applauded by the Chinese Buddhist historians. At the same time, self-injury or death by unnatural means must not have seemed a pleasant matter in the eyes of ordinary folk, nor could it have been regarded as the ideal way to attain enlightenment. Such violent and drastic action could only be accepted when certain external circumstances and mental conditions converged. It was thus only during the really flourishing period of Buddhism in China that we find such cases of self-immolation; with the setbacks and gradual decline experienced by Buddhism from the ninth or tenth century, acts of self-immolation similarly declined.

Notes

1 The author wishes to record his thanks to Professor Derk Bodde, Professor of Chinese, University of Pennsylvania, for his kind revision of the manuscript and to Professor K. Woodroofe, formerly Visiting Professor of English, Visva-Bharati University, India, for his suggestions for stylistic improvements of this paper.

Chinese characters corresponding to transliterations of Chinese terms are to be found at the end of the article.

2 Cf. Edward J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought* (2d ed.; London, 1959), pp. 16–17.

3 See *Taishō Shinshū Taizōkyō* or the *Taishō Edition of the Tripiṭaka in Chinese* (hereafter referred to in this paper as *T.*), Nos. 2059, 2060, and 2061. All of these three works are included in Vol. L of the collection.

4 For instance, the biographies of Seng-ch'ün, Fa-chin, P'u-an, etc., as mentioned in this paper, seem to have certain legendary elements. On one hand, these biographies might have been moral teachings written by the biographers; on the other, the events may not be entirely baseless. The question of motivation, authenticity, etc., of *Kao-seng-chuan* is discussed by Arthur F. Wright, "Biography and Hagiography, - Hui-chiao's lives of Eminent Monks," in *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zin-bun-kagaku-Kenyūsyo, Kyōtō University* (Kyōtō, 1954), pp. 383–432.

5 Biographies of self-immolated Japanese monks are to be found in *Hon-chō kō-sō-den* ("Biographies of Eminent Monks of Japan"), chap. xxvi.

6 Earlier references on religious suicides of Buddhists by L. de la Vallée Poussin did not refer to Chinese cases (see *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* [New York, 1955], XII, 24–26). Other references such as the *Chinese Readers' Manual* by W. F. Mayer only referred to the secular suicides in China.

So far as I know, there is only one previous reference to certain aspects of this practice, that is "Les suicides par le feu chez les bouddhistes chinois du V^e^ au X^e^ siècle," by Jacques Gernet, in *Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Études*

Chinoises, II (Paris, 1960), 527–58. There is another recent contribution by J. Filliozat, "La mort voluntaire par le feu et la tradition bouddhique indienne," *Journal asiatique*, CCLI, no. 1 (Paris, 1963), 21–51. Though related to the subject, his concern is mainly with the Indian Buddhist. I am grateful to Professor Gernet for sending me a copy of his article.

7 See U. Thakur, *The History of Suicide in India* (Delhi, 1963), esp. pp. 77–111.

8 The story which inspired the Buddhist immolation by fire as mentioned in the *Lotus Sutra* (see Part II A of this paper below).

9 *T.*, 2059, p. 404c. Unless it is specifically noted, the quotations used in this paper are my own translation from the original Chinese texts. *Yüeh-wang pen-shih p'in* is the Chinese translation of the *Bhaiṣajyarāja-pūrva-yoga-parivartaḥ*, a chapter of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*.

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*, p. 405a–b.

12 *T.*, 2060, p. 683c.

13 *T.*, 2061, pp. 855c, 858b, 859b.

14 See biography of Ching-ch'ao, *op. cit.*, p. 858c, I. 2. For the influence of the Pureland doctrine on the practice of self-immolation, see nn. 22 and 23.

15 *T.*, 2059, p. 404a; *T.*, 2060, p. 684a–b; *T.*, 2059, p. 404b.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 404b–c.

17 *T.*, 2060, p. 682a.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 683b.

19 *T.*, 2059, p. 405c.

20 *T.*, 2061, p. 857a.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 859a–b.

22 *T.*, 2059, p. 405c.

23 The story of this monk is mentioned in the biography of Hui-t'ung (see *T.*, 2060, p. 684a, ll. 15–19).

24 *Ibid.*, p. 683b.

25 The story of this monk is mentioned in the biography of Fa-k'uang, *ibid.*, p. 683c.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 684a. The story is mentioned in the biography of Hui-t'ung.

27 *T.*, 2059, p. 404a.

28 *T.*, 2060, p. 684b.

29 *T.*, 2061, p. 859c.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 860a.

31 Tao-chi's biography is subordinated under the account of Ching-ai, for which, see, *T.*, 2060, p. 626c.

32 *Ibid.*, pp. 625–28.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 682b–c.

34 See *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* (*T.*, 2035, p. 362a). About the historical background of Ta-chih's immolation, one may find further information in my forthcoming book, *A Chronicle of Buddhism in China 581–960 A.D.* (to be published by the Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan, India).

35 Cf. Mayer, *op. cit.*; also the contribution to the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, pp. 26–27, by P. J. Maclagan.

36 See U. Thakur, *op. cit.*, and Filliozat, *op. cit.*

37 Cf. *T.*, Nos. 262, p. 53a; 263, p. 125a; 264, p. 187c. For the Sanskrit text see *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtram*, ed. N. Dutt (Calcutta, 1952), p. 271; for U. Wogihara and C. Tsuchida's romanized version (Tokyo, 1958), pp. 339–40. See also M. E. Burnouf (trans.), *Lotus de la bonne loi* (Paris, 1925), pp. 242–43.

38 About the Bodhisattva, cf. E. Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 198–211. About the virtue-perfection of *dāna* or almsgiving see N. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism and its*

Relation to Hinayana (London, 1930), pp. 258–59. About the legendary stories of the Bodhisattvas' sacrifices, see the *Mahāvastu*, pp. 92, 95, etc. More detailed accounts are to be found in the travels of Fa-hsien, *A Record of the Buddhist countries*, trans. Li Yung-hsi (Peking, 1957), pp. 26–27; and esp. the *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, by Hsüan-tsang and Pien-chi, trans. S. Beal (London, 1884), pp. 123–27. Some of these legends are also mentioned in the record of Sung Yün's pilgrimage; cf. E. Chavannes, "Voyage de Song-yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, III (1903), pp. 379 ff., and a number of Chinese translations of Buddhist *sutras*.

39 *Ta-chih-tu lun* (*T.*, No. 1509), p. 143b–c.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 150a.

41 Although due to a lack of historical texts in India our knowledge about the Indian Buddhist view on self-immolation is not clear, what evidence is available indicates that such action was strictly forbidden. See Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 16; T. W. Rhys Davids' translation of the *Questions of King Milinda, Sacred Books of the East*, XXXV (Oxford, 1890), pp. 273 ff. The pieces of evidence put forward by Professor Filliozat are interesting but it is hard to tell whether they represent historical facts or legends or myths.

42 See Hsüan-tsang and Pien-chi's record, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

43 See I-ching, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*, trans. J. Takakusu (Oxford, 1896), p. 198.

44 *Ibid.*

45 *Ibid.*

46 Nakamura Hajime, *The Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples* (Tokyo: Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, 1960), pp. 130–31.

47 *Ibid.*, pp. 168–70, 266 ff., esp. 229 ff.

48 See *Chuang-tzu, Taoist Philosopher and Chinese Mystic*, trans. H. A. Giles (reprint; London, 1961), pp. 121, 174–75, 212, and 228. See also Lin Yutang's translation in *The Wisdom of China* (London, 1948), pp. 96, 101, and 153. About Chuang-tzu's other view toward life and death see Fung Yu-lan, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, ed. Derk Bodde (New York, 1960), pp. 107 ff.

49 Cf. H. Maspero, *Mélanges posthumes sur les religions et l'histoire de la Chine*: Vol. II, *Le Taoïsme* (Paris, 1950), pp. 84, etc. Also see J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, II (Cambridge, 1956), 141, and Fu Ch'in-chia, *Chung-kuo Tao-chiao shih* ["A History of Chinese Taoism"] (Shanghai, 1937), pp. 126 ff. About Tsan-ning's remark, cf. *T.*, 2061, p. 857a, II. 2–3.

50 Quoted from J. Legge's translation in the *Sacred Books of the East*, XXVII (Oxford, 1885), 62.

51 *Analects*, XV, 8, as quoted from J. Legge's translation in *The Chinese Classics* (reprint; Hongkong, 1960), I, 297.

52 *Mencius*, vi (a), 10, as quoted, *ibid.*, II, 411.

53 Original text is in *T.*, 2059, p. 405c, last line, to p. 406a II. 1–4. The phrase, "They refuse to pluck out a single one of their hairs even if it would benefit the whole world," is quoted from Mencius' remark on Yang Chu (cf. *Mencius*, vii (a) 26, p. 464).

54 *T.*, 2059, p. 406a, II. 5–9.

55 *Ibid.*, II. 20–22.

56 *T.*, 2000, p. 684c, II. 4–11.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 685a, II. 3–7.

58 *Ibid.*, p. 685b, II. 17–18.

59 *T.*, 2061, p. 710a, under sect. 7, *Yi-shen p'ien*.

60 *Ibid.*, p. 856c, last two lines and p. 857a, II. 2–4.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 857c, Il. 8–10.
62 *Ibid.*, p. 858c. Such "upright officials" rank, of course, in Confucian thinking well below the sages and men of high virtue.
63 *Ibid.*, 860c, Il. 23–24.
64 *Ibid.*, p. 860c, Il. 26–27.
65 *Ibid.* p. 861a, Il. 19–20.

Chinese characters

1. Names of persons

Chih-yi 智顗
Ching-ai 靜藹
Ching-ch'ao 景超
Fa-chin 法進
Fa-k'uang 法曠
Fa-yü 法羽
Fu Ch'in-chia 傅勤家
Hsüan-lan 玄覽
Hsüan-tsang 玄奘
Hui-chiao 慧皎
Hui-shao 慧紹
Hui-t'ung 會通
Hui-yi 慧益
Hung-chen 洪真
I-ching 義淨
Seng-ch'ing 僧慶
Seng-ch'ün 僧群
Seng-fu 僧富
Seng-yü 僧瑜
Shan-tao 善導
Shao, Acharya 紹闍梨
Shou-hsien 守賢
Ta-chih 大志
T'an-ch'eng 曇稱
T'an-hung 曇弘
Tao-chi 道積
Tao-chou 道舟
Tao-hsiu 道休
Tao-hsüan 道宣
Tsan-ning 贊寧

1. Names of persons—continued

Jan Yün-hua 冉雲華

P'u-an 普安

P'u-ching 普靜

Wu, Emperor 武帝

Wu-jan 無染

Yüan-hui 元慧

2. Titles of books or chapters

Chuang-tzu 莊子

Chung-kuo Tao-chiao shih 中國道教史

Chung-yi 忠義

Fo-tsu t'ung-chi 佛祖統記

Hon-chō kō-sō-den 本朝高僧傳

Hsü Kao-seng-chuan 續高僧傳

Hsün-li 循吏

Hua-yen ching 華嚴經

Kao-seng-chuan 高僧傳

Kuan ching 觀經

Li-chi 禮記

Miao-fa lien-hua ching 妙法蓮華經

She-shen p'in 捨身品

Sung Kao-seng-chuan 宋高僧傳

Ta-chih-tu Lun 大智度論

Taishō shinshū Taizōkyō 大正新修大藏經

Wu-liang-shu ching 無量壽經

Yi-shen p'ien 遺身篇

Yüeh-wang pen-shih p'in 藥王本事品

3. Phrases

Ch'ing-shih 情識

Ch'u-chü 初聚

Fan-hsing 梵行

Fu-t'ien 福田

Shih-chieh 尸解

Shu 术

Ssu-sheng 四生

Sui-hsing 隨興

Hsing 性

San-chieh 三界

San-lun 三輪

Sheng-yin 生因

Wang-shen 亡身

Yi-hsin 一心

Yi-shen 遺身

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE *KENMITSU* SYSTEM AS JAPAN'S MEDIEVAL ORTHODOXY

Toshio Kuroda

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Medieval Japan was dominated by a religious system, the so-called kenmitsu system, which provided a cohesive ideological structure for its social and political order. It arose against the backdrop of the medieval estate system and the emerging peasant class. The core of the kenmitsu system was esoteric beliefs and practices, around which the different exoteric doctrines of Tendai and other schools coalesced. Esoteric practices were thought to embody the truths of Mahāyāna Buddhism, but also to provide thaumaturgic means to control the ominous spirit world recognized by society. The teachings and practices of Pure Land Buddhism were born out of this system, and the Tendai doctrine of original enlightenment (hongaku) was an archetypal expression of it. The kenmitsu worldview provided the ideological basis for the medieval Japanese state, and was integrated into its system of rule.

The *kenmitsu taisei* 顕密体制 (exoteric-esoteric system) indicates, as a concept, the distinctive religious system that was recognized as orthodox in medieval Japan. It is a concept directly related to the unique character of religion in the medieval period, as well as to the unique character of the medieval state (*kokka* 国家). The purpose of the present essay on the development of the *kenmitsu taisei* is to consider the fundamental structure of this linkage between religion and the Japanese state, and the historical perspectives of that structure. In the medieval period, religion and the state were viewed as entities that should exist in a relationship of mutual identity, not as essentially different things that should interact within a framework of opposition. The *kenmitsu taisei* operated on the level of such mutual identity. What this means, therefore, is that our consideration of this system is specifically an inquiry into the relationship between religion and the state.

The primary task of this essay is to reveal the medieval Japanese state's mystical and mysterious side that was derived from religion, and to explore its characteristics. In discussions of the state it is common to take up such matters as power, organization, and law, and there are natural reasons for doing so. But in the medieval Japanese state these were not the only matters of importance—there are excellent reasons for noting in particular the religious side of things as well.

Another task of this essay is to keep in mind issues relating to the intellectual history of Japanese religion. That is, I would like to consider the question of religion—or rather, of religious ideas—from the standpoint of their relationship to authority as it was exercised in the actual social order of the medieval period. This relationship provides us with an important key for understanding Japan's religious history in a relatively objective way, one that is little influenced by the subjective images that present-day sectarian historians superimpose upon the past. Such an approach helps free us from current doctrinal and devotional perspectives on history, perspectives related to the two major changes that occurred in Japanese religion subsequent to the medieval period: first, the official recognition of independent Buddhist sects in early modern times and the consequent systematization of sectarian doctrines; and second, the separation of Shinto from Buddhism and the rise of State Shinto in the modern era. These developments must not precondition our understanding of medieval religion, nor should they act as standards for evaluating it. Rather, medieval religion must be grasped using models that are most appropriate to the medieval age itself. This may seem obvious, but the fact is that even recent research by no means does this. The reason is that the task of liberating religious and intellectual history from doctrinal perceptions is neither easy nor self-evident.

One thing I must note in advance is that my argument presupposes the "estate-system society" (*shōensei shakai* 荘園制社会) and the "system of ruling elites" (*kenmon taisei* 権門体制), concepts that I have explained in earlier articles on the nature of society and the state in medieval Japan. There are, of course, a variety of other scholarly perspectives on these issues, perspectives from which the discussions in this essay will no doubt appear extremely one-sided and arbitrary. To a certain extent, this is unavoidable. I myself believe that it is possible to acknowledge the truth of the facts presented here in their own right, without directly relating them to historical definitions of the period. Nonetheless, in my overall organization and analysis I have consciously sought to examine the links of medieval religion to *shōen* society and the *kenmon* system.

This essay was originally intended to cover the entire medieval period, with a number of sections on the relationship between the state and religion throughout medieval times. I believe that the *kenmitsu* system faced its final demise, a kind of closing of the books, with the appearance of the *shūkyō ikki* 宗教一揆 (religious uprisings) in late medieval times, so that a bigger picture extending to that point is called for. I have stopped short, however, sketching only a few main issues relating to the period up to the Nanbokuchō period (1336–1392), the time

of the Northern and Southern Courts in the mid-medieval era. One reason for this is that I have not yet finished groundwork for a consideration of the various issues relating to the *kenmitsu taisei* in later medieval times. More importantly, though, my overall research on the late medieval state is, practically speaking, still in its initial stages. I will thus refrain from addressing matters of religion and the state in the latter half of the medieval period until my preparations are a bit more complete.

Founding the *kenmitsu* system—the rise of the orthodox establishment

The Heian period (794–1185), spanning nearly four-hundred years, had a rich religious history with a wide variety of developments, of which the founding of the Tendai and Shingon schools was first and foremost. The topic of this section is the overall history of this period, though I do not intend to go into great depth. Also, although it would of course be best to introduce the considerable scholarship relating to the development of Heian Buddhism, including Pure Land Buddhism, to do so in any detail would be impossible. For the purposes of this essay I will focus on the formation during the Heian period of the body of religious doctrine that gave rise to the ideological system I call the *kenmitsu taisei*, a system that claimed orthodox status and was totally fused with the authority of the medieval state. I will elucidate in condensed form the basis and process of its formation, and briefly examine its character and significance.

My intention is not, however, to treat the religious history of the Heian period as a mere preparation for that of the Kamakura period (1185–1333). As mentioned above, I believe that we must reject this frequently adopted perspective and the associated interpretations based on the sectarian histories of the present-day Buddhist schools. Instead, we should seek to grasp in a comprehensive way the *kenmitsu taisei* as it existed in its own time. For this purpose we must identity what was important, from the perspective of intellectual history, in the transition from ancient to medieval Japan, and determine the ways in which this transformation constituted an emancipation of the spirit. This, I believe, must be our fundamental point of departure.

Issues in intellectual history during the transition period from ancient to medieval times

The ancient Japanese state underwent slow change over the four-century Heian period as it moved toward the medieval state system. Since our understanding of the historical significance of this transition relates to our view of the nature and characteristics of both the ancient and the medieval state, a variety of perspectives are possible. Here I would like to present my own views, organizing them into the following three points that, in a sense, acknowledge the presuppositions of our intellectual historical stance.[1]

The first point is that this transition signified the disintegration of the Asian-style community structure that had been at the foundations of society, and of the ancient autocratic state (*kodai sensei kokka* 古代専制国家) that had developed on this foundation. The distinctive qualities displayed by the ancient Japanese state all reveal it to be an ancient Asian-style social order. These features include the organization and principles of control of its communities, which were dominated by local chiefs and powerful families; the central and local administrative organizations, which performed household censuses on villages and concentrated authority in the imperial bureaus, provinces, counties, villages, and hamlets; and the hierarchical power structure, which extended from powerful local families all the way up to the emperor. All of these structures, in their various ways, ultimately broke down.

The second point to take up is the significance of the newly emerging peasant class. Since the key feature of the transition from the ancient to the medieval period was the feudalization of society, the rise of independent, small-scale farming was the most important element for defining the nature of social development. In the case of Japan, independent, small-scale farming came into being with the formation of a new agricultural class centering on the *hyakushō* 百姓 (peasants), who emerged from the *kōmin* 公民 (commoners) of the ancient period. Within this new group, however, there were both the *gōmin* 豪民 (the "powerful people," who later evolved into the *zaichi ryōshu* 在地領主 the resident lords of the *shōen* estates), and their diametric opposites, the *saimin* 細民 (the "destitute people"), who were later incorporated into the patriarchal system of control in the form of slaves (*dorei* 奴隷) or serfs (*nōdo* 農奴). Thus the patriarchal systems of slavery and serfdom developed from within this framework. It was on the basis of such developments that independence first became possible for the peasants. But fundamentally the production structure found in the estate system, which held sway over the independent peasantry, should be seen as dominant.

The third point to be made concerns the measures taken by the state to maintain and reorganize its system of control, and the deepening contradiction and deterioration that occurred as a result. For example, the Ritsuryō aristocrats and their descendants, while personally shifting their economic base to the estate system and its revenues, had to preserve the official categories of peasantry (*hyakushō*) and public land (*kōden* 公田), and strive to maintain bureaucratic government through the activities of "superior officials" (*ryōri* 良吏) in the form of rule by the imperial regents (*sekkan* 摂関). The national system of government and the *shōen* system of the aristocracy, notwithstanding various surface contradictions and confusions, stood in a basic relationship of mutual support. This relationship did not result from any active, positive viewpoint that they held in common, but rather from passive interaction as they responded primarily to the growth of the peasantry as independent, small-scale farmers. Because their policies shifted from one direction to another in accordance with the trends of the times, an inevitable confusion and deterioration occurred in politics and culture, both at the political center and in the outlying districts.

If these three features are taken to characterize Japan's transition from the ancient to the medieval period, what issues does this transition raise from the perspective of intellectual history? This will be our next concern.

The first thing to consider in this respect is what new outlooks, as well as what supporting forms of thought, emerged from the diverse activities of the various classes during the transitional period. What, in other words, were the outlooks (*ishiki* 意識), thoughts (*shii* 思惟), wishes (*ganbō* 願望), dreams (*gensō* 幻想), and religious beliefs (*shinkō* 信仰) of the people as expressed in their economic activities and social and private lives, as well as in their reactions to the authorities of the old and the new orders? The crucial element here is found, I believe, in the people's opposition, both in outlook and in thought, to the ancient thaumaturgic bonds represented by the political authorities of the ancient Asian-style community (from clan head to emperor), and in their liberation from these bonds. The opposition to which I refer was not of the bold (and rather exceptional) type in which a people rises up in rebellion against the rule of a powerful state. Rather, it consisted of a gradual move away from the almost primitive ignorance that pervaded daily life and the activities of economic production; of the acquisition of an active and independent role in the conduct of business; of an overcoming of the social and spiritual weakness that prevented individuals from surviving so much as a day if separated from the ancient community organization and its emotive bonds; and of an escape from the blind struggle for existence wherein people feared the emperor as they might a deity and labored like worker bees under the rule of the social authorities. It consisted, in short, of the liberation and elevation of the human spirit.

Nonetheless, the formation of the peasant class was not a one-directional advance in the status of the farming populace, for it occurred in the context of the rise of the powerful *gōmin* group and the decline of the destitute *saimin* group. Hence, although I have described the transition as a spiritual liberation from the constraints of earlier authority and ideas, it is important to note that it was a liberation achieved only with the harsh realization that society cannot avoid the instabilities of change and decline. The process of liberation from ignorance always involves a struggle against uncertainty; thus a psychologically inevitable part of the transitional process was the emergence of various paths for attaining liberation from the sufferings and fears of this life, and the formation of images of a longed-for world. Even when such aspirations took a religious form, I believe they must be analyzed with the realization that they did not start out as transhistorical, abstract phenomena addressing the universal problems of human existence, but that they developed in response to specific historical and ideological concerns.[2]

Secondly, we must note that paralleling the above-mentioned intellectual advances on the part of the ordinary people was the emergence of a crisis mentality within the aristocratic class and a corresponding initiative by the state to reorganize ideology and control religion—an initiative born of the ruling class's struggle to remain in power. The aristocrats, as the ruling class within the

ancient state structure, were more conservative, generally speaking, than the people they ruled. Nevertheless, amidst the disintegration of the ancient state and Asian-style community, the collapse of social functions, and breakdown of presumptions regarding privileged bloodlines (*uji* 氏, the fictive structure on which aristocratic rule was built), the aristocrats were thrown into a state of crisis regarding their own existence that overshadowed even their reactionary response to the actions of the ordinary people. The increase in this crisis mentality at the individual, social, and government levels was reflected in the political intrigues and secret plots of the mid-eighth to tenth centuries, in the decline of numerous aristocratic families, and in the psychological inclination toward an urban, personal sense of introspection and prose (see ISHIMODA 1943). The feeling of crisis led, on the one hand, to such structural changes as a new political ideology (expressed in the early tenth-century political reforms of the Engi era and in the appearance of "superior officials" [*ryōri*]) and a reorganization of religion around concepts like spiritual protection for the state (*chingo kokka* 鎮護国家). On the other hand, it stimulated serious introspection and rigorous intellectual questioning among the various levels of aristocrats who monopolized knowledge and learning and possessed refined political and intellectual skills. Attempts to comprehend the so-called imperial culture of the Heian period on the basis of the leisured lives of the aristocrats, or of the various new phenomena associated with the emergence of the lower classes, ignore the complexity and rigor of intellectual history, as well as the distinctive character of this transitional period.

There is a third point relating to the previous two, a point particularly relevant to the theme of this article. This is the fact that during this period there inevitably emerged an increased cognizance of the link between religion and the state. The ancient autocratic state had constituted an all-embracing entity from which no person had a separate, autonomous existence. Although from the reign of Empress Suiko (554–628) the conflicts and contradictions of autocratic rule had gradually led to the formulation of legal and religious restrictions regarding the state, these were still rooted in the self-perceptions of the Asian-style community structure and its leaders. From the ninth century, however, conditions underwent a fundamental change as the ancient autocratic state disintegrated and the medieval state emerged. At this point, both the aristocracy and the common people had to confront the question of what the nation was; regardless of one's social position, it was no longer possible to dwell comfortably in the all-encompassing state of the ancient era. In a sense, this was the first time in history that an "objective" consideration of the state became necessary. Unlike the ancient period, in which the existence of the emperor was considered synonymous with that of the state and the state was manifested in all spheres of life, the transitional period witnessed the beginnings of the paradoxical medieval attitude in which attempts to limit state control, or even attack it, led to deepened inquiry into the state's true meaning.[3] Such objective reflections emerged principally with religion as a mediating agent and intellectual methodology.

Though there were other modes of thinking—Confucianism, for instance—that were capable of performing this role, in actuality the conditions for their autonomous emergence had not yet appeared in Japan. Religion, in contrast, found its raison d'être in this role. Furthermore, to reiterate a previous point, this inquiry into the nature of the state was a historically inevitable development emerging from the respective needs of the ruling and the ruled—i.e., the crisis mentality of the aristocracy and the defiance and hopes of the common people. It was thus an inquiry that transcended class and encompassed a wide variety of positions, including some that were in direct opposition. In this way both religion and the state refined their thought and logic to the point where they underwent the qualitative change to the medieval religion-state relationship.

In a general, chronological analysis one can go on forever identifying questions regarding the transition from the ancient to the medieval period. If one is concerned with the fundamental issues relating to religion and the state, however, the three points outlined above are of central concern.

Overcoming the ancient thaumaturgic bonds

In the section above I have attempted to identify the fundamental intellectual issues connected with the period of transition from ancient to medieval times. Below I would like to consider briefly the intellectual trends in religion during the ninth and tenth centuries. First I will examine the popular opposition to the thaumaturgic bonds promoted by the ancient authorities. For this purpose I turn to the *Nihon ryōiki* 日本霊異記 [A record of miraculous tales of Japan], which reflects the condition of religion and the common people in the late eighth and early ninth centuries.[4]

Previous studies have examined the *Nihon ryōiki* from a variety of perspectives. One is that passages of the *Nihon ryōiki* reflect the growth of powerful local families and individuals like county officials (*gunji* 郡司), as well as of a "wealthy and powerful local class" (*fugōsō* 富豪層) (see TAKATORI 1967 and KAWANE 1971). There are scholarly differences in interpretation, but basically the *Nihon ryōiki* depicts the *fugōsō* as a powerful, patriarchally structured class drawing its wealth from the control of slave labor and the possession of moveable property such as grain and seedlings, coins, and agricultural tools, and from large-scale loans and land management. Its compiler, Kyōkai 景戒 (8th–9th cent.), regarded such trends in society as inevitable, and using this material as his basis he propounded the doctrine of karmic rewards in this life. For now I will set aside attempts to situate the *fugōsō* in the class structure and define its historical significance. Rather, I will simply draw attention to the fact that the *Nihon ryōiki* presents multiple depictions of the class divisions between the common people (*kōmin*) and the "wealthy elite" (*fūki* 富貴), referred to variously in this period as *fugō no tomogara* 富豪の輩 (wealthy and powerful comrades), *inpu no tami* 殷富の民 (prosperous and wealthy people), *fumin* 富民 (wealthy people), *gōmin* 豪民 (powerful people), etc.

Along with accounts of the rich the *Nihon ryōiki* portrays the lives of the contemporary laboring populace and describes the joys and sorrows of the common people. Among the destitute people depicted are a mother and her children who are too poor to obtain food (I–13, 24; III–11); an impoverished widow who scavenges for fallen stalks of grain in the autumn (I–33); and two fisherman, an adult male and a young boy, who "receive an annual payment in wages" and who "are driven to work both day and night" (III–25). In many cases these indigent people are not personally subordinate to any particular household head, and they commonly belong to broken families. Also described are an orphan girl who loses her fortune after her wealthy and powerful parents die (II–34), and extremely poor women who gain good fortune and great wealth (II–28, 42). Such episodes appear again and again in this work as examples of how, despite everyone's dreams of wealth and rank, the unfathomable vicissitudes of life continue, accompanied by anxiety and unusual occurrences. The historical reality underlying these events was none other than the transition of the ancient commoner class (*kōmin*) to the various levels of the medieval peasant class (*hyakushō*), with some individuals emerging as wealthy and others as destitute. The *Nihon ryōiki* interprets these overall developments from the Buddhist standpoint of causality (*inga* 因果)—not, of course, in order to sanction such vicissitudes, but to stress, by utilizing people's fear of misfortune and uncertainty, the inescapability of karmic effects (*genpō* 現報). The work is not an attempt to explain in Buddhist terms the rise of the *fugōsō* and portray its members as the new supporters of society; its aim, rather, is to disseminate the doctrine of causality through a portrayal of the severity, the misfortune, the joys, and the sorrows of the world at the time of the transition to the medieval era.

The *Nihon ryōiki*'s teachings, however, are based on more than just descriptions of the vicissitudes of life. The work also urges a reorientation in values and thinking. The preface to the first fascicle says, in a section on demonstrating cause and effect, "How could one show deference only to the traditions and records of other countries, and not believe in or tremble before the extraordinary events in our own land?" (ENDŌ and KASUGA 1967, p. 55). That is, from a recognition of the inevitability of karmic effects there arises an awareness of "our land" (*jido* 自土), in the sense that the universal principles revealed in the Buddhist teachings penetrate "our land" too. There is, admittedly, a certain national consciousness in this awareness of "our land," since it is referred to in contrast with other lands, but the primary emphasis of the statement itself is on the notion of an all-penetrating universal truth. When in another passage the *Nihon ryōiki* says, "Paragons of good appear even in this remote land during our auspicious age" (III–19), it is stressing that the effects of karmic causes appear unfailingly even in this small, peripheral land. What it is not doing is preaching a theory of uniqueness (i.e., that Buddhist truths have a unique way of manifesting themselves in Japan), as in, for instance, the Kamakura-period discourse on Japan as the "land of the kami" (*shinkoku shisō* 神国思想).[5] Thus the historical identity of the *Nihon ryōiki* should be seen in its recognition of the universality

of Buddhist truth, and in its perception that the vicissitudes of both the rich and the poor are simply expressions of this truth.

Next I would like to consider the sense of fear that people felt toward the inescapable workings of karma. This fear is reflected in the *Nihon ryōiki*'s descriptions of the mysterious thaumaturgic powers of the three treasures of Buddhism (Buddha, dharma, and saṃgha), as in the above-mentioned "How could one . . . not believe in or tremble before the extraordinary events?", or, "A sense of shame arose in them, and there was no end to their fright" (II–9, ENDŌ and KASUGA 1967, p. 205). What is expressed here is neither logic nor reverential praise, but fear of a transcendent thaumaturgic power. In this connection we should note the relationship of such power to the authority of the emperor, who in the ancient period stood as an absolute, transcendent entity. In one tale, entitled "On Taking Refuge in the Three Treasures, Honoring the Clerical Community, Having Sutras Recited, and Attaining Karmic Results in the Present" (I–32), this relationship is described in the following archetypal way. Emperor Shōmu (701–756) was hunting in the upper county of Sō when a deer ran into a peasant's house in a village there. Not knowing whose deer it was, the householder killed and ate it. Later the emperor, hearing this, sent agents to have the people of the household arrested. "At that time more than ten men and women all met with this tribulation. In body they trembled, and in heart they were frightened, for they had no one to fall back on. Their only thought was what, if not the supernatural power of the three treasures, could possibly save them from this profound tribulation" (ENDŌ and KASUGA 1967, pp. 149–51). Upon taking refuge in the sixteen-foot Buddha of the Daian-ji temple and reciting sutras, they received a general amnesty on the felicitous occasion of an imperial prince's birth.

The emperor's authority, as reflected in this story, was definitely a "tribulation" (*nan* 難) to be feared, something transcending right and wrong. Here we can see a distinct psychological characteristic of the ancient Asian-style community structure and the authority of the autocratic ruler that was rooted in it. I believe that the feelings of the people toward the three treasures, wherein they "could not help but believe in or tremble before" the Buddha, dharma, and saṃgha, were more or less of the same type as those felt toward the emperor. It was this ancient-style fear that prompted people to put faith in the Buddhist teachings. But precisely because of this, as we can see in the story, the Buddhist teachings came to be recognized as a force that could deliver people from the power of the emperor. On the one hand, the emperor is portrayed in the *Nihon ryōiki* as a figure with the capacity to control thunder: "How could even the god of thunder not accept the emperor's invitation?" (I–1; ENDŌ and KASUGA 1967, p. 65) On the other hand, he is relegated to a position of lesser strength before the Buddhist teachings, which are absolute and universal principles. Even though "all things in the emperor's country are things belonging to the country's emperor," and "events occur at the sovereign pleasure of the country's emperor," still he was not regarded as absolute compared to Buddhism, as

reflected in the statement, "A Buddhist meditation master accomplished in both wisdom and practice, when he reincarnated as a human, was born as the son of the emperor" (III–39; ENDŌ and KASUGA 1967, p. 289–91). Thus the ancient feeling of fear toward the emperor served as a medium through which the absolute authority of the Buddhist teachings was recognized, as a result of which the power of the emperor became relativized.

These conditions may have been gestating from as early as the time of Emperor Shōmu, who bowed down before the Great Buddha of Nara and declared himself "a slave of the three treasures." But it should be noted that by the time of the *Nihon ryōiki* these feelings penetrated the lives of the common people too and were comprehended in terms of concrete events. From this time there also began to appear a natural shift in social standards concerning what is noble and what is lowly (*kisen* 貴賤), or exalted and reviled, (*sonpi* 尊卑). Already in the *Nihon ryōiki* the secular authority of the emperor no longer set the standard for judging the noble—the Buddhist teachings had emerged as a superior standard. Along with such conventional expressions as "a novice priest of lowly appearance" and "a lowly beast" (II–1, 40), there are statements that reflect Buddhist criteria for distinguishing the high and the low, as in the reference to "a lowly heart that does not reflect on karmic causes" (III–15; ENDŌ and KASUGA 1967, p. 359). Although at this point in history the concepts, found later in the medieval class structure, of the *sen* 賎 (lowly) and the *hinin* 非人 (outcasts) had not yet developed,[6] standards of authority and status were already undergoing a reorientation through the universal principles of Buddhism, as Buddhism utilized the authority of the autocratic ruler, the people's sense of fear, and the unenlightened feelings characteristic of the ancient Asian-style community structure for the purposes of proselytization.

Although the noble and the low were differentiated on the basis of both secular and religious standards, there was an overlap in the two standards owing to the fact that the concepts of "noble" and "low" played an important role in expressing the stratified nature of society and the religious character of authority in both the ancient and the medieval period. In ancient times, when the secular and the religious were not yet separate, the authority of the emperor stood at the pinnacle of this value system. In this connection it is important to note that throughout the entire *Nihon ryōiki* the differentiation between the "sagely" (*sei* 聖) and the "unenlightened" (*bon* 凡) is far more significant than that between the noble and the lowly, reflecting a different value system. The distinction between the sagely and the unenlightened—a purely Buddhist distinction, of course—emerged as more important than the secular social distinction between the noble and the lowly. This is the reason that the *Nihon ryōiki* asks so emphatically, "How could one not believe in and tremble before [karmic causes]?" This distinction is also responsible for the concept of the "hidden sage" (*onshin no shōnin* 隠身の聖人), as in another passage from the *Nihon ryōiki* where the seventh-century Prince Regent Shōtoku Taishi (574–622), encountering a beggar by the side of the road to Kataoka, comments, "The sage [i.e., Shōtoku

Taishi] recognizes the sagely; the unenlightened person does not. The unenlightened person, with the physical eye, sees only a lowly person. The sage, with the supernatural eye, sees the hidden person" (I–4; ENDŌ and KASUGA 1967, p. 79). The *Nihon ryōiki* also records the story of Prince Nagaya, who, by striking a mendicant novice priest on the head, brought on his own downfall and suicide. "One should not hesitate to fear a member wearing the Buddhist robes, even if he is lowly in appearance, for the hidden person of a sage is united with him there-in" (II–1; ENDŌ and KASUGA 1967, p. 175). In other words, such a person might not be a sage in outward appearance, but might nevertheless be able to exhibit mysterious thaumaturgic powers.

Important guises that these hidden sages might assume were those of self-ordained novice clerics (*jido no shami* 自度の沙弥) or mendicant religious practitioners, both of whom were seekers of enlightenment in the mundane world. The *Nihon ryōiki* states, "Even if [the person right before you] is a self-ordained Buddhist master, look at him with a heart of forbearance and insight, for hidden sages mingle with the unenlightened" (III–33; ENDŌ and KASUGA 1967, p. 415). Among those in this category were people who lived amongst the worldly, lent money, and kept a wife and family (III–4), and wealthy people who established and resided in clan temples (III–23). There were also many beggars, mendicants, and physically deformed people, including a woman whom "ignorant and worldly people referred to derisively as 'Monkey Sage' (*saruhijiri* 猴聖)" (III–19). Still others appear to have been connected with village worship halls or private temples built by villagers (III–17, 28).

From these examples an image emerges of various classes of itinerants who were displaced as the ancient community structure dissolved. Commonly they were called *shami* 沙弥 (novice clerics) or *shōnin/hijiri* 聖人 (sages), and among them were some who had been influenced by Buddhism, such as the aforementioned self-ordained *shami*. There were also many who undoubtedly had no connection with Buddhism, such as thaumaturges of folk religion, the financially ruined, the disabled, and the deranged. The *Nihon ryōiki*, however, interprets popular thaumaturgic beliefs and practices too as embodiments of the Buddhist teachings. Such things confirm that the notions of "sage" and "unenlightened" were being applied to the deepest realities of society. We can also discern therein the foundations of *shinbutsu shūgō* 神仏習合 thought (the identification of the kami with the buddhas), which later gave rise to mountain asceticism (*sangaku shugen* 山岳修験) and beliefs in ominous spirits (*goryō shinkō* 御霊信仰). It is important to note that the incarnated sage was recognized in many guises, not just in exalted figures such as Shōtoku Taishi or the great Nara priest Gyōki 行基 (668–749).[7]

Nevertheless, this shift in values, wherein the lowly was equated to the unenlightened, can be detected in only one example, that of the hidden sage. Such limited evidence reflects a certain weakness on the part of the common people, an inability to assert their spiritual independence or to conceive of themselves as active agents. Or, to put it more accurately, this image of the common people

was the only one that the *Nihon ryōiki* was capable of. The question, however, is whether this was an accurate expression of the overall consciousness of the people during this period. It goes without saying that it was not. This is demonstrated by the very rise of the *gōmin* elite, frequently referred to in the *Nihon ryōiki*. Strictly speaking, the work looks upon this elite neither positively nor negatively. Yet the very existence of the *gōmin* indicates that the common people, both rich and poor, desired to be independent agents acting on the basis of their own will and desire—if such drives toward selfhood and autonomy were absent no one would have made the efforts necessary to achieve wealth and power. However, there is no reason why Kyōkai, the compiler of the *Nihon ryōiki*, should have developed this point in any logical way, considering his doctrinal standpoint from within Nara Buddhism.

Unification of religion under esoteric Buddhism

A far more positive response to the ninth-century common people's desire to overcome the ancient thaumaturgic bonds and perceive themselves as independent agents was the founding of the Tendai school by Saichō 最澄 (767–822) and the Shingon school by Kūkai 空海 (774–835). What contemporary intellectual trends did the development of Heian Buddhism, originating in Saichō's and Kūkai's schools, signify? Here I would like to summarize what I feel to be their fundamental characteristics.

The first point to make is that both Saichō and Kūkai advocated a Mahāyāna Buddhist perspective. As has been noted elsewhere (see TAKATORI 1955), Mahāyāna fit the needs of the social classes seeking liberation and independence, especially the provincial commoner classes from the *gōmin* on down. Saichō's doctrine that "all sentient beings have the Buddha nature," and Kūkai's concept of the "inseparability of the sage and the unenlightened," though already well established on the Asian continent, had an enormous historical significance in Japan owing to their congruity with the most pressing intellectual themes of the period. The question of what place Mahāyāna Buddhism held in ancient Asian society and what role it played in various social constructs is, of course, quite large and complex. But in Japan Mahāyāna developed in close and inseparable connection with the disintegration of the ancient autocratic state. From the standpoint of the common people, it appears to have performed the function of transforming their aspirations into religious doctrine.

Saichō's and Kūkai's thought, however, was not simply a proxy for the consciousness of lower-class commoners, much less an agent of confrontation with the ruling authorities. It is true that each figure in his own way opposed Nara Buddhism, which since the previous age had been united with state authority. Not only did they work for new, independent religious organizations and develop systematic classifications of doctrine (*kyōsō hanjaku* 教相判釈), but they also created "schools" (*shū* 宗) in a new sense—that is, religious organizations centering around master-disciple lineages rather than around doctrinal

fields of study, as in the earlier six schools of Nara Buddhism. But we should not overestimate Saichō's and Kūkai's goals, thinking they intended to make religion and its thought completely independent of state authority. On the contrary, both of them petitioned the state to sponsor priests in their schools, and by imperial consent they each received two new priests annually (*nenbun dosha* 年分度者). Even the Mahāyāna ordination platform that Saichō wished to establish at Enryaku-ji, and over which he clashed so much with the Nara temples, was finally established, after Saichō's death, only through imperial decree. In short, both Saichō and Kūkai sought to build their schools within the framework of state authority, and relied upon it for approval. This characteristic was quite straightforwardly expressed in their thought from the very founding of their schools, in their emphasis on protection of the state (*chingo kokka*).

It would be wrong to take *chingo kokka* as a posture that compromises one's religious stature by offering unreserved service to the authorities. It is one thing to glorify unconditionally the country's sovereign and power holders, and to propound an unvarnished rationale in direct service to them. But the Mahāyāna concept of "benefiting self and benefiting others" (*jiri rita* 自利利他) gives rise to the idea of promoting peace and protecting the state in the sense of defending the people. Thus we should not perceive the concept of *chingo kokka* as indicative only of an obedient servant trailing behind the existing powers. Nonetheless, the writings of Saichō and Kūkai show a pronounced tendency to emphasize *chingo kokka* in the sense of aggrandizing the power of the sovereign and the state system of rule, although they also include the sense of defending the people (see MATSUNAGA 1969, p. 191). Although the desire of the people below for autonomy provided Saichō and Kūkai with a groundwork for developing their theories of Mahāyāna Buddhism, at the same time neither Saichō nor Kūkai claimed superiority for religious authority over secular authority. And, as just noted, both figures sought the rulers' approval of religion as an entity beneficial to the state and unilaterally defined religion as an agent in service to state power.

The grounds for this attitude lay in the particular historical conditions that existed in Japan during this period, not in some general tendency of Mahāyāna Buddhism. At this stage of impending transition from the disintegrating Asian-style community structure to the medieval period the illusion of the unassailable character of state authority was still firmly rooted, as can be seen from the enactment of the political "reforms" of Emperor Kanmu's reign. In addition, there was at this time a strong assertion of the particular social and political relationships of power lodged in the reactionary response of the ruling class. Hence Saichō's stress on *chingo kokka* should not be regarded as simply a compromise of Mahāyāna's lofty ideas. Rather, whether because of the climate of the times or the attitudes of the people involved, it should be seen from the outset as the only thing possible under the circumstances.

In addition to the rise of *chingo kokka* thought out of Mahāyāna Buddhism, another feature of Heian Buddhism that should be noted is the rapid development of *mikkyō* 密教 (the esoteric teachings) from the early Heian period.

Even in the period when Saichō and Kūkai were active the fact that Kūkai had a deeper understanding of *mikkyō* than Saichō did was one factor contributing to his success in the rivalry between the two. After Saichō's death the Tendai priests Ennin 円仁 (794–864) and Enchin 円珍 (814–891) traveled to China, where they studied the latest esoteric teachings. Upon their return to Japan they strove to develop an independent *mikkyō* tradition in the Tendai school. Ennin in his classification of the teachings propounded the doctrine of the "One Great Perfect Teaching" (*ichidaiengyō* 一大円教), consisting first of an absolute standpoint (*zettaikan* 絶待観) wherein all separate, dependent entities disappear—i.e., wherein the distinctions between all forms of Buddhist thought and belief are transcended and the absolute value of each is recognized without preference—but also of a relative standpoint (*sōtaikan* 相待観) wherein separate, dependent entities are again recognized. Based on this perspective, Ennin made a distinction between the exoteric teachings (*kengyō* 顕教) and the esoteric teachings (*mikkyō*), and a further distinction between practice (*ji* 事) and principle (*ri* 理) within the esoteric teachings. The exoteric teachings consist of the teachings of the three vehicles (i.e., lower Mahāyāna), while the esoteric teachings consist of those of the single vehicle (i.e., higher Mahāyāna). Within the esoteric teachings there was also a differentiation made between sutras such as the *Lotus*, which embody only esoteric principle (*rimitsu* 理密), and those such as the *Dainichi*, which encompass both esoteric practice and esoteric principle (*jiri gumitsu* 事理俱密). This last category was considered the highest.

Enchin, likewise working from the doctrine of the One Great Perfect Teaching, went on to advocate the superiority of *mikkyō* and the inferiority of *kengyō*. This interpretive trend continued, reaching maturity in the theories of Tendai esotericism (*taimitsu* 台密) formulated by Annen 安然 (841–889?). Annen, who also based his thought on the doctrine of the One Great Perfect Teaching, organized and classified Buddhism in all its forms, integrating them into a grand system with four concise categories: one Buddha, one period, one place, and one teaching. Annen proposed the term *shingonshū*, "mantra school," to describe it all. The doctrine of the One Great Perfect Teaching, which can be traced back to I-hsing 一行 (673–727) in China, was inherited equally by all esoteric Buddhist thought, including Kūkai's doctrine of the "nine forms of exoteric teaching and the tenth (and highest) esoteric teaching" (*kuken jūmitsu* 九顕十密; SHIMAJI 1964, p. 361). The fact that Ennin, Enchin, and Annen all based their thought on the doctrine of the One Great Perfect Teaching may also be seen as a sign of their fundamental orientation toward the esoteric teachings.

The Tendai school, however, was not the only sect devoted to esoteric Buddhism. From the time that Kūkai established the Shingon-in subtemple at Tōdai-ji, Nara Buddhism too displayed a strong esoteric inclination. I will not go into this topic in detail here, but it is necessary to note that although Tendai, Shingon, and Nara Buddhism, as the three great religious powers of the early Heian period, inevitably fell into conflict, there was at the same time a similarity in their development. As ŌYA Tokujō comments,

> In the end they all merged into the current of esoteric Buddhism, producing three branches—Tendai esotericism (*taimitsu*), Shingon esotericism (*tōmitsu* 東密), and Nara esotericism (*nanmitsu* 南密, if I may call it that) . . . Heian belief and practice became almost totally esoteric, for life could be preserved through *mikkyō*'s endorsement.
>
> (1929)

Nor was this phenomenon of esotericization limited to Buddhism. The practice of identifying the kami with the buddhas, which began in the eighth century, flourished all the more in the ninth. In the process the worship of Shinto spirits (*jingi sūhai* 神祇崇拝) was inevitably esotericized, and such things as mountain asceticism (*sangaku tosō* 山岳抖擻) became part of esoteric practice. Also, Onmyōdō 陰陽道) (the yin-yang tradition) created a social atmosphere of superstitious concepts that stimulated the popularization of esoteric incantations and prayers (*kaji kitō* 加持祈禱), thus playing an important role in the formation of one area of esoteric practice (see MURAYAMA 1960).

Within this trend toward esotericization, where did the individuality of the respective schools lie? What, for instance, characterized the Tendai school *as* Tendai? Tendai was not, as is generally thought today, a body of immutable doctrine established by Saichō. Rather, as can be seen in the doctrinal classifications developed and brought to maturity by Ennin, Enchin, and Annen, it was based on the transmission of forms of doctrinal argumentation centered on the perfect teachings of the *Lotus* (*Hokke engyō* 法華円教), but at the same time it propounded the "four-fold transmission" (*shishusōjō* 四種相承) of the perfect *Lotus*, of esotericism, of meditation, and of the precepts (*en mitsu zen kai* 円密禅戒), with a particular emphasis on the unity of the perfect *Lotus* and the esoteric teachings. In this sense *taimitsu*, Tendai esotericism, refers to the distinctive form of doctrine and practice found in the esotericism that developed within the Tendai's religious establishment on Mt. Hiei, an esotericism predicated on the view that *Lotus* thought and the esoteric teachings are not heterogeneous but exist in harmony. Based on this, what is distinctive about Tendai esotericism is that the concepts and rationale found in its classification of the teachings depend on Tendai's five fundamental interpretive principles (*gojū gengi* 五重玄義) as well as the doctrines (*soshitsuji-hō* 蘇悉地法) transmitted to Japan via the esoteric sutra known as the *Soshitsuji-kyō* (see SHIMAJI 1964, p. 376; SHIMIZUDANI 1929, p. 222, and 1972, p. 349).

In short, it was not that there was a pure and immutable body of Tendai *Lotus* thought onto which the esoteric teachings were grafted and later flourished. Rather, a unique form of the esoteric teaching endowed with the features of Tendai *Lotus* thought—specifically, that found in its doctrinal dimensions at the time Annen lived—emerged and reached full maturity. The Tendai school's individuality lies here. Nevertheless, the school definitely did undergo a process of esotericization. Within the sphere of esoteric thought, Shingon esotericism (*tōmitsu*) recognized only *jiri gumitsu*, the esoteric that encompasses both

practice and principle, whereas Tendai esotericism included both *jiri gumitsu* and *rimitsu*, the esoteric of principle only. This was one of the distinguishing features of Tendai esotericism. But in the end, the decisive characteristic of esoteric Buddhism, whether Tendai or Shingon, was the supreme value placed upon esoteric practice (*jimitsu* or *mikkyō jisō* 密教事相)—that is, upon actual praxis found in religious techniques and ritualized forms (see SHIMAJI 1964, p. 377). Practice was valued so highly because esoteric Buddhism saw it as expressing fully its doctrinal ideal of an all-encompassing affirmation that transcends differentiation. Annen, who applied the doctrine of the One Great Perfect Teaching on the grandest and most extensive scale and who developed a system for unifying all religion, incorporated the so-called exoteric teachings into that system. But at the same time he dared to call the system the "mantra school" (*shingonshū*), based on a new standard of values where esoteric practice (*jimitsu*) was considered supreme.

In summary, I believe the fundamental nature of the interactions between the various religious traditions during the ninth and tenth centuries was for all religions to be subsumed or unified under esotericism as the ultimate, underlying principle. The custom of intersectarian studies (*kyōgaku no kenshū* 教学の兼修) that prevailed in the various Buddhist schools was thus predicated on a belief in the absolute superiority of the esoteric teachings. In *shinbutsu shūgō* thought (whether in the concept of *gohō zenshin* 護法善神 or *shinjin ridatsu* 神身離脱),[8] the identification of the kami with the buddhas presupposed the subservience of the former to the latter—it was definitely not a relationship in which the kami stood on an equal footing with the buddhas.

Thus the religious history of the early Heian period, broadly viewed, can be described as a process where all religions and schools were subsumed under the esoteric teachings and formed a unified system. Put in another way, a distinctive form of esoteric thought, containing constitutive elements peculiar to Japan—in short, a Japanese form of esoteric Buddhism—came into existence.

The basis for the establishment of a Japanese form of esoteric Buddhism

As indicated above, all Japanese religion moved toward a state of unification under esoteric Buddhism, but the esoteric teachings that developed in Japan were not identical in philosophy or essential characteristics to the esotericism handed down from the time of Indian Buddhism. Rather, the Japanese teachings had their own special concrete features. Here I would like to explore what social and intellectual conditions underlaid their formation.

The first thing to note about this Japanese form of esoteric Buddhism is that, apart from mountain and forest asceticism (*sanrin tosō*), which remained unchanged from ancient times, "prayers and thaumaturgic methods representing degenerate applications of esoteric practices" were prevalent even within the original sphere of esoteric ritual (see SHIMAJI 1964, p. 383). These "prayers and

thaumaturgic methods" included practices aimed at producing rain, safeguarding childbirth, healing diseases, defeating enemy countries, subjugating rebels, and attaining bliss in this world and the next, and it was widely assumed in society that such things represented the original purpose of the esoteric Buddhist teachings. Also, unique religious practices were developed for use as preparatory exercises on the occasion of esoteric initiations (*kanjō* 灌頂). These exercises have been identified as one example of departures from the original esoteric teachings (see SHIMAJI 1964, p. 409). Such activities should not be seen as representative of the original, standard form of esoteric Buddhism, for they were tinged with superstitious qualities that differ from the fundamental thought of Buddhism. They were closer in character to Japan's ancient religious asceticism. The successive masters of the Tendai school tended to emphasize the dimension of praxis in esoteric Buddhism, and developed a classification of teachings that de-emphasized, relatively speaking, the perfect *Lotus* teaching, which Saichō had advanced as the highest ideal. They did so not because the theories of esoteric Buddhism were superior to those of other teachings, but because such prayers and thaumaturgic methods were in demand in society at that period, and because Tendai's relevance as a school was in question if it did not respond to this demand. The significance of the *taimitsu* theories is that they were the product of the Tendai school's attempts to show doctrinal correspondences to prayers and thaumaturgic methods.

The next thing to note is that the prayers and thaumaturgic methods performed in the name of esoteric Buddhism were linked to the *chingo kokka* (protection of the state) theory described earlier, which strongly connoted service to the ruling powers. Specifically, the means of protecting the state were none other than prayers and thaumaturgic methods. To the extent that such methods were considered the actualization of the Mahāyāna Buddhist ideal, the state itself was inevitably placed in a position where, for the purposes of rule, it had to fill a religious and thaumaturgic role even as it focused on the wishes of the people. Although it is impossible without examining the exact contents of these esoteric prayers to grasp in depth their logical structure as an ideology, for now all we need to recognize is that esotericization did not stop simply at matters relating to the respective Buddhist schools, but extended to ones of the state as well.

What, then, was the social basis for the rise and development of a Japanese form of esotericism with these distinctive features? The customs of the aristocracy and its superstitious view of life are frequently cited as the reasons for the efflorescence of esoteric Buddhism in the Heian period, but we must not assume that they were the sole factors. One important avenue for exploring this issue is the belief in ominous spirits (*goryō shinkō*), which pervaded town and country in the ninth to tenth centuries.[9] A typical example of such beliefs was that the spirit (*goryō*) of a notable person who had met an untimely death amid political intrigue would cause epidemics; rituals would thus be performed to pacify the spirit (*chinkon* 鎮魂) and quell the misfortune (*jōsai* 大災). Such beliefs originally arose among the common people. It is true there were special circumstances

underlying *goryō shinkō*, linked to the dark political rivalries within the aristocracy during the early Heian period. But as a form of cultic belief it had affinities, as alluded to earlier, with such practices as pacifying spirits (*chinkon*), dispatching the dead (*sōsō* 葬判), nullifying wrongdoings (*metsuzai* 滅罪), and inviting good fortune (*shōfuku* 招福), all performed by thaumaturges among the common people of this period.

The first documentary evidence of *goryō shinkō* appears in a reference to a *goryōe* 御霊会, or spirit ceremony, dated the fifth month of 863 (5th year of Jōgan). This was the last year of Ennin's life, and also the time when Shingon esotericism, which went into decline after Kūkai, was finally beginning to show new life. The *goryōe* performed then, at the imperial site in Kyoto known as the Shinsen'en, already showed Buddhist influence and the involvement of the aristocracy. The Buddhist sutras chanted on this occasion included the *Konkōmyōkyō* 金光明経 [Golden light sutra] and the *Hannyashingyō* 般若心経 [Heart sutra], scriptures often used for quelling calamity and beseeching good fortune, and also for protecting the state. Thus in this instance we can see a clear and unifying link between Buddhism, the state, and the thaumaturgic ceremonies of the common people. The *goryō* were usually looked upon by the common people as evil spirits (*akuryō* 悪霊), individuals who, upon death, invaded and disrupted daily life. But they were the product of a consciousness separate from that found in the traditional festivals and rites (*saishi* 祭祀) of the ancient Asian-style community structure, as exemplified by the cult of the "Chinese deity" (*karakami* 漢神) mentioned in the *Nihon ryōiki* (II–5), to whom oxen were sacrificed in worship. That is, these were not simply individual vengeful spirits (*onryō* 怨霊), but were typically linked to political intrigues of the state, and thus received recognition and popularization far beyond the scope of any local cult. What this means, to put it another way, is that calamities and disasters in general were seen as related to the course of state events. Hence these spirits, commensurate with their degree of recognition and popularization, had to be subjugated through worship on a broader basis—that of the state, transcending the localized festivals and spirit rites of the ancient period. For that reason Buddhism was necessary. What Buddhism offered in this context was not, of course, advanced philosophical principles but rather, at a much more mundane level, thaumaturgic powers. But this thaumaturgy was not submerged in a natural, localized community structure as before. Instead, it had a generalized and translocal character, linking it broadly to the good or ill fortunes of individuals caught up in the process of urbanization as the ancient community structure disintegrated.

The thaumaturgic cult of the pacification of spirits outlined above was the most suitable soil for esoteric Buddhism to grow in. Buddhism, however, did not simply configure thaumaturgic methods to social demands, but also ennobled them with the Mahāyāna Buddhist ideal of protecting the land and the people. Although these practices did, in part, involve a low-level thaumaturgic mentality deriving from the common people's circumstances, as seen above in the world

of the *Nihon ryōiki*, at the same time they were undergirded by the new aspirations of the peasants for independent, small-scale operations of their own. Such thaumaturgic practices are exemplified in the cult of the Shidara kami, a "foreign deity" worshiped with singing and dancing in order to eradicate epidemic (see SHIBATA 1966 and TODA 1967). We must note, however, that these ominous-spirit cults were organized from the top down by the ruling class. Thus esoteric Buddhism's prayers for the protection of the state also found a basis as religious ideology in this context.

The attempts by masters of esoteric doctrine in the various schools to develop complex classificatory systems of Buddhist doctrine may be seen as efforts to formulate a rationale for organizing and unifying the chaotic thaumaturgic teachings that prevailed during this period of transition. To investigate this rationale from just the perspective of Buddhist studies or the history of philosophy is itself quite an undertaking. All the more so the tasks, at present barely underway, of analyzing the true condition of Japanese esotericism, of understanding the historical circumstances that rendered its development inevitable, of plumbing the depths of its doctrine, and of grasping the workings and tensions of its thought.

Pure land Buddhism and esoteric Buddhism

In contrast to the ninth century, which, as discussed above, was characterized by the unification of the various forms of Japanese religion under esoteric Buddhism, the tenth century was distinguished by the growth of Pure Land Buddhism. I would now like to consider the relationship between the two, addressing particularly the question of whether Pure Land Buddhism arose as an alternative to, and as something qualitatively different from, esoteric Buddhism.

Generally, Pure Land Buddhism became popular in the period from the height of the Fujiwara regency in the tenth century to the rule of the retired emperors (Insei 院政) in the twelfth century. Among the reasons commonly given for its rise are the spread of *mappō* 末法 thought and the increase in social and political instability. Political confusion, the ineffectuality of the aristocratic class, and public disorders are all said to have stimulated ideas of "abandoning the tainted world" (*onri edo* 厭離穢土) and "longing for the Pure Land" (*gongu jōdo* 欣求浄土). Scholars have identified differences in outlook and intellectual inclination between the social classes, thus explaining the widely contrasting approaches to Pure Land Buddhism's central practice of *nenbutsu*, ranging from the aristocracy's aesthetic meditative visualizations to the common people's thaumaturgic or frenzied calling of Amida's name. They also cite the activities of the *hijiri* 聖, the wandering holy men who symbolized liberation from the formal Buddhism of the temples and whose presence indicated a broad-based popular support for Pure Land Buddhism.[10]

Doctrinal explanations for the rise of the *nenbutsu* emphasize its linear development from *jōgyō zanmai* 常行三昧 (the Tendai constant-practice meditation

retreat) to the *fudan nenbutsu* 不断念仏 (the continual *nenbutsu* chant), and from there to the thought of the great Pure Land classic, the *Ōjōyōshū* 往生要集. This perception of the *nenbutsu*'s lineal evolution is the result, first, of efforts by the influential modern schools of the *senju nenbutsu* 専修念仏 (exclusive *nenbutsu*) tradition to trace their roots in doctrinal history. It is also the result, however, of the Tendai sect's doctrinalization of *nenbutsu* thought, particularly in the context of its promotion of Ryōgen 良源 (912–985) as the restorer (*chūkō* 中興) of the Tendai school on Mt. Hiei. This is why, despite the fact that the *nenbutsu* is known to have also prospered outside of Mt. Hiei in the Nara temples and the Shingon monastic complex on Mt. Kōya, and despite the knowledge that esoteric Buddhism was of great significance in providing a soil for the *nenbutsu* to flourish in, the dominant view remains that the Pure Land teachings developed in a direct line extending from Tendai doctrine to the *senju nenbutsu*. If it is true, though, that Mt. Hiei is where the Pure Land teachings thrived the most, it is all the more important to determine how they emerged within the broad, unifying influence of esoteric Buddhism described in the previous section.

It is standard to trace the origins of the *nenbutsu* on Mt. Hiei to the *jōgyō zanmai* meditation retreat, one of the four types of meditation retreat described in the Chinese T'ien-t'ai treatise, the *Mo-ho chih-kuan* 摩訶止観. But in fact the *nenbutsu* first began on Mt. Hiei when Ennin introduced the *fudan nenbutsu* in 866 (Jōgan 8). The *fudan nenbutsu*, which was performed at the Constant Practice Meditation Hall (Jōgyō Zanmaidō) established by Ennin on Mt. Hie, was adopted from the five-tone, chorus-chanting method of *nenbutsu* (*goe nenbutsu* 五会念仏) that originated at the Mt. Wu-t'ai 五台山 monastic complex in China, where the tendency to syncretize teachings was strong. In function, the *fudan nenbutsu* has been described as a religious method of repentance and nullification of wrongdoings (*metsuzai zange* 滅罪懺悔) (see Sonoda 1969). Thus the implementation of the *fudan nenbutsu* as Tendai's constant practice meditation retreat was tantamount to implementing a method of *metsuzai zange* as Tendai's gate of practice, a gate that properly should have consisted of Tendai *shikan* 止観 meditation. Clearly, this must have been the product of Tendai's entry into a religious climate of pacifying spirits, nullifying wrongdoings, dispatching the dead, and quelling misfortune, a climate that inspired Ennin to create Tendai esotericism.

Kūya 空也 (903–972), an itinerant holy man known as the "market-place *hijiri*" who spread the *nenbutsu* among the people, is described as having originally been a thaumaturgic religious figure who pacified and dispatched spirits of the dead. He can therefore be clearly situated within the process of religious development that emerged from the common people's concern with thaumaturgy and the pacification of ominous spirits. Buddhist scholars have pointed out that Kūya's *nenbutsu* was never just a thaumaturgic practice, but was grounded in the true nature of the *nenbutsu* as a Mahāyāna Bodhisattva practice (Futaba 1969). In considering Kūya, however, no one proposes that thaumatur-

gic methods, in and of themselves, evolved into *nenbutsu* practice. In the background were new developments in aristocratic society, all based on the pervasive esoteric thought. Specifically, there was a shift in ritual format, from "sutra reading by day and mantra recitation at night" to "religious lectures by day and *nenbutsu* at night." For example, the Kangakue 勧学会 (Association for the encouragement of learning) and the Nijūgo Zanmaie 二十五三昧会 (Twenty-five member meditation association), based in Sakamoto at the foot of Mt. Hiei and influenced by Kūya's propagation of the *nenbutsu*, studied the *Lotus Sutra* before midday and practiced the *nenbutsu* in the afternoon. Following the *nenbutsu* they performed the Kōmyō Shingon 光明真言 (Pervasive light mantra) and the Kaji Dosha 加持土砂 (Earth incantation), which were said to be efficacious in nullifying wrongdoings and transferring merit to others (*metsuzai tsuizen* 滅罪追善) (see HAYAMI 1968 and 1969). Thus Kūya's world already recognized a connection extending from the thaumaturgic methods of pacifying spirits through the mantra to the *nenbutsu*. Kūya used these as a base in disseminating the *nenbutsu* in the opposite direction, to the common people. In his wake there was explosive development among the populace of the *nenbutsu* known as the "hometown *nenbutsu*" (*kyōri* 郷里 *nenbutsu*). This in turn stimulated the development of the Kangakue, composed of middle-level aristocratic literati and clerics from Mt. Hiei, and, by extension, inspired one cleric among them, Genshin, to compile the *Ōjōyōshū*.

Concerning Genshin 源信 (942–1017) and his Pure Land teachings, it is commonly said that he sought to revive the *Lotus* teachings of Tendai and define a Tendai format for the *nenbutsu*, and even that he leaned toward discarding the esoteric mantra as a practice (see ISHIDA 1970). I believe, however, that it is necessary to understand Genshin in relation to his master Ryōgen, who with his considerable political influence revived the fortunes of Mt. Hiei and ushered in a period of Tendai efflorescence. Ryōgen's thinking was grounded firmly in the idea of the unity of exoteric and esoteric teachings (*kenmitsu itchi* 顕密一致) (see SHIMAJI 1964). The prosperity of Mt. Hiei's temples and doctrines under him comprised a form of Tendai self-assertion, all predicated on exoteric-esoteric unity. Ryōgen's disciple Genshin also worked from this assumption. Typically, Genshin's *nenbutsu* is considered to function totally within the framework of a Tendai perspective, in contrast to the later *senju nenbutsu* or Shingon *nenbutsu* (see ISHIDA 1962, p. 130). But to put Genshin's contribution more positively, he took the *nenbutsu*, which up to that time had been thaumaturgic and not clearly distinguished from the mantra, and gave it doctrinal underpinnings as a *nenbutsu* of meditative visualization (*kanjin* 観心 *nenbutsu*), grounded in Tendai *shikan* meditation. In doing so, he carried forward the Tendai school's doctrinal self-assertion within the system of exoteric-esoteric unity. Genshin and Kakuun 覚運 (953–1007) developed Tendai doctrine in a meditative (*kanjin*) direction, and came to be viewed as the patriarchs of Tendai's Eshin and Danna branches respectively. Subsequently, Kakuchō 覚超 (953/960?–1034), who studied for a time under Genshin, succeeded Ryōgen in

the Tendai lineage of esoteric teachings of the Kazan branch 華山流. He founded the "River lineage" (Kawa-ryū 川流) of Tendai esoteric practice, which mediated the exoteric with the esoteric. Kōkei 皇慶 (977–1049), who was closely linked to Kakuun, established the "Valley lineage" (Tani-ryū 祀流), which specialized exclusively in esoteric practices and further advanced Tendai esotericism. The Tendai features of Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū* should be situated in the context of these developments. Thus it is problematic to describe the "*nenbutsu* of Mt. Hiei" (*yama no nenbutsu* 山の念仏), including that of Genshin's Pure Land teachings, as dismissive of the esoteric teachings. Even Genshin's *nenbutsu* of meditative visualization cannot be understood in a comprehensive way if defined only in terms of its differences with the thaumaturgic "hometown *nenbutsu*"[11] of the common people.[12]

The emergence of the *hijiri*, in the medieval sense of the term, was a particularly noteworthy event in the history of Pure Land Buddhism subsequent to Kūya. The word *hijiri* appears frequently from ancient times on, and expressions like the "hidden sage" (*onshin no shōnin* 隠身の聖人) and the "incarnated sage" (*keshin no hijiri* 化身の聖) in works like the *Nihon ryōiki* are often regarded as signifying the same thing as the medieval *hijiri*. But in these instances the word refers to an individual or a being with thaumaturgic powers who transcends the unenlightened, and it therefore differs from its medieval counterpart. The term *hijiri* in the medieval context indicated a distinctive lifestyle reflected in clothing, behavior, and dwelling places, as found in the examples of the "itinerant *hijiri*" (*yugyō hijiri* 遊行聖) and the Mt. Kōya *hijiri*. In some cases, the word was even used to convey the idea of living an unmarried life in the style of a monk.[13] This was not the case in the ancient period, when the outward appearance of a religious practitioner (*gyōja* 行者) or miracle-worker (*genja* 験者) as a novice cleric (*shami*) or a mendicant (*kotsujiki* 乞食) did not specifically identify that person as a *hijiri*; rather, one was recognized as such only after being revealed to the world as a "hidden *hijiri*" or the "incarnation of a *hijiri*." Instances of the various Chinese characters used for *hijiri* (e.g., *sei* 聖, *sen* 仙) in works prior to the ninth century all seem to convey this meaning.[14] The medieval sense of the word *hijiri* developed in the tenth and eleventh century, in tandem with the efflorescence of the *nenbutsu*. Examples can be found in the *Konjaku monogatarishū*: "There is something known as an Amida *hijiri*," and, "The Amida *hijiri* is a priest who walks about."[15] Thus, it refers, as in the example of Kūya, to a life of religious practice and good works in the form of spreading the *nenbutsu* among the common people, while forsaking both secular and monastic life without being explicitly anti-secular or anti-monastic.

This usage probably arose because the figure of the *hijiri* (in the ancient and original sense of the word) made such a strong impression on people through the example of Kūya. From his time there was a dramatic increase in the number of "Amida *hijiri* who walked about" and styled themselves in that fashion. The causes of this may be sought in the tensions and contradictions of tenth-century society, as expressed in such things as litigation by county officials (*gunji*) and

peasants; the expanding importance of segmented agricultural and residential lands; the exclusion of middle- and lower-level aristocrats from positions of influence owing to an increased emphasis on pedigree in the aristocracy; and the isolation of the urban population. Despite the essential differences between the various classes, they all resembled each other in their isolation, self-reliance, and insecurity. This is what drove people to the *nenbutsu* and, in turn, to the practices of the *hijiri*. The reason, however, that such social conflicts led to this result was that well-developed esoteric *nenbutsu* practices were by that time firmly rooted among the people. In addition, clerics may have felt less of an urgency at this time to study scriptural commentaries and treatises and grapple with unsolved doctrinal and logical questions, since the various religious traditions had already been doctrinally unified under esoteric Buddhism—as seen, for instance, in the One Great Perfect Teaching doctrine in Tendai esotericism.

Hence the emergence of the medieval *hijiri* signified the maturing of the *nenbutsu* as one form of religious thought under the unifying influence of esoteric Buddhism. It is clear, nonetheless, that the efflorescence of Pure Land teachings—which might be described as a second stage in the esoteric unification process, since they were predicated on the practice of the *nenbutsu* rather than the performance of mantra—were the outcome of an initiative of the Tendai tradition specifically. In the wake of this achievement, *hijiri* eventually appeared in Nara Buddhism and the Shingon school as well, and each heralded a *nenbutsu* invested with the characteristics of their own school. From this time on in the Tendai school, there was an apparent shift from a doctrinal (*kyōsō* 教相) orientation to a meditative (*kanjin*) one, and from an orientation toward written works (*bunken* 文献) to one toward oral transmissions (*kuden* 口伝) (see HAZAMA 1948, vol. 2, pp. 1–10). The efflorescence of *hijiri* and the rapid increase in their number not only accommodated this shift in Mt. Hiei's sectarian atmosphere, but in fact provoked it—the change would not have been possible if not for the *hijiri* figure, who distanced himself from the monastery's sutra repository where doctrinal activity occurred.

One other very important dimension of the *hijiri* movement is that it encouraged self-assertion and a critical spirit among self-reliant individuals. Although the *nenbutsu* assemblages and associations and the *hijiri* groups residing at *bessho* 別所 (religious outposts detached from major temples) were united by shared religious regulations and a strong sense of common bond, it must not be overlooked that these groups were fundamentally different from natural communities in that they were composed of self-aware individuals.[16] People who originally became *hijiri* to cultivate good works and develop religious techniques distanced themselves from both the secular and monastic settings of daily life, and in so doing developed the potential to become critical of both the secular and the monastic. And, in fact, critics did emerge from within these groups. Nonetheless, I should emphasize that this does not mean that Pure Land Buddhism first arose as a movement opposing esoteric Buddhism. On the contrary, it was a Tendai creation realized within esoteric Buddhism's process of unifying religions.

Essential characteristics of the *kenmitsu* system

Considering the conditions, described above, under which Pure Land Buddhism developed, it must be concluded that the so-called eight schools (*hasshū* 八宗) of Buddhism in the Heian period did not exist alongside each other in a reciprocally opposing, mutually exclusive relationship, as is commonly believed today, but rather comprised a mildly competitive religious order resting on a shared base. This base was composed of thaumaturgic beliefs, practices for pacifying spirits, and (from the doctrinal standpoint) the esoteric teachings. Esoteric Buddhism was thus recognized by all eight schools as the universal and absolute truth, upon which the schools expounded their distinctive doctrines.

The relationship between the various *kenmitsu* (exoteric-esoteric) teachings was logically systematized through a classification based on both the transcendence of distinctions (*zettaikan*) (e.g., the concepts of the "One Great Perfect Teaching" [*ichidaiengyō*] and "nine forms of exoteric teaching and the tenth [and highest] esoteric teaching" [*kuken jūmitsu*]) and the recognition of distinctions (*sōtaikan*) (e.g., the concepts of "exoteric and esoteric" [*kenmitsu*], "practice and principle" [*jiri*], and "one vehicle and three vehicles" [*ichijō sanjō* 一乗三乗]). But at both the ultimate and pragmatic level these teachings were seen in terms of the combination of the exoteric and the esoteric, whether this relationship was one of "superiority and inferiority" (*shōretsu* 勝劣), "mutual dependence" (*sōgo izon* 相互依卑), "unity" (*itchi* 一致), or "perfect syncretization" (*ennyū* 円融).

Thus the word *kenmitsu* came to express the totality of Buddhism. Described in terms of stages of development, the ninth century was when the idea of religious unity based on esoteric Buddhism was initially advanced, and the primary issue was the relative superiority or inferiority of the exoteric and esoteric teachings. From the tenth century, amidst the development of Pure Land Buddhism, the Tendai school took the lead in developing a system that, in the eleventh century, confirmed the exoteric and esoteric as coexistent entities—either as unified, as perfectly syncretized, or as mutually dependent. This system is referred to in this article as the *kenmitsu taisei*, with the word "system" signifying not a system of law or administrative control, but rather an ideological order. The logic and trends of thought characteristic of this system I refer to as "*kenmitsu* ideology" (*kenmitsu shugi* 顕密主義).

Esoteric Buddhism, characterized by a strong inclination toward prayers and thaumaturgic techniques, occupied the key position in this system and provided the basis for the respective school's doctrines. The Shingon school, for instance, grounded such doctrines in Kūkai's classification of teachings and in practices from the Ono and Hirosawa branches and subbranches, and boasted of Shingon esotericism's exclusive powers. Meanwhile the Tendai school developed its unique *taimitsu* esotericism of practice and principle (*jiri*), as well as Tendai doctrines and meditations predicated on the unity of the perfect Lotus teachings and esoteric Buddhism. The principles that constituted the *kenmitsu* ideology existed not so much as fixed doctrine within each school, but rather as argu-

ments that permeated and pervaded the teachings of various branches, lineages, or individuals through the custom of intersectarian studies (*kengaku* 兼学).

Kenmitsu ideology in its most archetypal form is found in the Tendai doctrinal tradition known as *hongaku shisō* 本覚思想 (original enlightenment thought), which first developed in substantive form during the Insei period (11th–12th cent.). Today Tendai *hongaku* thought is presented as one branch in the development of Tendai doctrine, and in a certain respect such an explanation has a sound basis. But for our purposes we need to examine what rationale shaped and directed Japanese Tendai in the direction of *hongaku* doctrine.[17]

The idea of original enlightenment first appeared in the *Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun* 大乗起信論 [Treatise on the awakening of Mahāyāna faith], and can also be found in rather developed form in the commentary on it, the *Shih Mo-ho-yen lun* 釈摩訶衍論 [Commentary on the *Mahāyāna Treatise*]. In China, however, *hongaku* was not originally emphasized in Tendai doctrine. Instead, it commonly appeared in Kegon doctrine, which stood in contrast to Tendai and was frequently at odds with it. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to think that there was no basis in Tendai doctrine for expounding *hongaku* thought. Kegon doctrine in fact influenced Chinese Tendai over time. For instance, the Tendai patriarch Chan-jan 堪然 (711–782) cited from the *Awakening of Faith* the concept that the absolute conforms to causation (*shinnyo zuien* 真如随縁) and is manifested in this world, an idea consonant with the *hongaku* doctrine. Later, the Tendai priest Chih-li 知礼 (960–1028) actually used the word *hongaku* in his writings. But Saichō, who transmitted Chinese Tendai doctrine to Japan, did not address the topic of *hongaku* himself.

Hongaku thought in Japan was first emphasized in Kūkai's works. Kūkai attached great importance to the *Shih Mo-ho-yen lun*, the commentary on the *Awakening of Faith*, citing it frequently in his own writings, and he considered the Shingon school to be grounded in the doctrine of "inherently existing, original enlightenment" (*honnu hongaku* 本非本覚). Subsequently, Shingon esotericism asserted the idea of "attaining Buddhahood in this very body" (*sokushin jōbutsu* 般身成仏), which presupposes a *hongaku* perspective. In the Japanese Tendai school, we should note first that Enchin cited in his *Kōen Hokkegi* 講演法華義 [Exposition on the meaning of the *Lotus*] a verse taken from the *Renge sanmaikyō* 蓮華三昧経 [Lotus meditation sūtra], known later as the "Verse in Praise of Original Enlightenment" (*Hongakusan* 本覚讃). Enchin was, of course, the one who propounded the superiority of the esoteric teachings and the inferiority of the perfect *Lotus* teachings. Next, Annen, the great systematizer of *taimitsu* doctrine who completed the process of esotericizing the Tendai school, cited both the *Renge sammaikyō* and the *Shih Mo-ho-yen lun*, and emphasized the doctrine of the nondualism of manifested things, a standpoint compatible with *hongaku* since the absolute is manifested as the basis of things (*rikenpon* 理顕本). It is worth noting here that from the start esoteric Buddhism and Kegon doctrine had strong affinities. In Japan too, emphasis on *hongaku* thought was a particular feature of the esoteric line of development.[18]

Ryōgen, aided by powerful *kenmon* families like that of Minister of the Right Fujiwara no Morosuke 藤原師輔 (908–960), brought unprecedented prosperity to Tendai through his efforts to restore the perfect *Lotus* teachings and his education of such outstanding disciples as Genshin, Kakuun, Jinzen 尋禅 (943–990), and Kakuchō. Ryōgen ushered in a pronounced orientation toward the *nenbutsu* and meditative thought (*kanjin shugi*) in the doctrinal atmosphere of the Tendai school. Ryōgen and Genshin were represented in later periods as the authors of certain treatises on *hongaku* doctrine, but this was completely under false pretenses; moreover, their *nenbutsu* was one of Tendai meditative visualization, and contained almost no *hongaku* thought. Ryōgen's restoration of Mt. Hiei's temples and his advancement of its doctrinal studies should thus be viewed as a display of the Tendai *Lotus* aspect of the school.

However, as pointed out earlier, the *nenbutsu* at this time actually spread as a thaumaturgic practice for pacifying spirits, serving as a substitute for mantra and the Kaji Dosha (Earth incantation). In addition, Ryōgen's religious heirs supported in their doctrines the views of Annen, and carried forward the development of Tendai esoteric practices. Thus esoteric Buddhism was by no means removed from the Tendai scene. Looked at in a comprehensive way, Tendai's meditative orientation was essentially the school's distinctive response, framed in a Tendai idiom, to esoteric beliefs and thaumaturgic practices for pacifying spirits, all within a current of *mappō* thought. Tendai *hongaku* doctrine, which subsequently appeared within this meditative orientation, was not ultimately disconnected from figures like Ryōgen and Genshin. In the end, the *hongaku* doctrine can be described as a type of esoteric Buddhism that developed in the wake of Ryōgen's epochal meditative orientation. It even adopted the Shingon school's custom of oral transmissions (*kuden*), and borrowed Tendai doctrine and logic as its mode of expression, as in its use of the teaching of the original and the manifested dimensions of the *Lotus* (*Hokke no honjaku nimon* 法華の本迹二門).

In the abstract, *hongaku* thought is not generally associated with esoteric Buddhism. It has therefore been described as, "from the standpoint of form and function, thought that syncretizes the exoteric and esoteric, but, from the standpoint of essential message, thought that elucidates original enlightenment," and thus as "an absolute theory of the concrete, and a form of thought absolutely affirming things" (SHIMAJI 1926, p. 188). But, seen from its actual process of development, *hongaku* thought marked the high point of the esotericization of Tendai. In its actual manifestations, it comprised a body of rituals and a brand of thought that affirmed absolutely the present world, equivalent to the Shingon esoteric principle of attaining Buddhahood in this very body (see FUJITA 1934). We could go so far as to describe *hongaku* thought as esoteric Buddhism, in both essential concept and actual practice, operating under the title of Tendai.[19] In that sense, therefore, we can perceive in *hongaku* thought one archetypal form of the *kenmitsu* ideology.

At this point let us summarize the central characteristics of the *kenmitsu taisei*:

1 The *kenmitsu taisei* unified all religions through esoteric Buddhism on a foundation of thaumaturgic techniques for pacifying spirits.
2 Within it arose the respective schools' individual doctrines, esoteric practices, and teachings on the syncretization of exoteric and esoteric thought.
3 The eight schools (*hasshū*), as the institutional embodiment of *kenmitsu*, were recognized by secular society as orthodox, and constituted a type of religious establishment.

Tendai's *hongaku* thought was the archetype of *kenmitsu* ideology, and the Tendai school was the most representative agent of the *kenmitsu* system—that is, the school holding the most power and authority in medieval times—precisely because it displayed the above three characteristics more fully than other schools.

The structure of *kenmitsu* thought from this stage on was something quite distinctive to Japan in East Asian Buddhist history,[20] and was a reflection of the particular intellectual circumstances of the age—an age in which Buddhism, and by extension all religion, came to be known by the term *kenmitsu*. The *ken* of *kenmitsu*, meaning "exoteric," conveyed the idea of something revealed (*kenji* 顯示), and was rational in its orientation. In contrast, *mitsu*, "esoteric," indicated something secret (*himitsu* 秘密), and was psychological in its orientation. Although *mitsu* was the dominant and defining element, it was in the area left to *ken* (though this was sometimes little more than an adornment) that the unique and defining characteristics of a distinctly Japanese type of esoteric Buddhism took form, and that later developments in Japanese Buddhism emerged. In other words, it was because of the dominance and pervasiveness of esoteric Buddhism that the exoteric teachings first gave rise to the *nenbutsu*, subsequently generated the *honji suijaku* 本地垂迹 doctrine,[21] and eventually spawned the Kamakura schools of "New Buddhism." The character and historical significance of each of these developments is different and must be analyzed in its own right. Nonetheless, the *kenmitsu* system stood behind them all, maintaining its vitality throughout the medieval period and forming the traditional and authoritative ideology.

If we survey the process by which the *kenmitsu* system was established, we can divide it into stages, and through them can understand most accurately this system as an ideology. As pointed out previously, the first stage was the unification of all religion based on esoteric Buddhism in the ninth century. The second stage was the development of Pure Land Buddhism in the tenth century, as a product of the Tendai school's own self-assertion amid the estericization of all religion. The third stage occurred in the eleventh century with the rise of strains of thought focusing on the mutual dependence of imperial law (*ōbō* 王法) and Buddhist teachings (*buppō* 仏法), a topic requiring further examination.[22] This stage corresponded to the period when Tendai's *hongaku* doctrine began to

develop. At this stage the *kenmitsu* system was not limited to simply a religious system and ideology, but had established a bond and union with state authority, and in this sense had become firmly fixed as medieval Japan's religious orthodoxy.

Translated by James C. Dobbins.

Notes

* This article is a translation of the first thirty-five pages (the introduction and part 1) of Kuroda Toshio's essay "Chūsei ni okeru kenmitsu taisei no tenkai" 中世における顕密体制の展開 (reprinted in KURODA 1994, pp. 45–182). Part 4 of this long essay is translated below (pp. 353–85) as "The Discourse on the 'Land of Kami' (*Shinkoku*) in Medieval Japan."

1 For my views on the transition from the ancient to the medieval period in Japan, see my essays "Shōensei shakai" (KURODA 1995b, pp. 129–316) and "Nihon chūsei no hokensei no tokushitsu" (KURODA 1995b, pp. 363–410).

2 Concerning the distinctive features of the consciousness of the common people during this period, astute insights have been presented by literary historians. See, for example, MASUDA 1960.

3 In the past people have been prone to see only the institutional incompleteness of the medieval state and not to notice the paradoxical linkages mentioned here. Consequently, there has been a tendency to overlook those threads in medieval intellectual and governmental history that led to these specific questions.

4 References to the *Nihon ryōiki* below are from the edition by ENDŌ and KASUGA (1967). The text consists of three fascicles, with thirteen stories in the first fascicle, twenty-four stories in the second fascicle, and eleven stories in the third fascicle. References below cite the fascicle and story number: e.g., I–13 refers to story number 13 in the first fascicle. For an English translation of this text see NAKAMURA 1973.

5 See, for instance, the *Shasekishū* 沙石集, fasc. 1, pt. 1, Tale on Kôken (1110–1193) of the Miidera temple (for English translation see MORRELL 1985, pp. 76–79). On *shinkoku shisō* see my essay "Chūsei kokka to shinkoku shisō" in KURODA 1995a, pp. 3–82, which deals with this question and explains it briefly. [See also the articles in this issue, "The Discourse on the 'Land of Kami' (*Shinkoku*) in Medieval Japan" and "Religion, Ideology of Domination, and Nationalism: Kuroda Toshio on the Discourse of *Shinkoku*."]

6 See my essay "Chūsei no mibunsei to hisen kannen" (KURODA 1995c, pp. 185–233).

7 UI Hakuju (1951, p. 11), points out regarding the *Nihon ryōiki*'s portrayal of Gyōki as a bodhisattva, "It was previously thought that this was linked to the *honji suijaku* theory."

8 *Gohō zenjin* refers to good kami who protect the Buddhist teachings; *shinshin ridatsu* is the notion that Buddhism liberates the kami from their present incarnations.

9 See the articles in KYÔTO DAIGAKU BUNGAKUBU DOKUSHIKAI 1959, e.g., by Shibata Minoru, "Gion goryōe: Sono seiritsu to igi"; Iwaki Takatoshi, "Goryō shinkō no hassei"; and Takatori Masao, "Goryōe no seiritsu to shoki Heiankyō no jūmin."

10 Works dealing with this topic are numerous. Among the ones I should mention are HORI 1953, INOUE 1956 and 1971, and articles contained in the "Kodaihen" section of FUJISHIMA and MIYAZAKI 1969.

11 Concerning the "communal" character of the "hometown *nenbutsu*" and its link to "hometown life," see the chapter "Kyōri no nenbutsu" in SHIBATA 1966. It is difficult to ascertain the exact nature of the community structure among the common people in

this period, but for now suffice it to say that it had significance for how the *nenbutsu* was practiced by the people.

12 AKAMATSU (1966) points out that Kakuchō's *nenbutsu* was linked to village life in Izumi.

13 See, for example, "Shōnin densetsu no kotoba," in *Wago tōroku* 和語灯録, fasc. 5, in *Jōdoshū zensho* 浄土宗全書 9, p. 609 (JŌDO-SHŪ KAISHŪ HAPPYAKUNEN KINEN KEISAN JUNBIKYOKU 1973), and *Shasekishū*, fasc. 4, no. 4 (see MORRELL 1985, pp. 145–46).

14 See the entry for Saikō 1 (854), 7th month, 22nd day, "Dankoku hijiri," in the *Montoku jitsuroku* 文徳実録. Also, see instances of the word *hijiri* (or *shōnin*) in *Ruijū sandaikyaku* 類聚三代格, entries for Kōnin 3 (812), 9th month, 26th day; Jōkan 10 (868), 5th month, 15th day; and Kanbyō 9 (897), 6th month, 23rd day.

15 *Konjahu monogatarishū* 今昔物語集, fasc. 29, no. 9. See also ITO 1969.

16 The problem mentioned in note 11 above—i.e., the difficulty in knowing the nature of the community structure among the common people of this period—is relevant in this instance also.

17 There are many works that address the topic of Tendai's *hongaku* thought, such as SHIMAJI 1926. More recent studies include TAMURA 1965, TADA 1973, and ISHIDA 1967. There are, of course, many points remaining in this section that are still not sufficiently understood. I am particularly indebted to the study of Tamura Yoshirō.

18 In the conclusion of his seminal article, SHIMAJI points out: "The two great stars of *hongaku* thought in the Heian period were the great master Kūkai of Shingon's *tōmitsu* esotericism, and Godai-in Annen of Mt. Hiei's *taimitsu* esotericism" (1926).

19 Here it is necessary to note, from the other side, how Tendai esotericism was practiced. If we define esoteric Buddhism in a narrow and limited sense, there may be grounds for treating the *hongaku* doctrine separately from esoteric Buddhism, even as Tendai esotericism existed. But if we change our perspective so that we see these movements in their entirety, we realize that Tendai doctrine generally was transformed into one type or strand of esoteric Buddhism amid all the esoteric trends of the Tendai school on Mt. Hiei. In that sense, the Tendai *hongaku* doctrine can be described as esoteric. It is a difficult problem how to define the concept and scope of esoteric Buddhism. There is one line of thinking that would define it narrowly so that prayers and thaumaturgic techniques, and also *sadō mikkyō* 左道密教 ("left-handed esotericism," a form of Tantric esotericism that incorporated sexual rituals), would be excluded from "orthodox" esoteric Buddhism. There is also a view-point that sees the Lamaist teachings as a particular expression of esoteric Buddhism. This may have some validity historically and in actual events.

20 Concerning this point, there is again a need to compare Japanese with Tibetan Buddhism, which displays relatively similar patterns.

21 The doctrine that the kami's fundamental identity (*honji*) is that of the Buddha, and their manifested form (*suijaku*) is that of kami.

22 See the article "The Imperial Law and the Buddhist Law" in the present issue, pp. 271–85.

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THE DRAGON GIRL AND THE ABBESS OF MO-SHAN

Gender and status in the Ch'an Buddhist tradition

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Women students of Buddhism, like those of other religious traditions, have in the last decade brought "new" questions to their teachers. Has the tradition thought differences between men and women significant for attainment of enlightenment? Where has the tradition stood on the question of equal access for men and women to teaching and practice? Has the tradition reflected, or been a model for, society's conceptions of the relative capabilities of the sexes? Or has it enabled adherents to transcend or to change prevailing social norms?

In the case of the Chinese Ch'an Buddhist tradition, the historical record relevant to these questions suggests that it is quite possible that Ch'an teaching contributed to the ease with which Chinese women in the twentieth century have been able to accept their essential equality with men, viewing centuries of constraint more as a product of an inequitable social structure than as reflecting unequal endowments of intelligence or of moral and spiritual capacities. Rejecting or more often quietly ignoring much in the Buddhist heritage that suggested that birth as a woman indicated that one was less prepared to attain enlightenment than men, or indeed faced severe, perhaps insuperable, obstacles to rapid enlightenment, Ch'an teachers urged upon their students the point of view that enlightenment, the source of wisdom, compassion, serenity and moral energy, was available to everyone at all times; any other view was seen as a hindrance to practice.

One of the foundation doctrines of the Ch'an/Zen school is that the One Mind of enlightenment, possessed by all sentient beings, is without *lakṣana* (C. *hsiang*), distinguishing characteristics, including maleness or femaleness. As the Chinese teacher Hung-pien is said to have told the emperor Hsüan-tsung (846–863):

> If a person has enlightened and radiant wisdom, that is "Buddha-mind." "Mind" is another name for "Buddha." [Buddha-mind] has hundreds and thousands of other names, but the essence is one. Fundamentally it has no form. And it has no characteristics (*hsiang*), such as blue, yellow, red, white, masculine or feminine, and so forth. It is inherent in Heaven and yet is not Heaven, it is in persons but is not persons. It is what causes Heaven and mankind to appear, it enables men (to be men) and women (to be women). It neither begins nor ends, is produced nor extinguished.[1]

Chinese social structure clearly marked distinctions among old and young, male and female, noble and base. The rhetoric of Ch'an denied such distinctions not only any ultimate importance in themselves, but also any relevance to enlightenment. No characteristic could ultimately be a prerequisite, or a barrier, to attaining enlightenment. As the Sung Ch'an teacher Ta-hui Tsung-kao (1089–1163) said concerning Lady T'ang, one of his most successful lay students:

> Can you say that she is a woman, and women have no share [in enlightenment]? You must believe that this Matter has nothing to do with [whether one is] male or female, old or young. Ours is an egalitarian *Dharma*-gate that has only one flavor.[2]

And again:

> For mastering the truth, it does not matter whether one is male or female, noble or base. One moment of insight and one is shoulder to shoulder with the Buddha.[3]

The debate within the Mahāyāna literature around the question of whether one can reach full enlightenment in the body of a woman is drawn, if one may be allowed to simplify, along the following lines. Those who say that women cannot be enlightened in their current birth do not dispute that women have the One Mind, or the Buddha-nature, or whatever term one wishes to use to point to their share in ultimate reality and their potential for enlightenment. The point at issue is whether all sentient beings are equally prepared to awaken to a realization of it. On the provisional level of reality, distinctions among the capacities of sentient beings exist: for example, sentient beings born in the human realm have clearer and more capacious powers of reasoning than do those in the animal realm. These capacities, which are reflected in differences of *hsiang*, are the fruition of previously planted karmic seeds. The key question is, what relevance do these capacities have for the objective of attaining enlightenment? Those within the Mahāyāna who held that women could not be enlightened in the current birth believed those capacities to be of critical importance. To reach

enlightenment, one must develop good capacities through aeons of disciplined study and practice. Monastic renunciation and the adherence to precepts were crucial, as were practice of the six *pāramitās*. Male human birth and the opportunity to join the Buddha's *saṅgha* were signs that one's capacities for enlightenment were well on their way toward full development; birth as a woman was a sign that they were not so far advanced. Those who subscribed to the belief in the so-called "five hindrances" held that Buddhahood and four other kinds of desirable births could not be attained in their next birth by those who in this lifetime were born female. The karmically-determined capacities were simply not there.

Others in the Mahāyāna, however, tended to make less of monastic renunciation, adherence to precepts, and aeons of study and practice as prerequisites for enlightenment. They held that the Buddha's *Dharma* and the merit of his Enlightened Mind were more powerful than any negative set of causes and conditions affecting the capacities of sentient beings. A moment of sincere faith and insight on the part of any sentient being could lead to enlightenment, overcoming any karmic impediments that might obtain. By arguing that masculinity and femininity and other such capacity-reflecting distinctions are merely in the realm of *hsiang*, and thus empty, and that they are not ultimately relevant to the success of the objective of attaining enlightenment, Ch'an/Zen teachers placed their teaching clearly in this second stream. They joined those who supported the universalizing tendency of the Mahāyāna.

Although Ch'an is traditionally thought to have begun in China in the sixth century, and in fact probably attained a self-conscious identity in the eighth, references to the need for establishing a point of view that gender differences make no difference to attaining enlightenment cannot be found for certain before the eleventh century.[4] An exception may be the "Song of Proving the Way," found for the first time in an eleventh-century text, but thought to date from the late eighth century (see below). One finds more interest in the subject in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and sixteenth centuries (the latter three in Japan) with Yüan-wu, Ta-hui, Hung-chih, Dōgen, Bassui,[5] Jakushitsu,[6] as well as minor figures. The identical teaching can be found in our own century in the writings and sermons of Chinese teachers like Hsüyün, Lu Kuan-yü (Charles Luk), and Nan Huai-chin, as well as the Korean master Seung-sahn.[7] The teaching of the school appears to have been clear and consistent over the centuries.

In this essay I wish to focus on two stories that Ch'an and Zen teachers have traditionally used to give substance to their claim that such a point of view, contrasting as it does with the low estimate of the capabilities of women held by Confucian society from the Sung onward in China and throughout most of Japanese history, was not only to be preferred as an attitude leading to enlightenment but also was realistic. To establish the latter point it was necessary to buttress the assertion that everyone could attain enlightenment with specific examples. Those to whom the tradition has consistently appealed in preaching are the *nāga* (dragon) girl in the *Lotus Sūtra* and the abbess Mo-shan Liao-jan,

whose story appears for the first time in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* of 1004. Other women who are enlightened are mentioned in Ch'an literature,[8] but the stories of the dragon girl and Mo-shan Liao-jan have the particular virtue of underlining the point by showing their heroines demonstrating their enlightenment while at the same time refuting the specific charge that as women they cannot have attained it.

The dragon girl

The story of the dragon girl appears in the "Devadatta" chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra*.[9] In the story the daughter of the *nāga* king Sāgara, on hearing the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī preach the *Lotus Sūtra*, attains supreme *bodhi*, enlightenment. When the reality of her attainment is challenged by Sāriputra on the ground that she cannot possibly have carried out preparation comparable to that of Śākyamuni Buddha as a *bodhisattva*, and that no enlightenment could be so speedily attained, the dragon king's daughter appears before the assembled company. Śāriputra puts before her his strongest challenge:

> "You state that in no length of time you attained to the supreme Way. This thing is hard to believe. Wherefore? (Because) the body of a woman is filthy and not a vessel of the Law. How can she attain to supreme *bodhi*? The Buddha-way is so vast that only after passing through innumerable *kalpas*, enduring hardship, accumulating good works, and perfectly practicing the perfections can it be accomplished. Moreover, a woman by her body still has five hindrances, viz., she cannot become firstly, king of the Brahma-heaven; secondly, Śakra; thirdly, a *māra*-king, fourthly, a holy wheel-rolling king; and fifthly, a Buddha. How then could a woman's body so speedily become a Buddha?"[10]

The dragon girl does not reply to the substance of this challenge, but offers a demonstration:

> Now the dragon's daughter possessed a precious pearl worth a three-thousand-great-thousandfold world, which she held up and presented to the Buddha, and which the Buddha immediately accepted. The dragon's daughter then said to the *bodhisattva* Wisdom-Accumulation and the honored Śāriputra: "I have offered my pearl, and the World-honored One has accepted it—was this action speedy?" They answered: "Most speedy." The daughter said: "By your supernatural powers behold me become a Buddha, even more rapidly than that!"
>
> At that moment the entire congregation saw the dragon's daughter suddenly transformed into a male, perfect in *bodhisattva*-deeds, who instantly went to the World Spotless in the southern quarter, where

> (she) sat on a precious lotus-flower, attaining Perfect Enlightenment, with the thirty-two signs and the eighty kinds of excellences, and universally proclaiming the Wonderful Law to all living creatures in the universe.[11]

The story has been used to give Buddhists a double message: on the one hand, a person born as a woman becomes a Buddha only after having traded her female body for a male body; on the other, "a woman can achieve Buddhahood" (J. *nyonin jōbutsu*).[12] Within the Ch'an school and its Japanese derivative the attaining of a male body as a prerequisite to Buddhahood is far less emphasized than in, for example, the Nichiren tradition, and far more emphasis is placed on the instantaneous quality of each of the important moments of the story. The story appears to have been understood in the Ch'an school as one that emphasizes the extraordinary and rapid transformation that comes with enlightenment, a transformation on which there are no limitations. The dragon girl's offering of her priceless pearl to the Buddha and his acceptance of it are both rapid, completely without deliberation or obstruction; so of course are the steps that follow. The allusion to the story in the famous Ch'an "Song of Proving the Way," attributed to Yung-chia Hsüan-chüeh (665–713) but probably written in the late eighth century,[13] is typical of Ch'an interest in the story as demonstrating the absolute and instantaneous character of enlightenment:

> Wrong is not wrong, right is not right
> To be off by a hair's breadth results in a mistake of a thousand miles
> [If] right, then the dragon girl suddenly achieves Buddhahood
> [If] wrong, then Ānanda is born in hell.[14]

The difference between delusion and enlightenment is merely a single instant of thought. Even someone of low status in terms of apparent closeness to enlightenment like the dragon girl can leap to enlightenment through a single moment of right thought. Likewise, a great disciple of the Buddha like Ānanda, whose position as a man, monk and *arhat* indicates great karmic roots, experiences, in a moment of deluded thought, rebirth in hell.

A reference to an unknown version of the dragon girl story appears in the following intriguing episode in the record of the master Yu-chou T'an-k'ung in *chüan* 12 of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* of 1004:

> A nun wanted to "open the hall" and preach the *Dharma*. (To "open the hall" is to preach ceremonially for the first time as abbot or abbess of a particular temple.)
> The master (T'an-k'ung) said: "Nun, as a woman you should not open the hall."
> The nun said: "The *nāga* girl attained Buddhahood at age seven—what do you think about that?"

The master said: "The *nāga* girl [could change into] eighteen [different] forms. Try one change of form for me."
The nun said: "Even if I were to change, I would still be a fox spirit!" (Fox spirits could change into other forms, including that of a pretty woman, to delude humans.)
The teacher chased her out with blows.[15]

Although this story is puzzling in certain respects, it appears that insofar as the verbal content of the exchange is concerned, the nun holds her own, demonstrating that she knows clearly that enlightened mind is the source of authority to teach, not external attributes. Whether the master's statement that as a woman she should not become a teacher is an allusion to current norms for which he thinks there is a "good reason," or represents merely his own opinion, or is simply a statement to test whether the nun's mind has sufficient enlightenment and confidence to transcend conventional notions, the nun's allusion to the dragon girl is an excellent answer. The second exchange offers a particularly Ch'an resolution to the ambiguity of the dragon girl story. The *Lotus Sūtra* story reaches an ambiguous compromise between the position that birth as a woman does not reflect inferior roots for enlightenment and the position that only as a man can one reach the full enlightenment of Buddhahood: the dragon girl does perform the transformation. When T'an-k'ung challenges the nun to do the same, she points out that that would prove nothing except that she has magical powers; the question of whether she is qualified to be an enlightened teacher must be resolved in a different realm entirely.

Both Ta-hui Tsung-kao, the leading representative of Lin-chi Ch'an in Sung China, and Dōgen (1200–1253), transmitter of Ts'ao-tung Ch'an to Japan, and a great original master, use the story of the dragon girl in their writings and sermons to illustrate their conviction of the irrelevance of *hsiang* to enlightenment. In Dōgen's case, the story is cited in a discussion of the enlightenment of women. In his argument in the "Raihaitokuzui" chapter of the *Shōbōgenzō* that enlightened women are as worthy of respect as enlightened men and should be taken by men as teachers, Dōgen brings up the example of the *nāga* king's daughter. He says:

> Even a seven-year-old girl who practices the Buddha Dharma and is enlightened in it is the leader and guide of the fourfold community of Buddhists, the compassionate parent of living beings. For instance, the *nāga* maiden in the *Lotus Sūtra* achieved Buddhahood. Giving respect and homage to someone such as her is the same as giving it to all the Buddhas.[16]

Later in the chapter, in his criticism of the contemporary Japanese practice of creating certain territories for serious monastic training and excluding women from them, he returns to the dragon girl:

> At the time a female became a Buddha, everything in the universe was completely understood [by her]. What person would hinder her [from entering the restricted territories], thinking that she had not truly come into this world? The merits [of her attainment] exist right now, illumining the whole universe, so even though you set up boundary lines, they are of no use.[17]

Ta-hui also mentions the story more than once, and tells it from beginning to end in one sermon. He repeats what he believes to be the fact that although the Buddha preached the *Dharma* in over three hundred and sixty assemblies, only three persons in all of the *sūtra* literature are described as attaining complete, perfect enlightenment in that very life. One is a butcher, who lays down his knife and attains perfect enlightenment. The second is the youth Sudhana in the *Gaṇḍhavyūha* section of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*. The third is the *nāga* girl.[18] All three are lay persons, while the butcher because of his occupation and the girl because of her gender and youth are unlikely candidates.

In one of his sermons, Ta-hui tells and comments on the story in such a way as to raise one of the crucial questions about it from the point of view of Ch'an. In what moment of the story did the *nāga* girl's attainment of perfect *bodhi* begin to take place? What is the point at which the person who acts and behaves authoritatively as an enlightened one makes her or his presence felt? Ta-hui focuses on the moment of her offering her precious pearl to the Buddha. He says: "Was her offering of the pearl speedy? Indeed, it took place in her single instant of thought,"[19] and goes on from there to discuss how to understand the fact that perfect enlightenment takes place in an instant. For him the important thing is not her change of bodily form, nor her attainment of Buddhahood in the southern quarter, but rather the single instant of enlightened thought in which she offers her pearl to the Buddha.

For T'an-k'ung and the would-be abbess, for the author of the "Song of Proving the Way," for Dōgen and Ta-hui, the story is not that of a woman who became a male Buddha, it is the story of a woman who, upon becoming a Buddha, is still thought of as a woman. For them she becomes a Buddha not when she changes her bodily form, but when she gives rise to supreme *bodhi* in a single moment of enlightened thought. Apparently for these members of the Ch'an/Zen school, to have it any other way would be to give too much emphasis to form (*hsiang*), and not enough to the power of the one thought of enlightenment and the Mind in which it is grounded.

The story of Mo-shan Liao-jan

An original Ch'an story that shows such a family relationship to that of the dragon girl that it might be regarded as fundamentally the same story in a characteristically Chinese transformation is that of the encounter between the monk Kuan-ch'i Chih-hsien and the abbess Mo-shan Liao-jan. To understand the story

it is necessary to know that in China the order of nuns was always autonomous, fully separate from the order of monks. Yet in the larger four-part *saṅgha* or assembly of the disciples of the Buddha, monks ranked above nuns, who in turn ranked above lay men and lay women. Whenever nuns and monks happened to meet, therefore, monks took precedence. Thus we have the dilemma of etiquette faced by the participants in this story. A monk, being higher in status, does not bow to a nun. A student, on the other hand, bows in submission to a teacher:

> When the monk Kuan-ch'i Chih-hsien was travelling from place to place [looking for a teacher] he came to Mo-shan. Before [meeting Liao-jan, the abbess of Mo-shan] he said [to himself] "If this place is all right, then I will stay. If not, then I will overturn the Ch'an platform (that is, show up the ignorance of the teacher)." So saying, he entered the hall. Liao-jan sent an attendant nun to ask: "Are you merely sight-seeing, or did you come for the Buddha *Dharma*?" Chih-hsien replied: "For the Buddha *Dharma*." Liao-jan then ascended to her seat. Chih-hsien asked for instruction. Liao-jan asked: "Where did you start your journey today?" Chih-hsien replied: "From the entrance to the road (lit., from the mouth of the road)." Liao-jan said: "Why didn't you cover it?" Chih-hsien had no reply. He then for the first time performed a kneeling bow. He asked: "What is Mo-shan (lit., summit mountain)?" Liao-jan said: "Its peak is not exposed." Chih-hsien said: "What is the occupant of Mo-shan like?" Liao-jan replied: "(S)he has neither male nor female form (*hsiang*)." Chih-hsien shouted: "Why doesn't she transform herself?" Liao-jan replied: "She is not a spirit, nor a ghost. What would you have her become?" Chih-hsien at this could only submit. He became a gardener at the nunnery, where he stayed three years.[20]

The *Chih-yüeh lu* (*Record of Pointing at the Moon*) and Dōgen both tell us that later, when Chih-hsien was instructing his own disciples, he said:

> "When I was at Lin-chi's place I got half a ladle, and when I was at Mo-shan's place I got another half-ladle, thus obtaining the full ladle that has enabled me to satisfy my hunger until today.[21]

It is interesting that Mo-shan Liao-jan is the only nun who is given a record of her own in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. This is almost certainly connected to the fact that she had a male disciple willing to give her credit for an important role in his enlightenment. Dōgen, who recounts this story in support of his view that one should seek out enlightened teachers regardless of sex, comments:

> Now, reflecting on this story, Mo-shan was a prominent disciple of Kao-an Ta-yü. Her power of *satori* was superior, and she became the mother who taught Chih-hsien. Lin-chi had inherited the *Dharma* of the

> great Zen master Huang-po. His was the great power of practice, and he became the father of Chih-hsien. The father was male and the mother was female. Chih-hsien showed that he had a superior spirit when he sought the *Dharma* from Mo-shan and paid homage to her. He was unflagging in his pursuit of later training, and he is famous for seeking the *Dharma* without consideration of male and female.[22]

From a doctrinal point of view, it is of great interest that the question and answer that convinced Chih-hsien that he could profitably learn from Mo-shan Liao-jan was a question of the relevance to enlightenment of the distinction between male and female. She says, in effect: "My enlightened Mind has neither male nor female *hsiang*." He counters: "Why do you not transform yourself?" One way of reading his question is to see it as asking: "Why not become a male and then a Buddha, as the dragon girl did, and thus prove that you are enlightened?" The fact that Moshan, like the nun in the story quoted above, does not recognize any need to transform herself, and therefore demonstrates her enlightenment in a way different from that of the dragon girl, is characteristic of the changes that had taken place within Mahāyāna in China and particularly in Ch'an. Mo-shan Liao-jan shows her enlightenment precisely by not showing it, letting it be known that the top of her head is not visible. The loftiness of her insight is demonstrated by her lack of interest in super-normal powers (*shen-t'ung*). Likewise, Buddhahood as a final accomplishment of perfection that can be externally displayed and verified through the possession of the thirty-two marks (*hsiang*), one of which requires a penis, has paled in interest compared to the vivid personalities of the enlightened Chinese teachers. Chih-hsien's question thus only shows that he does not realize that mind enlightened to any degree transcends distinctions of *hsiang*. In preserving this story, Tao-yüan, the compiler of the *Ching-te Record of the Transmission of the Lamp*, Dōgen, and the influential Ts'ao-tung monk Hung-chih (who mentioned it frequently),[23] and others record the agreement of the tradition that Liao-jan has had the best of the exchange. In the thought world of the *Lotus Sūtra*, the same story could not be read as a triumph for Mo-shan.

Another interesting aspect of this story is that the question of the relevance of unequal *hsiang* to enlightenment and the question of the relative status of male and female are raised together. As a monk, Chih-hsien, though not overly polite, is not incorrect in not bowing to a nun. But if he intends to learn from her, he must bow to her as a teacher. In his belated bow and final submission, Chih-hsien concedes the point that within the school, the status of teacher is a matter of demonstrated wisdom, not of phenomenal characteristics.

Dōgen takes up the question of the status of women within the Ch'an/Zen school at some length in the "Raihaitokuzui" chapter of his *Shōbōgenzō*. He is concerned that attachment to external appearances (*hsiang*) prevents many monks from paying homage to women or nuns even if they have acquired the *Dharma* and transmitted it. Such persons, he says, do not understand the

Dharma; they have left the Buddha's path. They are like animals, far removed from the Buddhas and patriarchs. In demonstrating the error of this attitude, he points out that rank in the world and rank in the *Dharma* are two different things. He does not challenge the accepted relative ranking of men and women in the world. Nor does he challenge the view that all other things being equal, nuns rank below monks in the *saṅgha*. But he insists that rank in the *Dharma* depends upon one's progress toward complete, perfect enlightenment. Women, he points out, have attained the four fruits, as well as the higher stages of the *bodhisattva* path. One, the dragon girl, even attained to the stage of "wonderful enlightenment," the final stage on the fifty-two-stage path to Buddhahood conceived by the Hua-yen school. A hundred-year-old monk who has not acquired the Way is not the equal of a woman who has acquired it. Dōgen says:

> When you make *Dharma*-inquiries of a nun who transmits the treasury of the eye of the true *Dharma*, ... who has reached the stages of the *bodhisattva*'s last ten stages, and you pay homage to her, the nun will naturally receive your homage.[24]

Concluding remarks

On a recent stay in Taiwan I discussed these stories with a group of nuns in their late twenties and thirties. They belonged to a nominally Ch'an order, had experienced Ch'an training under the nun Hsiao-yun Fa-shih, and were pursuing studies in the *Lotus Sūtra*. When asked whether the story of the dragon girl reflected a reservation about the capacities of women to attain enlightenment, given that the dragon girl must first manifest maleness before becoming a Buddha, the young nuns unanimously stated that that would be a mistaken interpretation. Maleness and femaleness have nothing to do with enlightenment, since enlightenment is a matter of mind and heart. Clearly the point of the story, they said, was that the dragon girl had the power of insight and determination to become a Buddha, and the truth taught by the *sūtra* had the transformative power to make this possible. The transformation of her body into a male body had no real significance as an element in the story; for them it was part of the miraculous trappings of the myth rather than the heart of the myth itself.

The historian of Buddhism readily sees in these stories and their interpretations within the Ch'an/Zen tradition a blending of the *ekayāna* ("one vehicle") tendency within the Mahāyāna with the Chinese belief in the "suddenness" of enlightenment. What intrigues this historian is that the Ch'an and Zen schools included these stories in preaching and teaching at a time when their societies were putting more emphasis on Confucian education as a path of self-cultivation, while at the same time failing to educate women, or to allow women to become leaders and teachers. In doing so Ch'an and Zen teachers planted seeds of the conviction that gender differences were accidental, not essential. As

Ch'an and Zen appealed to members of the classes whose sons and husbands were being educated, women from those classes found themselves drawn to a path to enlightenment which granted them in principle at least an equal status, as well as autonomy and leadership roles, and one in which it was taught that gender and social status were irrelevant considerations that could and should be dropped from the minds of all genuine seekers. The point of view truest to the tradition is well expressed in the *Shōbōgenzō*:

> "What demerit is there in femaleness? What merit is there in maleness? There are bad men and good women. If you wish to hear the *Dharma* and put an end to pain and turmoil, forget about such things as male and female. As long as delusions have not yet been eliminated, neither men nor women have eliminated them; when they are all eliminated and true reality is experienced, there is no distinction of male and female."[25]

Notes

1 Tao-yüan, comp. and ed., *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (Taipei: Chen-shan-mei ch'u-pan-she, 1967), p. 159–61. Hereafter cited as *CTCTL*. About Hung-pien nothing further is known.

2 *Ta-hui P'u-chüeh Ch'an-shih p'u-shuo, Dainihon zokuzōkyō* 1, 31, 5, p. 455a. Hereafter cited as *Ta-hui p'u-shuo*.

3 *Ta-hui p'u-shuo*, p. 433b.

4 The passage attributed to Hung-pien quoted above, the earliest, is not in any source earlier than 1004. The closest thing to a doctrinal statement on the subject appearing in earlier Ch'an works is found in the work called *Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun* ("Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices") attributed to Bodhidharma. The passage reads as follows:

> *Question*: What does it mean to say "a male is not a male, a female is not a female"?
> *Answer*: If you seek [enlightenment] relying on *Dharma*, then masculinity and femininity are not things you can grasp onto. How do we know? Form itself is not male form or female form. If form were male, then all grasses and trees would correspondingly be male; and the same for female [form]. People who are deluded do not understand; in their deluded thinking they see male and female, [but] that is an illusory male, and illusory female; ultimately they are not real.

This of course merely states that the distinction is empty; it does not address the question of whether the distinction is relevant to enlightenment. Cf. Yanagida Seizan, ed. and trans., *Daruma no goroku* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1969), pp. 77–79.

5 Cf. Philip Kapleau, comp. and ed., *The Three Pillars of Zen* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), pp. 160–61 and 166.

6 Cf. Thomas Cleary, trans. and ed., *The Original Face* (New York: Grove Press, 1978), p. 78.

7 Cf. Lu K'uan Yü, *Ch'an and Zen Teaching*, First Series (Berkeley, Ca.: Shambhala Publications, Inc., 1970), p. 87. Also Stephen Mitchell, ed., *Dropping Ashes on the Buddha* (New York: Grove Press, 1976).

8 Most notably Bodhidharma's disciple Tsung-chih, Layman P'ang's daughter Ling-chao, and Candrottarā, as well as a number of nameless laywomen and nuns who inspire, challenge, or confound monks such as Te-shan, Chao-chou and Lin-chi.

9 I have used the Chinese text in *Taishō* 9, pp. 34b–35c. Translations are taken from Bunnō Katō, trans., "*Myōhō-renge kyō*": *The Sutra of the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law* (Tokyo: Kosei Shuppansha, 1971), ch. 12, pp. 256–61.

10 *Taishō* 9, p. 35c; Katō, p. 260.

11 *Taishō* 9, p. 35c; Katō, p. 260.

12 Cf. Harada Norio's interesting essay, "Ryūnyo," in *Zen bunka*, no. 68 (March 15, 1973), pp. 25–30.

13 Cf. the introduction to *Yōka shōdōka* by Ōmori Sōgen in Nishitani Keiji and Yanagida Seizan, eds., *Zenke goroku II* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1974), p. 113.

14 *CTCTL, chüan* 30, p. 229.

15 *CTCTL, chüan* 12, p. 34

16 Dōgen, *Shōbōgenzō*, in Terada Toru and Mizuno Yaoko, eds., *Dōgen* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970, 2 vols.), I, p. 324. Hereafter cited as Terada and Mizuno. The translation used here is from Francis Dojun Cook, *How to Raise an Ox* (Los Angeles: Center Publications, 1978), p. 140. Hereafter cited as Cook.

17 Terada and Mizuno, I, p. 328. Cook, pp. 145–46. I have added "[by her]".

18 *Ta-hui p'u-shuo*, p. 458d; see also pp. 447b-c. Ta-hui brings up the story of the dragon girl elsewhere in *Ta-hui p'u-shuo*, pp. 402a, and 438c, and in *Ta-hui P'u-chūeh Ch'an-shih yü-lu*, Taishō 47, p. 838a, where the quotes Yung-chia's "Song of Proving the Way," p. 900c and p. 909b.

19 *Ta-hui p'u-shuo*, p. 447c.

20 *CTCTL, chüan* 11, p. 19. An English translation by Lu K'uan-yü is given in a translation by him of a sermon by the twentieth century teacher Hsü-yün. It is found in Lu K'uan Yü, *Ch'an and Zen Teaching*, First Series, p. 87. Dōgen tells the story somewhat differently in the "Raihaitokuzui" chapter of the *Shōbōgenzō*. Cf. Terada and Mizuno, I, pp. 318–20. Lu K'uan-yü's notes are interesting. Of the final exchange he says:

> When Kuan Ch'i asked about the owner of Mo Shan, i.e., about herself, she replied that the owner was neither make nor female for sex had nothing to do with enlightenment, and the *dharmakāya* was neither male nor female. Generally, women had many more handicaps than men, and Kuan Ch'i seemed to look down upon her because of her sex and asked her why she did not change herself into a man if she was (*sic*) enlightened. His question showed that he was still under delusion.

21 Hsü Ju-chi, comp., *Chih-yüeh lu* (Taipei: Chen shan-mei ch'u-pan-she, 1959), *chüan* 13 (vol. 2), pp. 932–33. Cf. Terada and Mizuno, 1, p. 320.

22 Terada and Mizuno, 1, p. 320; Cook, p. 137.

23 *Hung-chih Ch'an-shih kuang-lu, Taishō* 48, pp. 1–121, mentions Mo-shan's story on pp. 16b, 32b, 42b, 44c, 47b, 94b. *Ta-hui p'u-shuo* mentions it on p. 446d; *Yüan-wu Fo-kuo Ch'an-shih yü-lu, Taishō* 48, pp. 714–810, retells it on p. 779b, in a *Dharma*-instruction (*Fa-yü*) given to a nun.

24 Terada and Mizuno, I, p. 322; Cook, p. 139.

25 Terada and Mizuno, I, p. 326; Cook, p. 143.

Glossary

Bassui 拔隊
Ch'an 禪
Chao-chou 趙州
Chih-hsien 志閑
Chih-yüeh lu 指月録
Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu 景德傳燈録
Daruma no goroku 達摩の語録
Dōgen 道元
Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun 二入四行論
Fa-yü 法語
Harada Norio 原田憲雄
Hsiang 相
Hsü Ju-chi 瞿汝稷
Hsü-yün 虛雲
Hsüan-tsung 宣宗
Hua-yen 華嚴
Hung-chih 宏智
Hung-chih Ch'an-shih kuang-lu 宏智禪師廣録
Hung-pien 弘辯
Kao-an Ta-yü 高安大愚
Jakushitsu 寂室
Kuan-ch'i Chih-hsien 灌溪志閑
Layman P'ang (P'ang Chu-shih) 龐居士
Liao-jan 了然
Lin-chi 臨濟
Ling-chao 靈照
Mizuno Yaoko 水野彌穗子
Mo-shan 末山
Mo-shan Liao-jan 末山了然
Nan Huai-chin 南懷瑾
Myoho-renge-kyo 妙法蓮花經
Nishitani Keiji 西谷啓治
Nyonin jōbutsu 女人成佛
Ōmori Sōgen 大森曹玄
Raihaitokuzui 禮拜得髓
Ryunyo 龍女
Shen-t'ung 身通
Shōbōgenzō 正法眼藏
Ta-hui 大慧
Ta-hui P'u-chüeh Ch'an-shih p'u-shuo 大慧普覺禪師普說
Ta-hui P'u-chüeh Ch'an-shih yu-lu 大慧普覺禪師語録
Ta-hui p'u-shuo 大慧普說

Ta-hui Tsung-kao 大慧宗杲
T'an-k'ung 譚空
Tao-yüan 道原
Te-shan 德山
Terada Toru 寺田透
Ts'ao-tung 曹洞
Tsung-chih 總持
Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山
Yōka shōdōka 永嘉證道歌
Yu-chou T'an-k'ung 幽州譚空
Yüan-wu Fo-kuo Ch'an-shih yü-lu 圜悟佛果禪師語録
Yung-chia Hsüan-chüeh 永嘉玄覺
Zen 禪
Zen bunka 禪文化
Zenke goroku 禪家語録

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HISTORICAL AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ISSUES IN THE STUDY OF PRE-MODERN JAPANESE RELIGIONS

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The purpose of this essay is to address four broad issues in regard to the study of the history of religions in pre-modern (prior to 1868) Japan, especially in the early (712–1185) and medieval (1185–1600) periods, in order to redress certain imbalances in the study of pre-modern Japanese religions with regard to those issues.[1] Those four issues are:

First, the relation between Buddhism and Shinto.
Second, the relation between the development of religious institutions, rituals and doctrines, and developments in the society-at-large of the time.
Third, the comparative importance of religious institutions, rituals, and doctrines, as well as the main purposes of ritual.
And fourth, the relation between religion and politics.

Each of these issues contains within it two sets of questions: one, an historical set, has to do with the whole matter of the nature and structure of pre-modern Japanese societies, and the second, an historiographical set, involves an inquiry into the matter of why modern studies of pre-modern Japan have the shape that they do. In this essay we will consider sequentially each of the aforementioned issues, first in terms of the historical questions and then in terms of the historiographical ones. Examples in support of the points being made will be drawn mainly from the history of the Tendai tradition, but they could be drawn from any of the forms and branches of the Japanese religious traditions. It goes without saying that none of the complex questions raised in this essay can be dealt with adequately in such a limited space. Some of the following observations might strike the reader as obvious, perhaps even trite, and others might be

deemed simplistic or too sweeping and herein unsupported, if not unsupportable. Undoubtedly many of the following observations require clarification, and some demand much explication, but were the necessary qualifications and explications offered in this essay it would multiply in length manyfold and never get written.

Buddhism and Shinto

The first of the four issues identified above has to do with the relation between Buddhism and Shinto in pre-modern Japanese societies. Although the word Shinto is very much a part of our lexicon of Japanese religious terms, it is important to recognize that until the late medieval period there was no such a thing as Shinto in the sense of a structured, self-conscious tradition existing over and apart from Buddhism. Prior to that time what we call Shinto was a plethora of tribal and local myths, legends, beliefs, practices, etc. that were bound up in various ways and to varying degrees with continental myths, beliefs, and practices from pre-Nara (prior to the eighth century) times. In this essay Shinto refers to the predominantly indigenous strain in the mosaic of Japanese religion, but even that strain included within it a great many Korean, Chinese, and even some Indian, elements.[2] As KURODA Toshio has pointed out in an exceptionally important article, before the modern era even the meaning of the word Shinto was unclear (1981, pp. 1–21). Indeed, because Buddhist influences pervaded Japan well before Shinto *qua* Shinto was identified and defined, the very identification and definition of Shinto were, at least partly, Buddhist exercises.

It appears that in the minds of the pre-modern Japanese, Buddhist and Shinto views were thoroughly integrated. In evidence of this, for example, when Saichō 最澄 (767–822), the founder of the Tendai school of Buddhism in Japan, established the Enryaku-ji 延暦寺, his choice of the site (Mt. Hiei 比叡山) at which he built that monastery was most likely influenced by native Shinto (in the sense noted above) feelings about sacred mountains,[3] and perhaps also by Taoist notions about auspicious places and directions. The fact of the matter is that Buddhist monks in pre-modern Japan were also Shintoists, which is to say no more—but no less—than that they were enmeshed from birth in a cultural fabric that was shot through with a melange of indigenous and imported myths, symbols, rituals, and moods that taken together we call Shinto. Throughout most of Japanese history, foreign (Buddhist, but also Taoist and Confucian) and indigenous elements were amalgamated in a single, cohesive whole. Indeed, Buddhism and Shinto were amalgamated institutionally, ritually, and doctrinally to such a degree that to treat them as distinct, independent traditions is to misrepresent the structure of pre-modern Japanese societies. The tremendously intimate relation between Buddhism and Shinto, a relation that went through various stages of development and interpretation, is demonstrated by overwhelming evidence.

Doctrinally, the Buddhist-Shinto amalgam is demonstrated by *honji-suijaku* 本地垂迹, a pairing technique that served to identify and draw out the relations

between the foreign Buddhas and bodhisattvas and the native and nativized deities (*kami*). In the late-nineteenth century the Meiji government gave indirect witness to the fact that the *kami* and Buddhas had been united over the preceding centuries by its institution of the policy of *shinbutsu-bunri* 神仏分離 ("separation of the *kami* and Buddhas"). By decreeing that thenceforth the *kami* and Buddhas were to be separate, the Meiji ideologues thereby acknowledged that theretofore the *kami* and Buddhas had in fact not been considered to be separate, and by decreeing that thenceforth the *kami* and Buddhas were to be separate as they had been in the past, those ideologues engaged in an exercise of rewriting history (see GRAPARD 1984).

Ritually, Buddhism and Shinto formed one tradition throughout early and medieval Japanese history. From early times Buddhist divinities had a place in Shinto rituals, and the *kami* had a place in Buddhist rituals. Some Buddhist rituals were performed to honor various *kami*, and Buddhist sūtras were copied for the salvation of the *kami*. To cite one of many possible examples: from the ninth century on, some of the rituals performed at the Enryaku-ji were devoted to Sannō 山王, the protector *kami* of Mt. Hiei, and from 887, in response to a petition by the monk Enchin 円珍 (814–891), the fifth head abbot of the Tendai school (*Tendai zasu* 天台座主), two "yearly ordinands" (*nenbun dosha* 年分度者) were assigned to the Enryaku-ji with the duty of studying and reciting two sūtras in honor of "the great Sannō divinity" (*Sannō daimyōjin* 大明神).[4] Various Buddhist masters, such as the famous Ennin 円仁 (793–864), the third head abbot of the Tendai school, worshipped and even had chapels built in honor of non-Buddhist divinities.[5]

From a reading of early and medieval Japanese literature it appears that there was a distinction in the religious communities between Buddhist and Shinto rituals; that is to say, the rituals were not so indiscriminately mixed together as to obviate any distinction between Buddhist rituals and Shinto ones, and therefore one might make the argument that Buddhism and Shinto were in fact quite separate traditions over the centuries from the earliest times. However, whereas it is true that there was such a distinction, it was just one of a number of distinctions applicable to rituals: there were also distinctions between, for example, exoteric rituals and esoteric ones, public rituals and private ones, state rituals and family ones, and so forth. The texts, paraphernalia, type of preparation, etc., required for the performance of an esoteric ritual, for instance, were different from those required for an exoteric one. However, for an Enryaku-ji monk to perform a ritual in honor of the protector *kami* of Mt. Hiei (Sannō) was no more incongruous, and would have required no more justification or apologetic, than would have been required, for example, of a *shanagō* 遮那業 ("esoteric practice") master who decided to participate in an exoteric ritual. Thus I suggest that the basic distinction in the religious communities in regard to rituals was not along "sectarian" (Buddhist-Shinto) lines but along functional ones: i.e., the distinction was based not on an awareness of or a sensitivity *vis-à-vis* the fact that certain rituals are Buddhist and certain other ones Shinto, but, rather, that these

particular rituals serve such and such a purpose, and those particular rituals so and so a purpose.

Institutionally, Buddhism and Shinto were also united from very early times through the nineteenth century. In the case of the Enryaku-ji, for example, over the centuries the monastery atop Mt. Hiei and the Hie 日吉 shrine at the eastern foot of the mountain formed a single complex (Allan Grapard uses the apt term multiplex).[6] From the mid-Heian period most Shinto shrines were "branch shrines" (*massha* 末社) of one or other of the major shrines which themselves were affiliated with one or other major monastery, and they functioned as parts of the larger Buddhist-Shinto complexes. For example, from the 970s the Gion shrine (*Yasaka jinja* 八坂神社) in Kyoto was a "detached cloister" (*betsuin* 別院) of the Enryaku-ji and functioned as a branch shrine of the Hie shrine, and the chief priest (a "Shinto" figure) of the Gion 祇園 shrine was a member of the Enryaku-ji ("Buddhist") community.[7] Similarly, the Tōnomine 多武峰 shrine in Yamato province was a detached cloister of the Enryaku-ji from the late-tenth century, and its members, Shinto clerics, customarily went to study at the Enryaku-ji. Eventually the Hie shrine, and thereby the Enryaku-ji, established "home-branch" (*honmatsu* 本末) relations with 108 shrines spread throughout a number of provinces.[8]

This institutional intimacy is apparent also in the cases of two of the most important shrines, those at Ise and Izumo, that might be thought of as having been "purely" Shinto in character over the centuries. Until the Meiji period, with its implementation of the *shinbutsu-bunri* policy, the Ise shrine was literally surrounded by upwards of 300 Buddhist institutions, and thus that shrine was, in fact, located within, and formed a central part of, an immense Shinto-Buddhist complex. Similarly, the Great Shrine at Izumo formed the nucleus of a large Shinto-Buddhist institutional complex until the end of the nineteenth century.

From the tenth century there was established a structure of twenty-two major monastery-shrine complexes, each of which included numerous "branch monasteries" (*matsuji* 末寺) and branch shrines, and which together wielded great power and influence from that time through the medieval period. In a recent study (1988), Allan Grapard argues that Shinto, as it is commonly portrayed, developed during the medieval period out of that structure of twenty-two monastery-shrine complexes.

Thus it is, I suggest, incorrect to speak as though religious institutions in pre-modern Japan belonged completely and exclusively either to the Buddhist tradition or to the Shinto tradition but not, at least at some level, to both at the same time. To put this point in strong terms: through the millennium from the middle of the Heian period (794–1185) to the modern age, there was no such a thing in Japan as an exclusively Buddhist institution. All so-called Buddhist institutions were at least partly Shinto, and all so-called Shinto institutions were at least partly Buddhist. In other words, all major religious institutions in Japan combined both Buddhist and Shinto elements into complex, integrated wholes. This

institutional amalgam both reflected and generated the Buddhist-Shinto doctrinal and ritual syntheses.

Institutions, rituals, doctrines

The second major issue raised above has to do with the intimate relation between the development of religious institutions, rituals, and doctrines, and developments in the society-at-large of the time. Throughout premodern Japanese history, those institutions, rituals, and doctrines developed almost invariably in response to, or at least in symbiotic conjunction with, developments in other sectors of the society of the time, and most often in response to, or in conjunction with, economic and political developments. Developments in the monastery-shrine complexes in the Heian period, for example, most often reflected developments in the court world. For instance, the establishment of intimate relations between the Enryaku-ji and the Gion shrine had little to do, at least initially, with doctrinal matters but much to do with efforts on the part of the Enryakuji to develop an institutional power base in Kyoto, and with efforts on the part of the court to control the masses of peasants in the capital by asserting control over a type of popular ritual, the *goryō'e* 御霊会, that involved large numbers of arms-bearing peasants (McMullin 1988).

Indeed, the outcomes of many of the formal "religious debates" (*shūron* 宗論) that took place among monks of the various schools in the early and medieval periods cannot be understood simply in the contexts of those debates. That is to say, frequently it appears to have been the case that the victor in a debate was determined less on the basis of his debating skills than on other factors, notably economic and political ones (i.e., the rank and power of the patrons of the monk who was declared to be the victor), and therefore it is necessary to take those factors into consideration in order to understand the reasons for the outcome of a debate.[9]

Throughout Japanese history there were, undoubtedly, many monks who devoted themselves to the pursuit of enlightenment, but much more than personal devotion has to be taken into account to explain the reasons even for that activity. Why so many people in certain ages decided to become monks is a question that has to do with complex sets of economic and political factors. To account, for example, for the tremendous growth of the Mt. Hiei-Hie community in the ninth and tenth centuries from a handful of residents to upwards of 3,000 members demands that we inquire into economic factors (such as the taxation structure of the times and peoples' efforts to avoid taxes by becoming monks and thus having their names stricken from the tax rolls) and political ones (such as the fact that the only avenues to positions of political power that were open to most people at that time were the religious communities), in addition to such factors as personal devotion or the presence in the Enryaku-ji of a number of great Buddhist masters.

To consider one example to demonstrate the foregoing point: in the year 818

Saichō petitioned the court for permission to establish a rule whereby all aspirants to ordination in the Tendai school first had to spend a twelve-year uninterrupted period of study and practice in seclusion on Mt. Hiei. It is possible to offer various reasons for Saichō's establishment of that rule (he wanted to develop holier monks, more educated monks, and so forth), but, without denying that Saichō had such motives, I would suggest that his main reason for implementing that rule might be discovered by considering the growth of his community in the period from 807 to 818. In that period the court assigned Saichō twenty-four yearly ordinands, but by 819 fourteen of those twenty-four had left the Enryakuji: one had died, one was away on pilgrimage, two had quit the religious life to care for their ailing mothers, nine had transferred to other monasteries in Nara, and the whereabouts of one was unknown. Thus it appears that Saichō's seclusion policy, while serving perhaps various purposes, was primarily a strategy designed to solve the problem of the loss of ordinands: by keeping his assigned disciples locked up on Mt. Hiei for an extended period of time, Saichō lessened the risk of losing them, especially to monasteries of the rival Hossō school to which almost half of those who abandoned him went.[10]

Furthermore, theories regarding the relations between certain *kami* and Buddhas, the *honji-suijaku* relations, often developed in response to or together with developments in the economic realm, namely the absorption of Shinto shrines and their lands into the large Buddhist-Shinto institutional complexes. Thus, doctrine often rationalized and justified economic developments, and, at the same time, helped to make those developments possible. For example, the development and proliferation of esoteric (*mikkyō* 密教) forms of ritual in the Heian period reflected important political and economic developments: namely, as the bureaucratic state structure (*ritsuryōsei* 律令制) weakened in the early Heian period, the powerful families searched for other supports for their positions of power and privilege, and one type of support that they discovered and patronized was certain kinds of esoteric rituals that they believed to contain great power. Moreover, as we shall see, even the understanding of the nature of the politico-religious ideology changed in accordance with changes in the politico-economic conditions of the times.

Comparative importance of institutions, rituals, and doctrines

The third issue noted above has to do with the comparative importance of religious institutions, rituals, and doctrines in the pre-modern Japanese world, and the main purposes of ritual. In this context it should be noted that although it is convenient to use the words "Buddhism" and "Shinto(ism)," it is important to be aware that those terms refer not just or even primarily to sets of doctrines, but to large numbers of highly concrete institutions and the people who belonged to those institutions. Religion's importance in Japanese history was due primarily to the religious institutions, notably the monastery-shrine complexes, which

made a tremendous impact – artistically, economically, educationally, literarily, politically, socially, and so forth – on society for over a millennium.

In regard to the question of the comparative importance of ritual and doctrine, Frits Staal points out that what counts primarily in Asia are:

> ancestors and teachers – hence lineages, traditions, affiliations, cults, eligibility, initiation, and injunction – concepts with ritual rather than truth-functional overtones. ... Like the other so-called religions of Asia, Buddhism is characterized by the fact that ritual (in which all monks engage) is more important than mystical experience (which only a few attain), which is in turn more important than belief or doctrine (a matter confined to scholarly monks or [observes Staal with somewhat cynical humor] reserved for Western converts, anthropologists, and tourists) . . . [In Asia,] practice and ritual are more important than truth, belief, or doctrine.
>
> (1984, pp. 11–12, 17–18).

Staal's assertion of the preeminence of ritual in Asia is clearly applicable to the case of Japan. Primary source materials on the Buddhist-Shinto tradition(s) are replete with information on lineages and rituals: in the case of the Mr. Hiei/Hie complex, for example, those materials provide detailed information on what masters the various abbots studied under, by whom they were initiated and ordained, and to what lines of masters the abbots belonged. Those materials also include much information on ritual: on what rituals were customarily performed at the Mt. Hiei/Hie complex; on which abbot was the first to have performed a particular ritual; on how many days the performance of a certain ritual required; on what eminent people participated in a particular ritual on a specific occasion; and so forth. There were, in every age, scholarly clerics who produced doctrinal tracts, but the primary activity of the vast majority of the clerics over the centuries appears to have been not so much the production and study of doctrinal tracts but the learning, practicing, and performing of rituals. In a recent study, Helen Hardacre provides evidences of the relative importance of ritual over doctrine in the case of Reiyūkai Kyōdan 霊友会教団, one of the so-called New Religions (see Hardacre 1984, pp. 72, 75, 141), and thus it appears that the preeminence of ritual in Japanese religion continues into the modern day.

In early and medieval Japan, the vast majority of rituals appear to have had less an "other-worldly" (having to do with the monks' attainment of enlightenment or salvation) than a "this-worldly" (*genze riyaku* 現世利益) purpose. From the earliest days, as shall be discussed later, the most important rituals were performed for the stability and protection of the state. Other rituals were frequently performed for the purpose of bringing about the realization of specific, practical goals (the safe birth of a child, deliverance from sickness, the designation of a certain imperial prince as crown prince, and so on), and those rituals were usually performed at the court or in the residences of the wealthy patrons of the

monks who performed them. Clerics who performed efficacious rituals – that is, rituals that were believed to have brought about the intended effects – were rewarded by the rituals' patrons with finances, grants of land, promotion to high offices in the religious communities, appointment to the *sōgō* 僧綱 (the council that oversaw all matters pertaining to Buddhist monks and monasteries), and court titles. Thus, just as the rituals served the court élite, they also served as the coinage whereby clerics could purchase power and prestige.

It might also be argued that developments within the Buddhist-Shinto tradition(s) may best be understood less as developments of new doctrines than as the appearance of new kinds of rituals. The rise of esoteric traditions in the Heian period can best be understood in this way, and the so-called reform schools of Buddhism that developed in the early Kamakura period (1185–1333) might also be interpreted as movements that propagated new forms of ritual rather than as new doctrinal traditions, each with a dramatically new and different interpretation of important Buddhist concepts. Indeed, many of those new doctrines and rituals might have been less unique than has often been thought, and the Kamakura reform schools probably represented less of a break with the Buddhism of the Heian period than is commonly assumed. According to Kuroda Toshio, a mixture of esoteric and "exoteric" (*kengyō* 顕教) teachings and rituals characterized all Japanese Buddhist schools from the Nara period down to the modern age; all pre-modern Buddhist schools, including the Kamakura reform schools, were variations on a persistent "exoteric-esoteric structure" (*kenmitsu taisei* 顕密体制.[11] Kuroda's theory points up a problem in the commonly-accepted periodization of the history of Japanese religions.

Thus, were we to rank religious institutions, rituals, and doctrines in order of their relative importance in pre-modern Japanese societies, institutions would rank first, rituals second, and doctrines last.

Religion and politics

In regard to the fourth issue noted above, that of the nature of the relation between religion and politics in pre-modern Japanese society, there are two sub-issues that might be addressed: an ideological one regarding the role that religious concepts played in the formation and formulation of state ideology, and an institutional one regarding the nature of the relation between religious institutions (the monastery-shrine complexes) and the organs of government.

In regard to the ideological issue, in the period before continental influences made a strong impact on Japan, the justification for the possession of authority in society by certain "families" (*uji* 氏) appears to have rested on the claim that those families were descended from certain ancestral *kami*, and thus their possession of authority was, as it were, a divine birthright. By the sixth century, Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian materials had begun to arrive in Japan as part of a wave of Chinese and Korean influences that swept over the country. The formulators of the earliest Japanese political statements to have come down to us

were familiar with those materials and used concepts contained in them when they were making their formulations. It was not the case that certain imported religious notions were selectively adopted by a group of people who possessed a fully developed indigenous politico-religious philosophy, and still less an "extra-religious" political philosophy: rather, the ways of thinking of those people, their mental frames of reference, were profoundly shaped by and imbued with religious notions. In other words, some of the earliest statements about the nature of authority in Japanese societies were religious statements; or, to put it differently, "political" statements were simultaneously "religious" statements.

Possible examples of the commingling of "political" and "religious" symbols are many. For instance, in the first part of Article 2 of the "Seventeen Article Constitution" (*Jūshichijō kenpō* 十七条憲法) of 604 C.E., a "political" document, there is the "religious" profession that the "Three Treasures" (the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha) are the ultimate refuge of all beings and the absolute norm for all countries. Emperor Shōmu's construction of a huge statue of Vairocana Buddha in the 740s is another case in point: by building that statue, which some might interpret as an exclusively "religious" event, Shōmu was making the "political" declaration that just as Vairocana Buddha is the symbol and guarantor of unity and harmony in the universe, so he, Shōmu, is the symbol and guarantor of unity and harmony in the state.

From the early periods of Japanese history, state ideology was expressed in two sets of terms. One of those sets is indicated by the well-known phrase *chingo-kokka* 鎮護国家 ("the prosperity and protection of the state"). This expression is a statement of the belief that the state had divine guarantees, that by way of certain rituals it could invoke the power of the *kami* and Buddhas to protect it. This belief is in evidence continuously throughout early and medieval Japanese history. Saichō designated the monastery that he built on Mt. Hiei the "Practice Hall for the Protection of the Country" (*chingo kokka no dōjō* 道場), and he called the nine cloisters that he built there the "Cloisters of the Nine Directions for the Everlasting Protection of the Country of Japan" (*Nihonkoku kōgo kuhō-in* 日本国恒護九方院).[12]

Ōbō and buppō

The other fundamental politico-religious formula was that of the "mutual dependence of the 'Imperial Law' (*ōbō* 王法) and the 'Buddhist Law' (*buppō* 仏法)" (*ōbō buppō sōi* 相依). From the middle of the Heian period, Japanese state ideology came to be enunciated in terms of the relation between the *ōbō* and the *buppō*. Although, as the use of these terms would indicate, there was a recognition of two "fonts" of politico-religious authority, those two concepts did not represent anything resembling "secular" and "religious" laws, for both were equally "religious" and equally "political." Indeed, even the notion of the *ōbō* is an Indian Buddhist one (Skt. *rāja-dharma*), as is, of course, the concept of *buppō* (Skt. *buddha-dharma*). In Japan, the *ōbō* concept also had Shinto

overtones in that, as was mentioned above, the early ruling families justified their possession of power on the basis of their descent from certain ancestral *kami*, and therefore the "Imperial Law" had the sanction of the *kami*. Thus, in reference to the first issue addressed in this essay, Buddhism and Shinto were also linked together in the formulation of state ideologies. From the eleventh century there appear in the documents declarations to the effect that although the *ōbō* and the *buppō* are two in terminology, they are one in reality. The *ōbō*, with its sanction of the *kami*, and the *buppō*, with its sanction of the Buddhas, formed the two chambers of the heart of a single living organism, the Japanese body politic (see KURODA 1983, pp. 8–22; MCMULLIN 1985).

Furthermore, in reference to a point made earlier, the relation between the *ōbō* and the *buppō* was interpreted differently in accordance with changes in the politico-economic conditions of the time. In the mid-Heian period, for example, as the monastery-shrine complexes became richer and stronger, the definition of the nature of the relation between the *ōbō* and the *buppō* changed from one that described the *buppō* as the servant of the *ōbō* to one that identified the two as equals. From the late Heian through the medieval periods, the relation between the *ōbō* and the *buppō* was likened to the relation between the two wings of a bird, the two horns of a cow, and the two wheels of a cart: the *ōbō* and the *buppō* were, so to speak, the two oars that propelled the Japanese ship of state.[13] This new understanding of the relation between the *ōbō* and the *buppō* represented the "ideologization" of the fact that the major monastery-shrine complexes had become quite powerful (as powerful as the leading court families), a development that was made possible by a shift in the economic base of the major monasteries from state finances to patronage by powerful families.

Thus, as several modern Japanese scholars, especially Kuroda Toshio, have demonstrated, religion and politics were intimately related in Japanese society from the pre-Nara age up through the Tokugawa period (1600–1868).[14] From the earliest period of Japanese history, "political" ideology was never formulated in isolation from "religious" ideology: political and religious thinking/language in regard to the state were so totally intertwined that to regard politics and religion as separate phenomena is to impose on early and medieval Japanese society a kind and a degree of fragmentation that it did not know. There was no politics-versus-religion dichotomy in pre-modern Japanese societies: all notions about authority were politico-religious. Indeed, in these societies, religion and politics were so commingled that the very use of the terms "religion" and "politics" in reference to them causes an interpretative splitting of them.[15]

Rituals and state ideologies

From the earliest times in Japan, religious rituals played an important role in state ideologies, and it is doubtful that anyone would have thought of them as having an exclusively or even a primarily other-worldly purpose as opposed to "this-worldly" (political, economic, social, etc.) ones. As tools whereby clerics,

as well as members of the ruling élite who had rituals performed on their behalf, gained and maintained power, the rituals were, in a very real sense, political tools. Because the proper and regular performance of various religious rituals was believed to be a *sine qua non* for the wellbeing and smooth running of the state, and to contribute to the acquisition and preservation of political power by the élite, then the performance of such rituals was part of the political process. Religious rituals were not ancillary to the doing of government; to "do rituals" was, in a very real sense, to "do government."

The most important rituals were those that were performed for the wellbeing of the imperial house and the inner circle of ruling families. Those rituals, and the religious institutions at which they were performed, played an indispensable role in communicating and reinforcing state ideology. As Paul Wheatley and Thomas See point out, ritual is "an important component of the communications network of a society, transmitting information through both its content and its occurrence" (1978, p. 15). The major state rituals of early and medieval Japan were customarily performed at the aforementioned twenty-two monastery-shrine complexes which were the central component of the *chingo-kokka* ideology.[16] In the words of Paul Wheatley, citing an earlier study of his, "[the great ceremonial centers] functioned as instruments for the dissemination through all levels of society of beliefs which, in turn, enabled the wielders of political power to justify their goals in terms of the basic values of that society, and to present the realization of class-directed aims as the implementation of collectively desirable policies" (WHEATLEY and SEE 1978, p. 16). In other words, religious symbols were used for political purposes; ritual served power. From very early times in Japan, the ruling élite used religious symbols to legitimate, and indeed sanctify, what was, when all is said and done, a fundamentally arbitrary structure of control and domination. As was seen in the case of Emperor Shōmu, "it is only too evident that the Japanese rulers had mastered the art of cloaking power in a garb of sanctity" (WHEATLEY and SEE 1978, p. 17).

Some scholars who acknowledge the intimate relation between religion and politics in the early and medieval periods claim that religion and politics became separated with the advent of the modern age (post 1868). I would suggest that this claim is not correct, because religion and politics are still intimately related in Japanese society, albeit in a fashion that differs from the ways in which they were related in earlier periods. It might be argued that that relation is somewhat parallel to the one between religion and politics in modern American society as portrayed in the "American civil religion" model offered by Robert Bellah and others (see RICHEY and JONES 1974). Evidence of the continuing intimacy between religion and politics in modern Japanese society may be found, for example, in the roles played by the Meiji shrine, the Ise shrine, the Yasukuni shrine, the Sōka Gakkai organization, and various other institutions.

Religious institutions and the state

As to the relation between religious institutions (notably the monastery-shrine complexes) and the state, the history of that relation is one in which, for the first few centuries (seventh to tenth), the court tried, but eventually failed, to enforce a strict control over those institutions. From the mid-tenth century through the mid-sixteenth, a number of the major monastery-shrine complexes possessed so much political, economic, and even military power that they could not be controlled by the state.

The main reason for the monastery-shrine complexes' acquisition of political, economic, and military power was the court's increasing loss of control of the land from the mid-eighth century around which time powerful families, especially the Fujiwara, and the major monastery-shrine complexes began to amass privately-controlled parcels of land that came to enjoy various immunities from court interference and, subsequently, from the authority of the shogunate's provincial "military governors" (*shugo* 守護). As George Sansom once observed pointedly, "The truth is that the real source of power in Japanese life was the land ... Land is the key to political history in Japan, at almost every point" (1958, pp. 110 and 139). Estimates of the percentage of the land that was controlled by the monastery-shrine complexes in the Heian and Kamakura periods vary wildly between twenty and sixty percent of the total: whatever the case, it was a substantial fraction of the total.

On their estates the monastery-shrine complexes collected taxes and corvée from the people, and in some cases they even had juridical authority, that is, the right to police their lands and punish offenders of the law. There is much evidence of the economic and political power of those complexes through the early and medieval periods. For example, the Kōfuku-ji/Kasuga complex was the de facto master of Yamato province for centuries. Similarly, the Mt. Hiei/Hie complex, which owned over 350 estates scattered throughout dozens of provinces, was the de facto master of most of Ōmi province where many of its estates were located, and it was also a powerful force in the commercial world in the medieval period. According to Kuroda Toshio, in the medieval period the institutions that imposed order and structure on those large segments of society that were not under the direct control of the military (*bushi* 武士) class were the monasteries and shrines.[17] In early and medieval Japan, the monastery-shrine complexes provided for the residents of their lands a socio-political structure that differed significantly from those headed by the court and the shogunate, and it appears that in the medieval period many people (the *ikkō monto* 一向門徒, the *hokke monto* 法華門徒, and others), preferring to live in a socio-political structure based on certain classical religious notions rather than in one constructed by the *bushi*, resisted incorporation into the *bushi* structures.[18] It was with the eradication of the power of the monastery-shrine complexes in the latter decades of the sixteenth century, and with the establishment of the Tokugawa regime in the early seventeenth century, that there came about the total "*bushi*-ization" of Japanese society.

On the basis of the foregoing considerations it is necessary to revamp certain interpretations of the nature of the political structure in early and medieval Japan. According to a still generally accepted model of that structure, the court élite ruled the country up to the latter decades of the twelfth century, from which time the military élite ruled it, through the shogunate, until the late-nineteenth century. Another model, one that best fits the evidence in that it takes into account the power that the monastery-shrine complexes wielded over the centuries from the tenth through the mid-sixteenth, is as follows: from the mid-tenth century through the twelfth, the monastery-shrine complexes controlled so much of the land, and the people who lived on and worked that land, that they, together with the court élite, formed the government in fact if not on paper. Indeed, in that period the court élite together with the monastery-shrine élites formed a single class of people who were usually related by blood: the people who had the highest offices in the major monastery-shrine complexes were often the younger sons of noble families, the older sons of which held the highest court offices at the time. In the period from the late-twelfth through the mid-sixteenth centuries, there was a gradual decline in the power of the monastery-shrine complexes, and yet a number of the major ones maintained so much, and in some cases most, of their power, and others (like the Ishiyama Hongan-ji 石山本願寺 in Osaka) came to possess such immense power, that together they formed, so to speak, one leg of the tripod of political power, the other two "legs" being the military élite and the court élite. Therefore, rather than think in terms of the nature of the relation *between* religious institutions and the state in the early and medieval (at least the first half of the medieval) periods, it is appropriate to adopt a model proposed by Kuroda Toshio – the "influential parties system" (*kenmon taisei* 権門体制) – according to which the monastery-shrine complexes constituted a power bloc (albeit an ununited one) that functioned in effect as a co-ruler of the country for a number of centuries.[19] Indeed, it was not until the latter half of the sixteenth century that the *bushi* had enough power to be able to confront, defeat, and finally eliminate the forces of the major monastery-shrine complexes.

Historiographical issues

The second set of questions related to the four general issues with which this essay is concerned is a complex historiographical one regarding the premises with which modern scholars approach the study of pre-modern Japanese societies, the issue of why the history of religions is done in the way that it is.

In addressing any topic in history, Asian or Western, pre-modern or modern, one might do well to reflect on Voltaire's caustic observation to the effect that history is a pack of tricks that we play on the dead. This "playing of tricks" has to do with the fact that historians approach their topics of research with packs of assumptions that they carry with – or, more accurately stated, are part of – them. In attempting to acquire an understanding of the nature and structure of

pre-modern Japanese societies, it is important to be aware of the assumptions that color that inquiry lest we fall victim to the "retrospective fallacy"[20] whereby we read present structures into the past. It is also important to avoid what might be called the "infantilization fallacy," which is rooted in a theory first proposed by Oswald Spengler (1880–1936) and according to which cultures pass through a life cycle from youth to maturity to old age and death. This theory allows us to treat peoples of the past – i.e., of earlier stages of Spengler's cycle – as simpler, more gullible, and all-round less mature than we are. In a recent piece on "buddhology," John MARALDO notes that Buddhist scholars "have not reflected sufficiently on their own interpretive stance" (1986, p. 43). Perhaps, as Herbert Bix points out, there are complex ideological reasons for the way in which Japan studies in the United States and Britain have been conducted since the late 1940s.[21]

The truth of the matter is that not only religious traditions but Religious Studies itself furthers certain views and values that are in fact indissociable from certain ideological/political ones. The idea that there are non-political forms of inquiry is simply a myth (in the ordinary sense) that furthers certain political agendas all the more effectively. Consider, for instance, two hypothetical Religious Studies scholars who produce studies of Genshin's Ōjōyōshū, one of whom expounds on Genshin's oral portrait of the pleasures of paradise, and the other of whom tries to reconstruct Genshin's class biases as manifested in that text. Let me emphasize that what differentiates the works of these scholars is not that the former is a non-political piece and the latter a political one. The distinction is, rather, between different forms of politics. It is not the case here that I am trying to drag politics into Religious Studies. Indeed, to paraphrase Terry EAGLETON, there is no need to do so because, as with South African sport, politics has been there from the beginning (1983, p. 194). Again, paraphrasing Eagleton, Religious Studies is

> not to be upbraided for being political, but for being on the whole covertly or unconsciously so – for the blindness with which ... [it] offers as supposedly "technical," "self-evident," "objective," "scientific," or "universal," truths doctrines which with a little reflection can be seen to relate to and reinforce the particular interests of particular groups of people at particular times.
>
> (1983, p. 195)

It would be naive to believe that modern scholars in Religious Studies produce objective, ideology-free studies of the past. It was Roland Barthes who pointed out that the university critique, in spite of its professed objectivity, is postulated upon an ideology as much as any of the types of interpretative criticism that it accuses of systematic bias and prejudice.

This is not a moral critique that calls into doubt the state of the souls of modern academics, but a critique of the shape of our society and the role of the

academy in it. Speaking of the Tokugawa Period, Herman OOMS states that there were

> genuine cognitive limitations inherent in the social perceptions of the ruling elite, perceptions which stemmed from their position in society . . . [and that] escaped their consciousness.
>
> (1984, p. 51)

What, we might ask, are our cognitive limitations (assuming that we can ask that question)? I am reminded here of Noam Chomsky's scathing indictment of the intellectual élite of our present society as the "secular priesthood" of the state.

As a general consideration it should also be noted that historical studies of pre-modern societies, not only of Japan but of many countries, tend to be warped in such a way that disproportionate attention is devoted to the famous and powerful members of the societies that are being studied, or, in other words, to the ruling élites, if for no other reason but that it was members of that class who had the education, the economic wherewithal, and the leisure time to compose the documents that have come down to us and that historians study. As Mikhail BAKHTIN has pointed out, at its very core literary language is the oral and written language of a dominant social group (1981, pp. 289–290). Thus the views expressed in so many classical texts were, in Joseph KITAGAWA's words, "based on reading Japanese historical experience through the mental prism of the aristocracy, another form of mythologization of history" (1985, p. 92). Because of the nature of so many historical documents (and, perhaps, for ideological reasons), it might be tempting to accept Thomas Carlyle's dictum that the history of the world is but the biography of great men. A whole genre of historical writing is founded on that view, and many examples of it can be found among modern studies of the history of Japanese religions. In some cases scholars appear to favor the "great men" over the "unruly" masses.[22] As a rule, the masses are seen as passengers of the ship of state and are not considered to have been major players in the religious dramas.

In the context of modern scholarship, both Asian and Western, on the Buddhist tradition, the term "history of Buddhism" has come to be largely synonymous with "history of Buddhist doctrine," or "history of ideas"; that is, the history of the development of a vast variety of views on a wide range of issues that were espoused by numerous schools of Buddhism and various lines of Buddhist masters over the centuries from the fifth century B.C.E. to the present. The focus of such studies is on what those schools and masters thought: how they interpreted and reinterpreted such concepts as enlightenment, buddha-nature, emptiness, and so forth. That kind of "history of Buddhism" is a variant of the "great man" type of history, but with an added level of abstraction: that is, the physic of the great master is discarded and there is left just a psyche, a free-floating, ahistorical, ethereal corpus of "great ideas." In the West, Buddhism has

often been portrayed as an other-worldly tradition dedicated to the private salvation of the individual. Possibly more than any other tradition, it has been religionized, doctrinalized, spiritualized, other-worldly'ized, and individualized in ways and to degrees that simply do not fit the classical Buddhist case but that do fit the case of some modern Western views of religion. Many studies tone up the "enchanted" dimension of the Buddhist tradition at the expense of other dimensions. Pierre BOURDIEU, who is speaking of art history in the following quotation but whose words are easily translatable into the realm of the history of religion, points out that

> art history [as conventionally done] gives free reign to celebratory contemplation and finds in the sacred character of its object every pretext for a hagiographic hermeneutics superbly indifferent to the question of the social conditions in which works are produced and circulate.
>
> (1977, p. 1)

Another general problem that is encountered with regard to historiographical questions is a simple but most serious one: namely, because modern scholars rely on Japanese sources, both primary and secondary, in conducting their research on pre-modern Japanese societies, they inevitably transmit views contained in those works. For example, many Western works on the history of Japanese religions have been influenced, directly or indirectly, by the *Hasshū kōyō* 八宗綱要, which was written in 1268 by the Hossō monk Gyōnen 凝然 (1240–1321). In that work Gyōnen interpreted the nature and structure of the Nara and Heian schools of Buddhism in a rigid "sectarian" way that is misleading and largely incorrect. The problems with Gyōnen's view have been demonstrated by several modern scholars,[23] but nonetheless, as AKAMATSU Toshihide points out, its influence has continued down to the present (1967, p. 311). Also, many modern Japanese works on the history of religions are sectarian tracts that present pictures that are highly colored by the views of the branches of the traditions to which the authors of those works belong.

As to the first major issue raised above, that is, the intimate relation between Buddhism and Shinto in the pre-modern period, it is possible to identify several reasons why that intimacy is sometimes overlooked. Even though latterly it is frequently acknowledged that it is impossible at times to "demarcate" Buddhism and Shinto in pre-modern Japanese society,[24] many studies make such a demarcation; i.e., they treat Buddhism and Shinto as two separate and distinct traditions in the face of and despite the evidence that they were not. As an example of the degree to which Buddhist and Shinto institutions are segregated in some modern works, neither the *Nihon bukkyōshi jiten* (ŌNO 1979) nor the *Koji meisetsu daijiten* (KANAOKA 1970), standard reference works for the study of the history of Buddhism and Buddhist monasteries in Japan, contains an entry on the aforementioned Gion shrine, presumably because that institution is termed a shrine and is, accordingly, considered to be a Shinto as opposed to a Buddhist

institution, the latter of which are the concern of those reference works (ŌNO 1979 and KANAOKA 1970).

Moreover, there is a tendency on the part of some scholars to take the Shinto of the ruling élite of premodern eras for Shinto in general, and to fail to recognize that the vast bulk of what we call Shinto was local cults that were concerned not with state legitimation myths and rituals but with fertility and disease. Also, the Shinto of the ruling élite was less a "religion," in the sense of a set of soteriological beliefs and practices, than an ideological support structure for the imperium, and it began to appear as a separate, autonomous tradition in the medieval period in that context and for that purpose.

A fundamental reason for the tendency to treat Buddhism and Shinto as completely separate traditions has to do with the modern Western "genus-species" view of religion that divides religion into a number of forms: "primitive religions," "world religions," "gnostic religions," and so forth. In keeping with this view, because Buddhism and Shinto are considered to be two species of the "world religions" genus – or perhaps even members of different genera, Buddhism being a member of the "world religions" genus, and Shinto of the "primitive religions" genus—then ipso facto they are, and must always have been throughout history, separate and distinct traditions. Thus the genus-species model of religion is imposed upon and read back into Japanese history. Those who accept this view assume that in Japanese history people and institutions must have been either Buddhist or Shintoist, but not both at the same time, and were some people to have behaved as though they were both, then somehow something was awry. Some modern scholars have cast doubt on the universal applicability of the concept of religion and others, have suggested that we do away with the concept entirely.[25]

So far in this essay we have accepted the common understanding of the word religion according to which there are numerous phenomena "out there" in the world that are sui generis religious in character, and that, accordingly, the task of the historian of religions is to identify, gather, and interpret those religious phenomena. However, some deadly blows have been rained on this "essentially essentialist" view of religion by a number of modern, especially European, scholars whose works cause us to turn our attention away from the so-called religious phenomena themselves and to the sets of assumptions that underlie the view that there are such things as inherently religious phenomena. Thus the rudimentary question is not what are the religious phenomena but, rather, why do we, as students of "religion," assume that there are such phenomena "out there," and what are the sets of criteria that we employ when we identify a certain phenomenon, a certain human event, as a religious (as apposed to a political, etc.) one. To paraphrase Terry EAGLETON, we might ask if it is even possible to speak of religion without perpetuating the illusion that religion exists as a distinct, bounded object of knowledge (1983, pp. 204–205).

A problem also lurks in the common usage of the word religion in the singular. We might ask if there is, or ever was, Japanese religion (singular). The

religious discourse of any age (not to mention across the ages) was not a single, unified one at all; rather it was a tension-filled, multi-valent field of competing discourses that were differentiated one from the other not primarily along horizontal sectarian/denominational lines (i.e. Buddhism, Shinto, Confucianism, etc.), but along the vertical axis of class divisions and urban-rural divisions. It has been the tendency for scholars to overplay the sectarian/denominational divisions in the Japanese religious fabric, and to fail to address adequately the class-based divisions. Moreover, the familiar couplet "Japanese Religion" is heavily ideological in that it infers unity and continuity in Japanese culture and thus it obfuscates the diversity that was constantly manifested in the vertical (class) divisions in Japanese societies over the centuries. It allows for evolutionary transitions in history, but it has no room for sharp breaks, for fractures in the smooth fabric of history, for dialectics. Japanese history was a bumpier ride than the phrase "Japanese Religion" implies.

Religion, society, and "great ideas"

In regard to the second main issue raised above, developments in the religious world must be understood in terms of the ways in which they reflected and addressed developments in the societies of the times in which those developments took place. It is important to steer clear of the isolationist fallacy according to which, in this context, developments in the religious discourses came about primarily as the result of dynamics inherent to those discourses. There are, I suggest, several reasons for the tendency of some studies to deal with the development of institutions, rituals, and doctrines in isolation from the broader context of the societies in which they developed and existed. A perhaps obvious reason for the isolationist tendency is that no scholar of pre-modern Japanese societies is an expert on every dimension of those societies. Many Buddhist scholars, for example, are very familiar with the teachings of one or other Buddhist master, the person on whom their research is concentrated, but less familiar with the economic and political structures of the society of the period in which that master lived and taught. Consequently, for instance, Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1262), the founder of the True Pure Land school of Buddhism in the early Kamakura period, is not infrequently spoken about without reference to the major political shifts that were taking place at that time: it is as though Shinran could have lived at any time at all; as though the major political developments that took place in his time had little or nothing to do with the shape of his teaching; as though Shinran's True Pure Land movement had little or no political context or agenda; and as though his teachings evolved simply by the rules of their own internal logic.

A major reason for this "isolation" tendency may have to do with another aspect of the common, modern (Western) understanding of religion that allows one to pull "a religion" out of its social-political-economic-cultural setting and examine it in isolation from that setting as though each "religion" were, so to

speak, a closed circuit that need not be plugged in somewhere for sense to be made of it. In the words of Fitz John Porter Poole,

> from an anthropological perspective, ... the curious assumption that religion could be studied almost *in vacuo* became untenable in the midst of a newfound functionalist concern to see religious phenomena intricately suspended in broader webs of cultural significance and subtly embedded in wider arrays of social institutions
>
> (POOLE 1986, pp. 411).

"Buddhism" and "Shinto" can be abstracted from the general fabric of Japanese history only in a highly reified and wholly theoretical way. In the same way that it is misleading to speak in reified terms of Christianity "in" medieval European society (that society *was* Christian), it is also misleading to speak of Buddhism "in" early and medieval Japanese societies, for those societies *were* Buddhist. In other words, Buddhism was not an autonomous "thing" that had, as it were, a fenced off place in the Japanese world, or an accretion that was somehow stuck on to Japanese societies by some kind of removable tape; it was endemic to, at the very heart of, those societies. While it is true that the premodern Japanese were Buddhists, they were also, at the same time, Shintoists, Taoists, and Confucians. Japanese Buddhists, in other words, were not just Buddhists: they were all enmeshed in an extremely complex and intricate economic-political-social-cultural fabric that was informed in many ways by Buddhist influences, but also by a variety of other sets of influences in such a mutually interpenetrating and interpermeating way that Buddhism cannot be abstracted from that fabric without transforming it into something that it never was, and without, at the same time, rending the fabric so badly that it bears little resemblance to the reality.[26] Thus, to try to understand and explain the development of religious institutions in early and medieval Japanese societies by examining only or primarily a sequence of great masters or a causally unfolding line of "great ideas" is to overlook major sets of determining mechanisms that lie behind that development, and therefore to warp the examination.

In regard especially to doctrine there is a tendency to treat doctrinal statements as extrahistorical phenomena that can be understood in their own terms as exercises in philosophy, as self-enclosed packets of "great ideas." The study of a doctrine in isolation from its cultural setting can be, it goes without saying, a valuable and fruitful intellectual pursuit in its own right, but it is also necessary to "ground" the doctrine under consideration in its cultural and historical context if the reasons for its development, the nuances of its meaning, and its full significance are to be understood and appreciated. This is because it is not primarily ideas but structures—economic, political, social, and so forth—that form the foundation on which any society is built and that determine to a great degree the shape of that society's religious discourse, and those structures must be taken into account if any particular aspect of a given society is to be explained

with accuracy. By focusing too narrowly on "great ideas" we run the risk of trying to explain complex issues in excessively narrow terms, and thus of forcing many of the great masters of the past to sleep in procrustean beds.

Like doctrinal developments, the development of religious institutions and rituals also must be understood in the broad context and against the background of the societies in which those institutions and rituals arose and functioned, for they were established and had meaning in an environment that was intimately conjoined to the rest of society.

It must be noted that this essay does not make the reductionist claim that institutional, ritual, and doctrinal developments can be accounted for fully by reference solely to economic and political factors, for such a claim would be the equivalent, in the words of *The Philosophical Lexicon*, of attempting "to deduce [Einstein's] . . . special theory of relativity from the social structure of the Zurich patent office" (DENNETT and LAMBERT 1978, pp. 5–6). Nor is it being claimed that religious structures are merely reflections of the economic and political structures of a given society: religious structures are both the effects and the causes (more the former than the latter, I suggest) of economic and political structures, and the relation among them is symbiotic.

On a simpler level, a major reason for the tendency of scholars to deal with the development of institutions, rituals and doctrines in isolation from the broader context of the societies in which they developed may be found in the fragmented condition of the modern university curriculum whereby, in this age of "professionalism," one can specialize in one aspect of a particular society in a particular period without having to master the other aspects of that society in that period. In the case of Japanese studies, for example, it is possible to become a specialist in Japanese Buddhism without studying Shinto, a specialist in religion without studying economics or politics, or a specialist in history without studying the religion of the period of one's specialty. As a consequence of this situation, scholars of pre-modern Japanese societies are inclined to assign disproportionate importance to those dimensions of society that they know and understand well, and to underplay or undervalue those that they do not.

Ritual, myth, magic

In regard to the third issue raised above, the comparative importance of religious institutions, rituals, and doctrines, it is apparent, and curious, that much modern scholarship on the history of Japanese religions has tended to overlook institutional and ritual issues in favor of doctrinal ones. Thus there is in English a disproportionate number of studies of Japanese Buddhist doctrines and masters, and extremely few studies of religious institutions and rituals despite the fact (or at least the claim made earlier) that religion was important in pre-modern Japan less for doctrinal than for institutional and ritual reasons. Why there is such a disproportion is difficult to say. It seems that many people in the West are interested in Japanese religions less in order to understand and explain their develop-

ment in Japanese societies – which would necessitate an examination of the economic and political developments in the periods under consideration – than for existential or therapeutic reasons. In this regard, perhaps the psychopathology of contemporary American society as diagnosed by Christopher LASCH (1978 and 1984), and the reasons for the present popularity of Asian religions in American society as analyzed by Harvey COX (1977, especially pp. 74–90), can help to account for the present state of Japanese religious studies in the West.

In regard to the institutions, rituals, and doctrines troika, it may be the case that we are attempting to replace an old set of fixed notions (Buddhism, Shinto, religion, politics, etc.) with a new fixed set that is equally inapplicable to pre-modern Japanese societies. This may indeed be the case, but it remains to be seen, and I suggest that we do not assume it to be true *a priori*. It might be argued that there is evidence, at least in the case of the structure of the Mt. Hiei-Hie community, that there was an inherent distinction between ritual and doctrine in that community in that some members of it, notably the "scholar monks" (*gakuryō* 学侶), were charged specifically with studying the sūtras and writing what we would call doctrinal treatises, whereas others (a larger number) were responsible for learning and practicing rituals. And yet, there may be problems here in that the duty of the *gakuryō* might have been not just "doctrinal" activity but general intellectual activity that had to do with both doctrinal and ritual matters. Thus the distinction may have been between "thinkers" and "doers," rather than between doctrinalists and ritualists, for it was in fact the case that the *gakuryō* were also the leaders of the rituals. This matter requires further investigation and clarification.

A factor that might help to account for the lack of sophisticated, in-depth studies of Japanese rituals is the "demythologizing" exercises of a century ago, which, conducted as they were in a climate of empiricism and rationalism, tended to denigrate myth and ritual. Myth is still taken by some to mean a story that is both primitive and false, and ritual smacks of magic and superstition. Accordingly, some scholars of religion seem to consider rituals to be comparatively unimportant, to be secondary or ancillary to doctrine; that is, rituals are believed to express or act out the truths contained in doctrines. It appears to be assumed that what people thought and believed was prior to and more important than what they practiced, and this, as suggested earlier, is a reading into pre-modern Japanese societies of a quality that may have characterized some religious traditions in the pre-modern world, but not the Japanese. Frits Staal urges us to "abandon the view that underlies most contemporary approaches to ritual: the view that ritual is symbolic, and depends on doctrine or belief," and he argues that in Asia rituals do not symbolize or depend on doctrines. Indeed, says he, "it is the other way around: one of the most important functions of doctrine is to make sense of ritual" (1984, pp. 18–19).[27]

In the foregoing analysis of historical and historiographical problems in the study of pre-modern Japanese religions, much of the blame for those problems is attributed to certain ways of thinking that have come down to us from

the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. Richard Gardner applies this analysis to the matter of the relation between religion and art. According to GARDNER,

> To put a complex matter simply, religion and art, as these categories develop from the Enlightenment onward, frequently define one another by similarity and contrast within the context of efforts to define the nature of perception, epistemology, and the symbol. The problem of the relation of art and religion, in other words, is at root a problem of deploying categories and distinctions bequeathed us from the Enlightenment.
>
> (1985, p. 3)

James Foard, on the other hand, suggests that the root problem in regard to our understanding of pre-modern Japanese religions may be traced not so much to categories inherited by us from Enlightenment thinkers, but to sources that are both more ancient and more modern than Enlightenment thought. In FOARD's view,

> the distinction, even opposition, between religion and magic, which is as old as Augustine's denunciation of theurgy, is at the root of most of our problems in understanding Japanese religion . . . [And, he adds,] as long as we have just "magic," for which symbolic anthropology provides only universal, ahistorical explanations, and not "magics," or as I prefer "techniques," which have distinctive, historical traditions, we will be blind to how such practices functioned in Japanese history and society, where they came from, under what circumstances they developed, and how they are used, distinctively or not, in the new religions.
>
> (1985, p. 14)

Thus, in addition to the yokes imposed on us by Enlightenment thinkers, we are also working under the influences of such disparate figures as Augustine and some modern social anthropologists.

Religious vs. secular?

Finally, turning to the fourth major issue raised above, the relation between religion and politics in pre-modern Japanese societies, a common modern Western assumption appears to be that the religious and the secular (religion and politics, religion and economics, etc.) are, and indeed ought to be, separate entities, and this assumption influences its bearers' interpretations of the nature and structure of those societies. One can find, for example, debates over whether a particular movement in pre-modern Japan was primarily religious or primarily political in character, as if the movement in question had been mainly one or the other but

not both at the same time, or as if it were possible to categorize it as having been a certain percentage of the one and the remaining percentage of the other.

Moreover, it appears to be because of the fact that some scholars accept the religious-secular-separation premise that their works have a critical, if not contemptuous, attitude toward the clergy and religious institutions seemingly in direct proportion to the degree of economic, political, and military power that the clergy and the monastery-shrine complexes possessed. Thus, not infrequently an adjective like avaricious modifies the word monk in the case of a monk who owned or controlled great wealth. Wealthy courtiers, on the other hand, are usually called successful, prosperous, and so on, but rarely avaricious simply on the basis of the fact that they were wealthy. Similarly, an adjective like villainous often modifies the word abbot in the case of abbots who wielded military power, especially when those abbots opposed or defied the "state" (i.e., the court or the shogunate). Shoguns and *daimyō* who wielded military power are never called villainous simply because of the fact that they wielded such power; on the contrary, they are termed formidable, mighty, etc. And monastery-shrine complexes that possessed considerable political, economic, and military power are frequently called degenerate, corrupt, secularized, and so forth, whereas the shogunate, which also wielded such power, is, for that very reason, termed healthy, stable, well-established, etc. Thus the language of some modern works on the history of Buddhism is shot through with expressions that manifest, on the part of their authors, the acceptance of a dualistic view according to which religious institutions ought to wield only "spiritual" and not "secular" power, and, conversely, that political institutions should wield only secular and not religious power.

It is, perhaps, easy to find in Japanese history many things that the clergy "ought not to have done." Monks, for example, ought not to have striven to accumulate wealth, for such activity offends against the codes of the clerical life, but the fact is that many monks did amass great wealth. Also, monks ought not to have had sexual liaisons with women, other men, or boys, but the fact is that some had such liaisons. And the monastery-shrine complexes ought not to have maintained armies of "monk-warriors" (*sōhei* 僧兵), but some did. Thus it is possible to make a long list of the things that the clergy and the religious institutions ought not to have done in pre-modern Japan. Such an enterprise is not, however, the doing of history, the point of which is to describe and analyze, insofar as it is possible to do so, how Japanese societies developed and why they took the turns that they did, as well as to understand why historians, both premodern and modern, have treated those societies in the ways that they have. To take the aforementioned *sōhei* phenomenon as a case in point:

In the early and medieval periods, the *sōhei* were called "wicked monks" (*akusō* 悪僧). The reason why those monks were deemed wicked was, I suggest, not so much that their bearing and use of arms was a transgression of Buddhist ethics and the clerical codes, which indeed they were, but that those monks did not submit to the ordinances of the central administration in regard to such

matters as the proper acquisition of ordination licenses and the building of privately funded cloisters, and they could not be controlled by that administration. To put it differently, the monks were termed wicked primarily because they acted in a manner that did not serve the best interests of the ruling élite (which included, in many cases, the monks' masters, i.e., the abbots of the monastery-shrine complexes) who enacted the laws and wrote most of the texts, and who wanted to repress the *sōhei* so that they might have a freer hand to control a still larger portion of the land. Instead of accepting the ruling élite's language and joining them in condemning the monks as *akusō*, it would be more valuable to try to understand how and why the *sōhei* came to be: how the collapse of the *ritsuryō* system, and the rise in the number of estates controlled by the monastery-shrine complexes, led rather naturally to the development of armed units of monks whose main duty, at least initially, was to police the complexes' precincts.

It is, I suggest, incorrect to assume with reference to pre-modern Japanese societies that politics and religion had different spheres of operation, the former having to do with public, "this-worldly" issues, and the latter with private, "other-worldly" ones. If the word religion is taken in its absolutely narrowest sense, whereby it refers to a set of private beliefs, then it may be possible to keep religion and politics separate, but there is no society, pre-modern or modern, in which religion functioned only in that narrow sense as simply and strictly a private affair. Belief may be strictly private, although this too is highly problematical. If religion is understood in a broader sense, whereby it refers to a body of institutionalized expressions of beliefs, rituals, observances, and social practices found in a given cultural context, then religion and politics greatly overlap insofar as the latter has to do with the regulation and control of people living in society. Throughout history most states have, in fact, recognized this reality, as it demonstrated by their supervision and control of the "religions options" (meaning also the "political options") available to their citizens. In Japanese history, for example, various traditions, such as the *fujufuse* 不受不施 branch of the Nichiren school, the *ikkō* 一向 branch of the True Pure Land school, and Christianity, were banned when they were considered to present a threat to the incumbent politico-religious power/authority structures. Thus the only "religious" options allowed were those deemed "politically" acceptable.

Moreover, and more importantly, it is incorrect to assume that the acquisition of political, economic, and military power on the part of clerics and the monastery-shrine complexes is ipso facto a sign of corruption, degeneration and/or secularization, and equally incorrect to assume that there was once a time in Japan – or even, for that matter, in India – when religious communities were utterly devoid of "secular" power (assuming, for the sake of this point, that there was a notion of purely secular power in pre-modern Japan and India). It is not possible for an established community to enjoy such a "pure" (?) condition, and, at any rate, such a condition is not necessarily one that the Japanese religious communities aspired to; indeed, there is no historical reason to assume that

Japanese clerics or the monastery-shrine communities had such an aspiration. History simply does not support that assumption. From the very first, clerics and their religious institutions possessed various forms of political and economic power, and therefore to accuse the politically, economically, and militarily powerful clerics and religious institutions of having become, by reason of their accumulation of such forms of power, corrupt, degenerate, and/or secularized, is to imply, incorrectly, that there was once a time in Japanese history when clerics and religious institutions did not have "secular" (political and economic) power. If we are to insist on using such morally judgmental language, then we must describe Japanese clerics and religious institutions as having been from the first corrupt, degenerate, and secularized. There has been a tendency in the field of Japanese Religious Studies to preserve religion from the muck and mire of politics and economics, as is evidenced by a preoccupation on the part of some scholars with keeping religion – especially Buddhism, and most especially the Zen tradition – "pure."

Although it is true that clerics and the monastery-shrine complexes possessed political and economic power from the first, it is not true that the very possession of that power made them corrupt, etc., unless, that is, one wishes to make the argument that it is ipso facto wrong for clerics and religious institutions to wield such power. It certainly does not appear that the early and medieval religious communities and their supporters believed that to be the case. Furthermore, Japanese clerics of the early and medieval periods who did not recognize a disparity between, on the one hand, the ideals of their tradition which, for example, disallowed the bearing and use of arms, and, on the other hand, the practice of maintaining armies of "monk-warriors," were not necessarily being disingenuous or hypocritical. Cultures have the ability to gear their discourses in such a way as to make seemingly contradictory phenomena perfectly compatible.

The approach of Japanese scholars

Lastly, we might mention several factors that might help to account for the reasons why some Japanese scholars' works manifest the problems raised above. Perhaps the most obvious reason is that Japanese scholarship of the past century has been greatly influenced by Western ways of doing scholarship. Japanese universities are "shaped like" European and American universities: the academic disciplines in Japanese universities are generally the same as those in Western universities. This is pointedly the case with regard to the study of religions. For instance, Kishimoto Hideo, who was one of the fathers of the discipline of religious studies in Japan and whose views have had a great influence in that field, accepted premises "stemming from the intellectual tradition that traces its origins to Cometean positivism" (Reid 1986, p. 149). Like many Western scholars, Kishimoto was a positivist who accepted the hard distinction between subject and object (and thus, by extension, between religion and politics).

Also, some Japanese historians appear to accept the premise that religious institutions were, as a rule, oppressors of the populace in the early and medieval periods, and therefore they write in a condemnatory style vis-à-vis those institutions. Even if those scholars' claim as to the oppressive nature of the monastery-shrine complexes is true, it might, I suggest, be possible to demonstrate that the monasteries were certainly no more, and possibly less, oppressive than either the court or the shogunate. Besides, as was mentioned earlier, many people in medieval Japan evidently preferred to live under the authority of the monastery-shrine complexes rather than under that of the shogunate. At any rate, in pre-Tokugawa Japan the monastery-shrine socioeconomic structures had as much right to exist as had those of the *bushi*. Other Japanese scholars tend to underestimate the amount of power that the monastery-shrine complexes possessed, especially during the Kamakura period, and, consequently, they neglect to study them.

Japanese scholars of religion, like their Western counterparts, are also influenced by various classical materials, such as the aforementioned *Has-shū kōyō*, and they transmit views contained therein.

In the Tokugawa period, when a number of important scholarly works on the history of Japan were written, it was commonly assumed that only members of the *bushi* class had the right to wield political and military power, and this attitude was read back into history with the result that some Tokugawa historians were condemnatory of rich and powerful clerics and religious institutions as usurpers of forms of power that they had no right to possess. Furthermore, in the Tokugawa period Buddhism came under attack by Neo-Confucians, National Learning scholars, Imperialists, and others, and the negative image of Buddhism and its history that was generated by those critics continues to color Japanese scholarship on religions in pre-modern Japanese societies.

Moreover, the works of some Japanese scholars on premodern Japan reflect the shape that the Japanese religious world had in the earlier part of this century, a shape that was imparted to the Japanese mindscape by Meiji thinkers toward the end of the nineteenth century. As I understand it, for ideological reasons those Meiji thinkers redefined the structure of the Japanese religious traditions by separating the Shinto and Buddhist traditions and by inventing at least one new religion (State Shinto), with the result that the shape of the Japanese religious world from that time forward was dramatically different from what it had been in the preceding dozen or more centuries. In Meiji'esque style, some scholars appear to accept the taxonomy according to which the Japanese landscape/mindscape was dotted with a number of autonomous, distinct traditions (Buddhism, Shinto, etc.) from time immemorial. This view is particularly pronounced in the treatment of Shinto which is often portrayed romantically and unquestioningly as the original, indiginous religious tradition of Japan, as having been concerned primarily over the centuries with the welbeing of the imperial house, and as having survived the vagaries and ravages of the centuries quite unscathed. Thus the Meiji ideologues' victory has been much greater than ordinarily imagined.

Conclusion

In conclusion, there appears to be a consensus on the part of a number of modern scholars, both Japanese and Western, that there are serious problems in the study of pre-modern Japanese religions. In the words of James Foard, "what we have had is indeed a taxonomy or a classification system ... [which,] like the category 'religion' itself, is a product of the academy, and hence is the academy's responsibility" (1985, p. 11). Happily, it appears that a number of the aforementioned issues are now beginning to be addressed.

Notes

1 This essay is an abbreviated and re-edited version of a paper that was submitted to the East-West Center in Honolulu, Hawaii, in June of 1984 upon the termination of a research fellowship that I had there in the 1983–84 academic year. I wish to express my appreciation to the East-West Center, particularly to Allan G. Grapard, who was then the Director of the Lotus Project at the "Center," for making that fellowship available to me. A distilled version of that paper was read at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion in Anaheim, California, in November of 1985. Some insights contained in the papers of the other participants in that panel (James Foard, Richard Gardner, and Helen Hardacre), and observations made in person by them, have been incorporated into the present essay.

2 One of a large number of cases in which continental and indigenous elements were combined from very early times is that of the divinity Gozu Tennō 牛頭天王. Gozu, the ox-headed deity, is an Indian mythological figure who was identified with Mutō Tenjin 武塔天神, a Korean deity, and both were identified subsequently with Susanoo no Mikoto, one of the most important divinities in the classical Japanese myth recorded in the *Kojiki*. This issue is discussed in McMullin 1988.

3 Saichō's father, so it is said, worshipped the *kami* of Mt. Hiei and once built a small shrine on the mountain as a way of evoking the intercession of that *kami* to grant him a son. See Kageyama 1974, p. 42.

4 See Shibuya 1939, p. 24. The two rituals that those monks were to perform were the *dainichigō* 大日業, in which the *Dainichikyō* was recited, and the *ichijigō*, in which the *Ichijikyō* (i.e., the *Bodaidōjōshosetsuichijichōron'ōkyō* 菩提道場所説一字頂輪王経) was recited. For a study of Tendai devotion to Sannō see Yamada 1979.

5 In 868, Ennin's disciples, in keeping with the wishes of their recently-deceased master, constructed a chapel (the Sekizan Zen'in 赤山禅院) at the southwestern foot of Mt. Hiei in honor of a Chinese divinity to whom Ennin had prayed for a safe trip home from China in 847. See Tsuji 1944, p. 340. Ennin and other monks also prayed to "the divinities of the soil" of Quelpart Island, at which Ennin and his traveling companions stopped on the way back to Japan, for a safe voyage. See Reischauer 1955, p. 299.

6 For instance, from the late Heian period the "sacred carts" (*omikoshi* 御神輿), in which the Hie divinities were transported, were carried in procession by Enryaku-ji monks when they marched on Kyoto to lodge a protest.

7 For a discussion of the relation between the Enryaku-ji and the Gion "shrine" see McMullin 1987.

8 Interestingly, the Kasuga shrine, which was affiliated with the Kōfuku-ji, the head monastery of the Hossō school of Buddhism in Nara, had fifty-one branch shrines, the same number as there were Kasuga divinities. See Shimonaka 1937–1938, Vol. 3, p. 270. One might wonder which came first at Kasuga, the branch shrines or the

divinities, or if the number of divinities expanded as the shrine assumed control of more and more smaller shrines.

9 A similar situation appears to have prevailed in the case of early and medieval "poetry debates." That is, it is not clear from the contemporary essays on aesthetics and poetics that were written to explain why poem "X" was judged to be superior to poem "Y" just why in fact poem "X" merited that victory. Evidently factors other than the rules of aesthetics and poetics were influential in the judging procedures in the poetry debates, just as they were in the religious debates.

10 Information on those monks is contained in a register, the *Tendai hokkeshū nenbun tokudo gakushō meichō* 天台法華宗年分得度学生名帳, that Saichō compiled in 819, and is reproduced in TSUJI 1944, pp. 270–274. This matter is discussed in GRONER 1984, pp. 125–126.

11 This issue is discussed in numerous works by Professor Kuroda, to whom I am deeply indebted for his kind guidance during a year of research in Japan in 1981–1982. See KURODA, especially 1963 and also 1967, 1975a, 1975b, 1980, and 1983.

12 In reference to a point made earlier, Saichō's decision to build nine cloisters on Mt. Hiei may have been influenced by Chinese geomancy according to which there were nine directions (north, northeast, east, southeast, south, southwest, west, northwest, and center). The *I Ching*, for instance, contains schema of the eight directions moving out from the center. On that model, the merits generated at Saichō's nine cloisters would permeate the entire country of Japan in all directions.

13 In his review of my book (1985), Martin Collcutt raises the question of just how pervasive and persuasive the "*ōbō-buppō* mutual dependence rhetoric" might have been in the late medieval period. He suggests that it was a one-sided rhetoric on the part of the monasteries, and that there is no reason to think that the sixteenth-century *daimyō* ever accepted that rhetoric "or anything like parity between Buddhist claims and secular claims." See COLLCUTT 1986, especially p. 406. This topic requires further examination.

14 See the works of KURODA, particularly 1975b. For exemplary studies that do for the development of state ideology in the Tokugawa period (1600–1868) what would be most valuable to do also for the development of state ideologies in earlier periods of Japanese history, see OOMS 1984 and 1985, and HAROOTUNIAN 1988. For a similarly important work on the Meiji period (1868–1912) see GLUCK 1985.

15 In the pre-modern Japanese lexicon there was no equivalent of the English word "religion." The word *shūkyō* 宗教, which was first used in its modern sense in 1869 to translate the German term *religionsübung* ("religious exercise") had been used prior to that time to indicate either the Buddhist tradition in general or one or other of the schools of Buddhism. See OGUCHI and HORI 1974, p. 256.

16 See GRAPARD 1988, where he argues that Shinto originated in those cultic centers which were deeply involved in the court ideology.

17 On the issue of the power of the monastery-shrine complexes in the early and medieval periods see KURODA, especially 1980. The Kamakura shogunate attempted to limit the power of the monastery-shrine complexes by prohibiting the formation of new home-branch (*honmatsu*) relations among monasteries and shrines in the Kyoto area. For an English-language study of the power of the Zen institutions in the medieval period, see COLLCUTT 1981.

18 See Herbert Bix's discussion of medieval *ikki* 一揆, which he describes as "solidarity bands" that were "based on the will of heaven" and the "ancient Japanese belief in the oneness of men through and with the gods." Bix points out that an *ikki* "was also a ritual for keeping alive prefeudal ideas of impartial justice, equality and equity in a society dominated by kinship, hierarchy, and fixed statuses" (BIX 1986, p. 143).

19 The *kenmon taisei* is discussed in a number of Kuroda's works. See especially 1963 and 1967.

20 This is Herman Ooms' expression.

21 Bix argues that after World War II "Japan studies in the United States and Britain was reconstituted along cold-war, anti-Marxist lines," and that the Japanese past was recast with concepts and assumptions "derived in large part from American state ideology, whose construction of the past meshed nicely with the needs of American foreign policy" (BIX 1986, pp. xiii–xiv).

22 Latterly a number of books on the peasant classes in pre-modern Japan, including the one by BIX 1986, have been attempting to compensate for the lack of studies of the peasants.

23 Kuroda's *kenmon taisei* thesis opposes Gyōnen's view. See note 19.

24 For example, in a recent work Peter NOSCO observes correctly that in pre-Tokugawa Japan "the degree of Buddhist-Shinto syncretism was at times so great as to make it impossible to demarcate the two" (1984, p. 170).

25 For example, SMITH 1962. James Foard disagrees with Smith on this matter. While acknowledging that we will never find adequate definitions for words like religion, Taoism, Buddhism, and the like, Foard says that "this does not mean that I side with Wilfred Cantwell Smith in abandoning such words. Instead, I find them quite useful; I would just like greater specificity as to how they are being used in specific situations." See FOARD 1985, p. 20.

26 It might be worth noting here, in follow-up to the earlier reference to Christianity, that the pre-modern Japanese were probably less exclusively Buddhist than the medieval Europeans were Christian because whereas in Europe the Church completely absorbed or suppressed the native "pagan" religions, in Japan the Buddhist "Church" did not so absorb or suppress the native traditions.

27 It may well be the case that ritual took precedence over doctrine in the case of the Western religions also. According to Stephen REYNOLDS, "In both Judaism and Christianity, worship is the act of ultimate self-determination. Doctrine arises out of it, rather than preceding it" (1977, p. 22).

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THE IDOLIZATION OF ENLIGHTENMENT

On the mummification of Ch'an masters in medieval China

Robert H. Sharf

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I

This article is a preliminary attempt to make sense of the fact that a significant number of eminent Chinese Ch'an priests were mummified at death and enshrined in temple precincts as objects of worship.[1] The practice of preserving the bodies of famous Ch'an masters—turning their corpses into "icons of flesh"—is attested as early as the Western Chin dynasty (A.D. 266–316) and continues down to the present day.[2] (The most recent case may be that of Tz'u-hang, a native of Fu-chien who died in Taiwan in 1955 and was mummified four years later.)[3] The fact that the remains of deceased Ch'an masters were quite literally "idolized" by their disciples may come as a surprise to some students of Ch'an. Given the belief, still widespread in the West, that Ch'an is precisely that school of Buddhism that sought to purge Buddhism of empty ritual and vulgar superstition, and given the popular conception of the Ch'an master as incarnate Buddha and iconoclastic sage destined for final *nirvāṇa* at death, the mummification and worship of the master's corpse seems curious indeed.

As I began my inquiry, I was confronted with a surprising dearth of scholarship on Buddhist mortuary rites in general. This may reflect the methodologically troubling tendency of Buddhist scholars to accept ideological assertion as historical description—to treat the prescriptive regulations found in canonical materials as ethnographic data.[4] Given the "orthodox" Buddhist attitude toward death as represented in the canon, the general disinterest among Buddhologists in Buddhist funeral rites is not difficult to fathom. Buddhist doctrine teaches that at the moment of death the nonphysical or "mental" component of the *saṃtāna* (the psychophysical continuum) immediately separates from the physical body and, taking on a new physical form, is reborn in one of the six realms. This is

true for all beings with the exception of Buddhas, arhats, and other enlightened sages. Such spiritually awakened or perfected individuals are "nirvanized" at death––their mental processes are instantly, utterly, and permanently annihilated. But whether enlightened sage or unenlightened fool, the corpse that remains behind is rendered a mere heap of decaying organic matter, to be quickly disposed of through cremation, burial, or by being cast to wild animals. The only lingering spiritual value to the corpse, according to this view, lies in its use as a reminder of the transience of life and the inevitability of decay and death.[5]

Perhaps the most striking examples of the "canonical" attitude toward the corpse are the so-called meditations on impurity (Skt. *aśubha-bhāvanā*, Chin. *pu-ching kuan*). These practices are thought to be particularly efficacious in eradicating attachment to the body, whether it be lust directed to another or vanity with regard to oneself. The meditations on impurity involve locating an abandoned corpse by the roadside or in a charnel ground, taking up a position nearby, and contemplating the inherent repulsiveness of the body. The Buddhist scriptures enumerate ten meditations on impurity, distinguished according to the relative stage of decomposition of the corpse at hand, be it bloated, livid, festering, cut up, gnawed, scattered, hacked, bleeding, worm-infested, or skeletal. One classic description of these practices concludes with the following:

> This is the body's nature: it is a collection of over three hundred bones, jointed by one hundred and eighty joints, bound together by nine hundred sinews, plastered over with nine hundred pieces of flesh, enveloped in the moist inner skin, enclosed in the outer cuticle, with orifices here and there, constantly dribbling and trickling like a grease pot, inhabited by a community of worms, the home of disease, the basis of painful states, perpetually oozing from the nine orifices like a chronic open carbuncle, from both of whose eyes eye-filth trickles, from whose ears ears ear-filth, from whose nostrils snot, from whose mouth food and bile and phlegm and blood, from whose lower outlets excrement and urine, and from whose ninety-nine thousand pores the broth of stale sweat seeps, with bluebottles and their like buzzing round it, which when untended with tooth sticks and mouth-washing and head-anointing and bathing and underclothing and dressing would, judged by the universal repulsiveness of the body, make even a king, if he wandered from village to village with his hair in its natural wild disorder, no different from a flower-scavenger or an outcaste or what you will. So there is no distinction between a king's body and an outcaste's in so far as its impure stinking nauseating repulsiveness is concerned.[6]

This view of the corpse as a lifeless lump of fetid flesh to be disposed of posthaste is attested throughout the Buddhist canon. Yet we know that such accounts constitute only half of the picture: from the earliest period Buddhists

have venerated the relics of the "special dead." Relics of the Buddha and enlightened saints—typically bits of crystallized bone and ash collected from the funeral pyre—were zealously collected, enshrined in *stūpas* and on altars, and worshiped by Buddhists of every persuasion. Moreover, Indian scriptural, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence points to the fact that such relics were considered to be living entities; as Gregory Schopen puts it, "they were 'informed,' 'parfumée,' 'saturated,' 'pervaded,' 'imbued' with just those characteristics which defined the living Buddha."[7] Moreover, Schopen has demonstrated that Buddhist relics were considered "legal persons" who enjoyed rights of property. And as objects of worship, the relics were functionally equivalent to a living Tathāgata, insofar as the merit accrued is identical in either case.[8]

Anthropological studies of mortuary ritual help us to make sense of the apparent gap between the descriptions of the festering corpse as an object of loathing and the adoration of relics as manifestations of Buddhahood.[9] The sacred relics have been distanced from the corpse through a process of transformation and purification, namely, purification by the fire of the cremation pyre. There is evidence that in ancient India the corpse, particularly in the case of important personages, was actually mummified prior to cremation. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* sets forth the funeral procedures for the chief sacrificer of the *Agnicayana* (a complex Vedic fire sacrifice) in the event that he should die before the rite is complete. The funeral rites include removing the intestines, cleaning the internal cavity, anointing the body with ghee, and placing gold chips over the eyes, ears, mouth, and nostrils prior to cremation, all of which are practices associated with the preservation of the corpse.[10] Moreover, according to the Pali *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, the remains of a Tathāgata are to be treated in the same manner as the remains of a *cakkavattin* king, which involves wrapping the corpse in 500 layers of carded cotton wool interspersed with 500 layers of "new cloth" and then placing the body in an "oil vessel of iron." Only then is the body ready to be cremated upon a "funeral pyre of all kinds of perfume."[11] Drawing upon such evidence, Mary Levin has argued that cremation was not merely a means of disposal in ancient India but a stage in rendering the deceased person immortal as well. The fire of the funeral pyre reanimates the reconstituted (i.e., the mummified) body, just as the sacrificial fire gives life to Prajāpati—the Lord of Creation—who is physically reconstituted in the Vedic altar. The relics are thus rendered the reconstituted immortal body of the enlightened.[12]

This is not the place to discuss early Indian mortuary ritual or the Buddhist cult of relics, areas in which I have little expertise. I merely want to make the following methodological point: studies of so-called Buddhist attitudes toward death should exercise extreme caution in their handling of canonical sources that tend to be prescriptive rather than descriptive. As soon as one takes into account the complex lived realities of actual Buddhist communities, one becomes painfully aware of the dangers inherent in the uncritical use of canonical scripture as source material for social history.

II

Ch'an Buddhists allegedly champion the rejection of empty and superfluous ritual procedures, including the worship of the Buddha or the patriarchs; in the words of Lin-chi: "If you encounter the Buddha, kill the Buddha; if you encounter the patriarchs, kill the patriarchs." Moreover, like most Buddhist meditative traditions, Ch'an teachings encourage a studied disregard for the physical body and utter dispassion in the face of death. The Ch'an master models this dispassion in his calm acceptance of his own death, and indeed, countless biographies record the master meeting death while sitting serenely in meditation posture surrounded by his closest disciples. Any attempt on the part of the disciples to preserve the master's body after death might appear, at first glance, diametrically opposed to the fundamental principles and religious spirit of Ch'an.

But we must look beyond the ideological and polemic formulations of the Ch'an tradition itself and bring our attention to bear upon what Ch'an monks actually do. The first problem we encounter is terminological, and concerns the meaning of the term "Ch'an master" (*ch'an-shih*) itself. This compound originally referred not to members of any particular school or lineage but to charismatic and sometimes reclusive Buddhist "holy-men" and "miracle workers."[13] These charismatic figures, by virtue of their practice of austerities (*dhūtaguṇa*) and mastery of meditative trance (*dhyāna*), were treated as reservoirs of spiritual power; in Buddhist terms they were particularly potent "fields of merit." In fact, the term "Ch'an master" continued to be used in precisely this sense well into the T'ang, the so-called golden age of Ch'an. Contrary to popular Ch'an and Zen mythology, there is virtually no evidence that the "Ch'an" monks of the T'ang had any consciousness of belonging to a distinct "Ch'an sect," if by that we mean an institutionally or socially independent body.[14]

With the ascendancy of Ch'an ideology and the growth of Ch'an monastic institutions in the Sung (960–1279), the Ch'an master-qua-abbot takes center stage in what is largely an ancestral cult. The abbot of a Ch'an monastery is by definition the living descendant and representative of a sacred lineage of enlightened patriarchs who trace their ancestry back to the Buddha. The abbot's primary religious duty consists in ritually enacting the role of Buddha. Indeed, according to Ch'an tradition the central Buddha icon in the Buddha Hall—the focal point of Chinese Buddhist monastic ritual—came to be replaced in Ch'an monasteries by the living person of the abbot, thereby obviating the need for a Buddha Hall altogether.[15] The Ch'an abbot enacted the part of "living Buddha icon" on a regular basis in an elaborately choreographed ritual called *shang-t'ang*, or "ascending the hall." During the *shang-t'ang* the abbot ascended an ornate throne (the "high-seat" or "ch'an-seat") set high on an altar in the center of the Dharma Hall, received obeisance and offerings from the community, and delivered a short and highly mannered sermon that, somewhat ironically, was meant to signify the spontaneous discourse of an awakened Buddha.[16]

It is then not surprising to find a connection between the Ch'an abbot and

notions of the incorruptibility of the corpse. The fact that the body of a deceased monk did not decompose had long been considered a sign of high spiritual attainment in many parts of Asia, including Buddhist China. There are numerous records of eminent Chinese monks whose bodies miraculously showed no trace of decay after death. For months and years following their decease their unembalmed bodies continued to bear a healthy and lifelike countenance and give off a sweet perfume.[17] One of the earliest examples in China is recorded in the *Kao-seng chuan*, and tells of the monk Ho-lo-chieh who died sitting up (i.e., in meditation posture with legs folded) in 298. While still sitting erect he was placed on the funeral pyre and burned for several days, yet his body remained untouched by the flames. His immutable corpse was then moved to a stone grotto, and visitors to the site many years later reported that it was still well preserved.[18]

Another illustrative early case is that of Tan Tao-kai, a monk originally from Tun-huang who seems to have been as much Taoist as Buddhist.[19] When he died in 359 his disciples placed his body in a stone grotto on Lo-fu mountain. Four years later, when some of his disciples visited the grotto, they found his body perfectly preserved. One of them explained: "The teacher's conduct was unlike that of the masses, and [thus his body] is like the cast-off shell of a cicada."[20] The reference to the cicada's shell (*ch'an-t'ui*) alludes to the Taoist belief that the accomplished immortal sheds his body just as the cicada sheds his exuviae, leaving behind a mere husk as his spirit soars to the realm of the immortals.[21] Indeed, it was not unusual in this period to draw an explicit connection between mastery of Buddhist *dhyāna*, possession of Taoist supernatural powers, and the natural "incorruptibility" of the body after death. We find this connection again in the biographies of the Ch'an masters Po Seng-kuang and Chu T'an-yu, both of whom were mountain-dwelling wonder-workers who possessed thaumaturgical powers commonly associated with Taoist immortals. The *Kao-seng chuan* reports that the bodies of both these monks suffered no decay, but remained "as if alive" long after their deaths in 385.[22]

Buddhist hagiographic literature contains numerous examples of such "natural mummies," although the explicitly Taoist interpretation of the phenomenon is soon dropped in favor of a more "orthodox" Buddhist exegesis. The miraculous preservation of the body of the Tantric master Shan-wu-wei (Subhākarasimha), for example, is understood in unambiguously Buddhist terms. Although he died in 735 at the ripe old age of ninety-nine, Shan-wu-wei was not buried until 740, at which time he was interred in the garden of the Kuang-hua Monastery in the western hills of Lung-men. According to his biography, his body was so "imbued with meditation and wisdom" that it suffered no decay in the five-year interval between death and burial.[23] Eighteen years later, in 758, his tomb was opened by a group of his disciples and his body recovered. Although the body had darkened in color and diminished in size, it remained well preserved and became the focus of a local cult, attracting the support of the emperor himself.[24]

The continued integrity of the body after death is thus associated with

holiness and spiritual purity—the purity of mind simultaneously effects the purity of the physical body and the elimination of the defilements that lead to decomposition after death. The bodies of Buddhist masters who resisted decay after death were accordingly worshiped as reservoirs of meritorious karma and spiritual power. The possession of a "flesh icon" could transform an out-of-the-way temple into a thriving pilgrimage center, attracting Buddhist faithful from all quarters of China. The miraculous corpse and the temple that housed it might also become the focus of colorful legends and folktales, attesting to the miraculous powers and supernatural events associated with the mummy.

There would seem to be a considerable gap between the phenomenon of "natural mummies" that miraculously withstand decay without the aid of embalming, and man-made mummies produced through elaborate and time-consuming embalming techniques. Yet it appears that the latter process was originally conceived of as a mere extension of the former: artificial mummification was thought of as a means to preserve the remains of Buddhist priests whose innate spiritual purity was such that their bodies did not decompose after death.

The earliest known recorded case that involves the intentional mummification of a Buddhist priest in China is that of Tao-hsin (580–651), a Ch'an master later celebrated as the fourth patriarch of the Ch'an lineage. In his seventy-second year Tao-hsin, knowing that death was near, ordered his disciples to build a crypt. When he heard that his crypt was ready, he sat in meditation posture and peacefully passed away. According to his biography in the *Ch'üan fa-pao chi*, a text dating to the early eighth century: "On the eighth day of the fourth month [i.e., the same day as the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*] of the following year the stone doors [of his crypt] opened by themselves to reveal that his countenance looked just as dignified as it had been in life. His students then wrapped [his body] with lacquered cloth and left the doors of the vault open. They cut a stele and had it inscribed with a eulogy written by the Secretariat Director Tu Cheng-lun."[25]

This biographical notice is significant for three reasons: First, it is the earliest known recorded case (of which I am aware) of a lacquered mummy in China. Second, the corpse belongs to a "Ch'an master" claimed by the later Ch'an tradition as the fourth patriarch. And finally, the mummification was supposed to have been done as a means to preserve for posterity the miracle of Tao-hsin's natural incorruptibility.

A very different reason for mummification is given in the case of the most famous mummy in China, that of the Sixth Patriarch, Hui-neng (638–713). According to legend, Hui-neng, knowing that he was about to die, bathed and then passed away peacefully in seated posture surrounded by his disciples. His body was interred at Nan-hua Monastery near Ts'ao-ch'i. According to the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, Hui-neng's disciples applied lacquered cloth to his corpse in order to protect it from harm:

> His disciples, recalling the Master's prediction that someone would take his head, put an iron band and a lacquered cloth about his neck to

> protect it. Inside the *stūpa* was placed the "robe of faith" handed down by Bodhidharma, the robe and bowl presented by Emperor Chung-tsung, a portrait of the Master modeled in clay [*su-chen*] by Fang-pien, and various Buddhist implements. The *stūpa* attendant was placed in charge of these. On the third day of the eighth month of the tenth year of the K'ai-yüan period [September 18, 722], in the middle of the night, a sound like the dragging of iron chains was heard coming from the *stūpa*. The monks leaped up in surprise in time to see a man in mourning clothes running out from the *stūpa*. Later on they found that the Master's neck had been injured.[26]

The thief confessed to having been hired by a Korean monk to steal the head of the Sixth Patriarch so that it might be venerated in Korea. We also learn that the *stūpa*-mausoleum was completely destroyed by fire in the beginning of the K'ai-pao period, but Hui-neng's body was protected by the monk in charge and survived unharmed. The mummified body of Hui-neng, showing, incidentally, no trace of an iron collar or damage to the neck, can still be seen at Nan-hua temple today.[27]

III

In fact, the attempt to prevent the decay of the corpse was by no means a Buddhist innovation in China—forms of mummification are well attested in China since the time of the Western Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 25). The ancient Chinese believed that just as the corpse decomposed slowly over many years, the soul or souls that dwelt therein also passed away slowly. Early texts contain scattered references to the notion that as the souls of the dead age, they gradually diminish in size. According to the *Tso chuan*, a Chou dynasty text compiled around the third century B.C., "The spirit of a newly dead is large and that of an old one is small."[28] Yü Ying-shih, writing on early Chinese conceptions of the soul, notes the similar belief that the soul of a recently deceased person is heavier than that of the long dead. The soul apparently survives death, but gradually fades over time. "This materialistic conception of the soul explains the great importance ancient Chinese had attached to the body of the dead. As recent archaeology has shown, people in the Han period often went to all lengths to preserve the body of the dead. Evidently, ancient Chinese, just like ancient Egyptians, believed that the soul could not survive much longer unless the body itself were preserved."[29]

Other evidence for the antiquity of the notion that the corpse should be preserved so that it may continue to serve as a home for the soul comes from chapter 33 of the *Tao-te ching*. Eduard Erkes has argued that Lao-tzu's expression "to die but not perish" (*ssu erh pu wang*) actually refers to "death without physical decomposition." "The expression *ssu erh pu wang* may thus point to Taoist practices which tried to secure a kind of perpetual life after death by preserving the body and thereby enabling it to retain the enlivening soul and its power."[30]

Sometime in the Eastern Han or early Six Dynasties period, the rationale behind attempts to prevent the decay of the corpse came to be articulated in terms of the theory of three *hun* and seven *p'o* souls. These souls were believed to inhabit the body and animate the person, and the separation of the souls from the body led to sickness or death.[31] The continued preservation of the corpse was thus necessary to maintain the integrity and the peace of the various souls after death, particularly the *p'o* souls, not only for the sake of the deceased but also for the sake of the living, since a homeless *p'o* could manifest as a dangerous ghost or *kuei*.[32]

The belief in the lingering presence of the soul or souls may well explain a variety of ancient Chinese mortuary practices aimed at preventing the decomposition of the corpse. The Han Chinese apparently attained a high degree of technical sophistication in the art of preventing decay. The most impressive example of the ancient Chinese art of preservation is that of Lady Tai, who died in the Western Han around 186 B.C. (but not later than 141 B.C.). Lady Tai's corpse was discovered in 1972 in the Ma-wang-tui tombs near Ch'ang-ha (Hunan province). It was in a remarkable state of preservation by any standard. Joseph Needham comments: "When the body was finally uncovered it was found to be like that of a person who had died only a week or two before. The elasticity of subcutaneous tissues was conserved in an extraordinary way, for when the skin was pressed it at once returned to normal when the pressure was released. Similarly, preservative solutions when injected raised swellings which after a short time subsided."[33] Scientists do not yet fully understand the techniques used to preserve the body of Lady Tai; the body was, somewhat surprisingly, not embalmed in any obvious way (although Lady Tai's coffin, and the chamber in which the coffin came to rest, were both tightly sealed and filled with methane gas). One technique that was widely used in the Han by those who could afford it, however, was enshrouding the cadaver in a jade suit, as jade was commonly believed to inhibit or prevent decay. More than ten complete burial shrouds have been recovered from Han tombs, five of which have been successfully restored, but despite the considerable skill and expense necessary to produce such a burial shroud, there is no indication that they were particularly effective.[34]

Another technique of equally dubious value mentioned in the *Pao-p'u tzu* is placing jade or bone in the nine orifices of the body: "When gold and jade are inserted into the nine orifices, corpses do not decay. When salt and brine are absorbed into flesh and marrow, dried meats do not spoil. So when men ingest substances which are able to benefit their bodies and lengthen their days, why should it be strange that (some of these) should confer life perpetual?"[35]

It may well be the case that religious Taoists continued to attempt to prevent the decomposition of the corpse in the medieval period, but there is no clear archaeological evidence one way or the other. What we do find are Taoist liturgies containing appeals to the celestial bureaucracy to "return the corpse and reassemble the bones" of the departed.[36] It would appear that when technology failed, the Taoists turned to ritual.

IV

In any case, the actual techniques used by Chinese Buddhists to mummify their revered masters were not related in any obvious way to the methods used in the Han. In fact, to my knowledge, the method employed by the Buddhists has no obvious precedent anywhere inside or outside China. The Buddhists wrapped the body of the deceased prelate in cloth that was impregnated with lacquer, turning the corpse into what was, in effect, an imperishable lacquer icon. Although there do not appear to be any surviving medieval documents describing the process in detail, it is possible to reconstruct the technique using medieval hagiographic literature in conjunction with ethnographic reports from scholars visiting China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[37]

From these sources we can piece together the following picture: although there were cases where lacquer was applied to the body shortly after death,[38] the common practice involved thoroughly cleaning and desiccating the corpse prior to mummification. This was accomplished by temporarily encoffining and burying the corpse, or storing it in a large iron or ceramic jar for anywhere from three to eight years. We also find mention of drying the corpse over a charcoal fire or sealing it in an urn filled with a salt brine, in effect, pickling the cadaver.[39] In any event, the body is later exhumed or retrieved from storage and wrapped in multiple layers of cloth made of hemp or ramie soaked in lacquer. The lacquer cloth could be applied directly on top of the monk's ceremonial vestments, or the vestments could be carved into the lacquer surface afterwards. The finished mummy could then be gilded and dressed in fine robes and adorned with the regalia proper to the position of "Ch'an master," such as a fly whisk or scepter. Holmes Welch, commenting on such mummies in the early part of this century, observed that "Usually they were gilded. Sometimes the lobes of the ears were lengthened and a dot was placed between the eyebrows. Golden skin, long lobes, and the *ūrṇā* dot were among the thirty-two sacred marks of a Buddha. The implication was therefore that in his lifetime the monk whose corpse the visitor saw before him had attained buddhahood."[40]

The lacquering process, which was costly, time-consuming, and dangerous (raw lacquer is highly toxic), was essentially identical to the dry-lacquer technique used to produce fine Buddhist sculpture. This technique, which was perfected in the T'ang, involved the application of layer upon layer of lacquer-saturated hempen cloth onto an armature of wood or clay. Each layer took considerable time to dry, and the entire process could take many months. In the end, the lacquer coating was of sufficient thickness and pliability to allow it to be finely modeled and delicately carved. The sculpture was then painted or gilded, and if a clay core was used it was dug out once the sculpture was complete. The finished product was quite durable: "The result is a rigid light shell that can be tumbled about by earthquakes and suffer only surface scars easily repaired. Neither insects nor dry-rot nor moisture affect it nor is it, like bronze, subject to

corrosion."[41] This time-consuming and highly sophisticated technique produced some of the finest Buddhist statuary found in East Asia.[42]

To return to our mummy, the finished product could be interred in a *stūpa* or crypt, but it was more common to enshrine it on an altar in the Patriarchs Hall or Portrait Hall of a monastery, where it could be readily approached and worshiped.[43] The final effect is striking—the lacquered image, which is now a virtually imperishable icon, can be powerfully and hauntingly lifelike.

But why go to the trouble? What sense can we make of the attempt, at first glance so contrary to the canonical teachings of the Buddha, to resist impermanence and halt the decay of the corpse? Nowhere in the compendious literature of Ch'an—not in the scriptures, the recorded sayings, the biographical collections, the monastic codes, or in sermons or admonitions—is there any account of the whys and wherefores of mummification. In order to elucidate the phenomenon in greater detail, it is necessary to turn to Ch'an monastic codes that contain detailed descriptions of the funeral rites used in medieval monasteries. An examination of Ch'an mortuary ritual reveals a great deal about Chinese Buddhist attitudes toward death and the corpse. Although the monastic codes make no mention of mummification per se, they offer numerous clues to the meaning and function of this somewhat perplexing practice.

V

An overview of the funeral procedures used in the Sung for the Ch'an abbot can be found in the fourteenth-century monastic code entitled the *Ch'ih-hsiu pai-chang ch'ing-kuei* published in 1336. The text delineates a sequence of nine steps undertaken prior to the actual disposal of the body, a format that continues to be used with only minor alteration in Ch'an and Zen monasteries today: (1) encoffining the body, (2) transferring the coffin to the Dharma Hall, (3) sealing the coffin, (4) hanging a portrait of the dead in the Dharma Hall, (5) making formal expressions of grief, (6) offering libations of tea and hot water, (7) holding a small consultation in front of the departed spirit, (8) offering libations of tea and hot water, and (9) transporting the coffin to the cremation (or burial) ground (*T.*2025: 48.1128a22–26). One of the earliest Ch'an monastic codes, the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* of 1103, describes certain stages in the above process in considerable detail. In the following quotation, note particularly the use of the portrait, which serves as the resting place for the spirit of the deceased master:

> When three days have passed [following the death of the abbot] put the body in the casket following the same procedure as that used for deceased monks [detailed above]. When putting the body in the casket, invite a venerable elder to carry the spirit seat [*ling-tso*]. At this time there is a talk on the Dharma. Place the casket on the west side of the Dharma Hall and on the east side set up a cot and robe rack with the personal implements [belonging to the deceased]. Hang the portrait [of

> the deceased] on the dharma-seat [in the center of the hall]. A ritual site for the ceremony should be prepared in the Dharma Hall with a plain curtain, white flowers, a lamp and candle set, and offerings placed in front of the portrait. The disciples remain behind the casket screen at the foot of the banners in their mourning robes and guard the casket.[44]

The *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* goes on to describe the ensuing sequence of events: the portrait of the abbot, having been placed in the dharma-seat in the center of the Dharma Hall, is made the focus of offerings of incense and prostrations by all the monks in the monastery, and outsiders are also provided with an opportunity to do the same. Later, the portrait is placed in a specially constructed litter and carried to the site of cremation or interment, where it is again installed on an altar (or "pavilion" [*t'ing*]) to serve as a focus for worship. After returning to the monastery it is hung up in the Dharma Hall once again, and there is another round of offerings. The portrait is then removed to the abbot's quarters where all the members of the monastic community have yet another opportunity to prostrate before it. Until such time that a new abbot can be installed, the portrait is offered food and incense twice a day by the chief officers and close disciples of the deceased abbot. The times of these "feedings" coincide with the two main meals in the monastery. When the new abbot takes up residence the portrait is removed to the Portrait Hall (*chen-t'ang*), a building identical in function to what is later known as the Patriarchs Hall (*tsu-shih-t'ang*).[45]

Greater detail concerning the events that take place at the actual grave or cremation site can be found in the *Ch'ih-hsiu pai-chang ch'ing-kuei*. This text delineates seven rites, but it is clear that they do not form a sequence, as some of them are alternative procedures depending upon whether the corpse is buried, cremated, or interred whole in a *stūpa*. If the corpse is cremated, the bone relics are collected and brought back to the monastery where they are temporarily installed, and only later are they permanently interred in a *stūpa*.[46]

The first thing to note concerning the funeral rites for a Ch'an abbot is that they largely conform to the general pattern of Chinese funerary practice, with the important exception of cremation. Cremation was considered barbarous and unfilial by many educated Chinese, and at various periods the imperial government attempted to proscribe the practice.[47] In any event, numerous descriptions of non-Buddhist Chinese funerals confirm the important place occupied by the portrait as home to the soul of the deceased from the moment the corpse is sealed in the casket.[48] Jan J. M. de Groot describes this practice in a description of upper-class funerals as he observed them in nineteenth-century Amoy: "If [the artist] can manage to have it ready before the burial, the family hang [the portrait of the deceased] on the wall just over the coffin, the idea being that it may serve the same purpose as the wooden soul-tablet, *viz.* as a seat for the spirit of the dead, an *alter ego* doing duty for the body now shut up in the coffin. With a view to this object, the family are always very anxious to obtain a good

portrait. Hence the painter is in many instances compelled to do the face over and over again, until he succeeds in convincing them that the likeness is perfect."[49]

Ch'an materials provide us with clear evidence that the portrait of the deceased abbot indeed functions as a dwelling place for his soul or *ling*. The portrait occupies the abbot's ceremonial ch'an-seat and receives offerings of incense and prostrations in the same manner as did the living abbot. The funeral rites even include a formal "consultation" with the deceased abbot: "In the Dharma Hall arrange a seat in front of the portrait for [the ceremony of] a minor consultation with the spirit [of the deceased]. When the evening bell rings, sound the drum and gather the assembly. The procedure for [officers of] the [east and west] ranks to leave their places [and come before the abbot to engage in debate] follows the usual practice [i.e., the practice followed in minor consultations overseen by a living abbot]."[50]

It is apparent that the funeral portrait is functionally equivalent to the *wei-p'ai* or "memorial tablet," usually a small wooden tablet upon which is carved the name and office of the deceased. This identification of memorial tablet and portrait is made explicit in an "old commentary" cited by the Edo period Buddhist scholar Mujaku Dōchū (1653–1744) in his commentary to the *Ch'ih-hsiu pai-chang ch'ing-kuei*: "According to the ancient worthies, if the portrait has an inscription in which appears the name [of the deceased], then do not also use a memorial tablet."[51]

VI

The Sung funeral procedures for the Ch'an abbot clearly indicate that the abbot's spirit remains in the vicinity of his corpse after death. In this regard, Ch'an mortuary ritual largely conforms to the standard Chinese model. This is not surprising, as Chinese mortuary ritual shows a high degree of uniformity irrespective of religious tradition, geographical locale, or epoch. James Watson has argued that funerals in China function as a centripetal force effecting cultural cohesion and standardization, and the proper performance of the rites usually took precedence over ideological or doctrinal concerns.[52]

With Ch'an funerals, as with virtually all Chinese funerals, it is incumbent upon the mourners to provide a suitable resting place for the disembodied soul. The portrait, bearing the likeness of the deceased, serves as effigy for the dead and home for the spirit.[53] As such, one of the requirements of the portrait is that it be lifelike and realistic, and great pains were taken in this regard. One of the common terms used for the portrait is *chen*, meaning "truth" or "true likeness," and given the value placed on likeness, one could not find a more true-to-life effigy for the departed than his own corpse. It would seem that in the case of a particularly eminent master, the mummy replaced the portrait as the most appropriate abode for his spirit.[54]

In fact, the prominent place given to funerary portraits of eminent Buddhist

masters, and the cultic worship of said images widely attested in the medieval period, seems to have developed in conjunction with the practice of preserving the remains of the deceased.[55] In the Six Dynasties period, when the miraculously preserved corpses of eminent priests were frequently interred on a mountainside or in a cemetery on the outskirts of the city, the burial site would be marked with a *stūpa* or small chapel containing a portrait or effigy of the dead. One particularly illustrative case is that of Hui-shih, whose biography is preserved in the *Shih-lao chih*, a history of Buddhism and Taoism during the Northern Wei (386–534):

> During T'ai-yen, as [Hui-shih] approached his end in the Pa-chiao ssu, he fasted and purified himself and sat upright and, with his monkish followers crowded by his side, calm and concentrated he expired. The corpse was kept for more than ten days. It remained seated without change, and its form and color were as before, and the whole world marveled thereat. Finally he was buried within the temple. In the sixth year of the Chen-chün period, when it was decreed that no bodies were to be left buried within the city wall, he was reinterred outside the southern extremity. He had been dead just ten years. When the tomb was opened, he was solemn and not in the least decomposed. Those who accompanied his funeral procession were more than six thousand, and there was none who did not mourn him profoundly. The Secretariat Supervisor Kao Yün composed a biography in which he lauded his virtuous acts. Over Hui-shih's tomb was set a stone, and in a chapel his likeness was drawn. Throughout the time of the persecution of the Dharma [446–452] it still stood whole.[56]

We similarly find an image used in the burial of the Ch'an practitioner Fa-ch'in who died in 773. Fa-ch'in's body was placed in an earthen burial jar, which was enshrined in a *stūpa*-mausoleum along with a lifelike effigy of Fa-ch'in leaning realistically against a small table. When his *stūpa* and effigy were discovered in 902, the jar was opened and his body was found to be fully preserved.[57] And we have already come across another example of a portrait being placed inside a *stūpa* housing a mummy, namely, that of the sixth patriarch Hui-neng (see the admittedly unreliable account of Hui-neng's death in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* biography quoted above).

We find, then, that the *stūpa*-mausoleums that housed the embalmed remains of a saint or marked the site of his interment were frequently outfitted with a portrait or effigy. It would appear that these modest mausoleums were the precursors of the substantial buildings known in later times as "memorial halls" (*ch'ung-t'ang*), "portrait halls" (*chent'ang*), or "image halls" (*ying-t'ang*).[58] Such halls functioned as the loci of a veritable "cult of the saints," providing an august environment in which to make regular offerings to the spirit of the departed master. With the development of dry-lacquer technology, the corpse of

a particularly eminent sage could be transformed into a flesh icon, thereby negating the distance between holy relic and true-to-life effigy. The "iconized" remains, now rendered impervious to putrefaction, need no longer be deposited on a remote mountaintop or entombed in an outlying cemetery, but could be brought into the monastery grounds proper.[59]

Note that transforming the corpse into a mummy, rather than into ash and bone relics, does not alter the underlying logical structure of the mortuary ritual. Mummification, like exhumation and secondary burial, which remains a common practice in south China, and like cremation, which came to be preferred among Buddhists, is a form of "secondary treatment." The impure corpse, prone to putrefaction, is transformed over time into a pure, immortalized body.[60] As we have seen, the process of mummification typically involves first desiccating the body through temporary burial or storage, and then, after a period of several years, retrieving, lacquering, gilding, and otherwise adorning the corpse. Only then is it fit to be brought back into the monastic compound to join the ancestral community in the Patriarchs Hall, a place set aside especially for feeding and honoring the spirits of the "special dead."

But, of course, such structural similarities do not help explain the obvious fact that a mummy is held to be more than an oversized relic, or a particularly faithful representation of the deceased intended to serve as a home for his spirit and as a focus for pious offerings. The mummy serves as material evidence of the exalted spiritual attainment of the departed master—it affirms the enduring nature of the master's enlightenment by testifying to the incorruptibility of his corpse. That this is true even in the case of a corpse artificially preserved by being encased in lacquer requires further explanation.

VII

As we have seen, there is evidence that lacquering a corpse was originally thought of as an extension of a natural phenomenon, namely, that the bodies of certain charismatic *dhyāna* masters were miraculously immune to putrefaction after death. In the case of the fourth Ch'an patriarch Tao-hsin, the mummification was intended to preserve the master's naturally imperishable body. With the institutionalization of Ch'an in the Sung, the charisma and enlightenment of the master came to be embodied in ritual performance, and the ritualization of enlightenment was paralleled by the ritualization of the terminal incorruptibility of the corpse. But the claim that mummification was simply a means to augment the inherent incorruptibility of the corpse was more than simply hubris—it was not merely a case of passing off an artificially preserved corpse for a naturally preserved one. It appears that the process of mummification, which involved the difficult procedure of desiccating the corpse before the onset of putrefaction, occasionally, if not regularly, failed. Thus the successful mummification of a Ch'an abbot would itself constitute proof of his spiritual attainment.

There are several biographies of eminent monks that suggest that lacquer

mummifications did not always proceed without difficulty. In one case, that of Hsing-hsiu, someone seems to have failed to properly lacquer the bottom of the seated corpse. This was not discovered until the spirit of the deceased monk complained to a local government official in a dream: "In the eleventh month of the third year of the Ch'ien-yu period [950] [Hsing-hsiu] became ill, but continued to move about as usual. In the middle of the night in the third month [of the following year] he died while seated. His patrons and disciples lacquered [his body], and it remains there to the present day. Later he appeared in a dream to Ch'en Jung, the Prefect of Mu Chou, and said: 'The area beneath me is not yet finished.' They examined it, and found that originally the bottom of the seated [monk] had not been lacquered. They added layers of [laquer] to it."[61]

There is also the case of Wang Lo-han, whose mummy threatened to explode, perhaps because it had begun to rot under the lacquer exterior. Once again, according to our sources, the situation was discovered only after the spirit of the deceased alerted the congregation: "In the sixth month of the first year of the K'ai-pao period [968], [Wang Lo-han] suddenly died while seated. Three days later they lacquered his body. Suddenly, from between his cheeks they heard a shrieking sound. Everyone said [the mummy was about to] burst. In the evening he appeared to many people in a dream and said: 'The lacquer is dark and depressing. Why don't you open it up.' The next day they asked a lacquer artisan to peel it off. The color of his flesh was reddish white, and round grains of *śarīra* fell down. These were collected and offerings were made. The flesh body (*jou-shen*) remains in the original temple down to the present day" (*T.*2061: 50.852b4–8).

It is difficult to discern what truth, if any, may lie behind these miracle tales. It is possible, however, that such stories are attempts to rewrite the grisly reality of lacquer mummifications gone awry.

Perhaps the most provocative case of a failed mummy is that of the Vinaya master Chien-chen (688–763), better known by his Japanese name, Ganjin, who is famed as the patriarch of the Ritsu school in Japan. In 750, during his unsuccessful fifth attempt to travel to Japan, Chien-chen paid a visit to Ts'ao-ch'i, where he was able to see the mummified remains of Hui-neng. Apparently Hui-neng's mummy so impressed Chien-chen that he too wanted to be mummified at death, and we can assume that his disciples did their best to comply with his wishes. But something seems to have gone wrong with the mummy, and eventually Chien-chen's remains had to be cremated. Tōshōdaiji, the temple founded by Chien-chen in Nara, contains an image of the master which is a masterpiece of the highly refined and true-to-life dry-lacquer technique. It would appear that this image served as a substitute for Chien-chen's corpse after it refused to cooperate in the mummification process.[62]

Indeed, there is reason to believe that the aspiration to be mummified at death may have been far more common than the few surviving mummies or stray textual references would lead one to suspect. We know from modern accounts, such as that of Tz'u-hang mentioned at the beginning of this paper, that an abbot

would occasionally instruct his disciples to cure his corpse in an urn for a specified number of years. At the end of the specified period, the disciples were to open the urn and, depending upon the state of the remains, make a decision as to whether or not mummification was possible. These instructions would be known only to close disciples, saving both master and students the humiliation of publicly acknowledging the decay of the teacher's corpse. It would seem that a successful mummification was rare and difficult to achieve, and required the cooperation of the corporal remains of the deceased. Thus, even in the case of a lacquered mummy, the transformation of the cadaver into an imperishable icon could be construed as evidence of spiritual attainment.

VIII

There were also practical economic and institutional reasons for attempting to preserve and display the remains of an eminent Ch'an abbot. We must remember that the abbot of a Ch'an monastery not only functioned as administrative head and principle spiritual counsel; he was also ex officio an enlightened Buddha, and as such served as the center of the ritual and liturgical life of the Dharma Hall. The abbot was a "living icon," and his death threatened a serious rupture in the ritual life of the institution.

Moreover, the rupture threatened to extend far beyond the walls of the Dharma Hall. The abbot as awakened Buddha constituted a "pure field of merit," and as such was expected to attract the financial support from government and lay sources necessary for the maintenance of a large monastic establishment. Generous lay support was often essential for the continued fiscal health of a large monastery, which in the Sung period could house upwards of several thousand monks. The historical record confirms the fact that monasteries thrived or fell into decline depending upon the stature and reputation of the abbot in charge. Thus the death of a particularly charismatic abbot not only would have threatened the spiritual and ritual life of the resident monks but also could undermine the economic viability of the monastery itself.

The rites for the deceased abbot outlined in the monastic codes are carefully calculated to affirm the continued presence of the abbot as acting head of the monastic community even in death. Not only is the spirit of the abbot still present, abiding in his effigy, but he continues to function as the center of worship in the Dharma Hall, receiving offerings and holding consultations with his monks. Moreover, the abbot in effigy continues to reside in the abbot's private quarters, taking two meals a day with the rest of the monks. Only when a new abbot is ready to take his place will the deceased abbot be moved from the abbot's residence and join his dharma-relatives in the Patriarchs Hall or Portrait Hall.

But there remained a danger that the new abbot, being relatively "green," would not command the same respect among the laity as did his predecessor, especially if his predecessor was particularly illustrious. It would have been

expedient to do whatever was possible to maintain the sacral presence of the prior abbot. The physical body of the abbot-qua-buddha constituted a pure reservoir of merit, and the temple stood to gain in wealth and prestige from preserving the abbot's remains. The collection of spirit tablets and portraits residing in the Patriarchs Hall must be seen as a "stockpile of charisma"[63] to which the mummified body of a particularly charismatic abbot would have made a significant contribution.

This article began with the following problem: according to canonical Buddhism, any attempt to resist the inevitability of death and the impermanence of the body is a manifestation of attachment and ignorance. Indeed, the biographies of Ch'an masters provide numerous examples of enlightened patriarchs meeting death calmly and with utter dispassion. The Ch'an practice of mummifying the remains of particularly eminent masters then appears at best misguided, and at worst craven and vulgar.

But in drawing attention to the economic and institutional forces that may have contributed to the mummification of abbots, I do not mean to support the notion that mummification constitutes a violation of normative Buddhist ideals. In fact, the mummification of a deceased master contravenes neither the letter nor the spirit of Ch'an doctrine. Rather, the mummified master enshrined in the temple grounds gives concrete and vivid expression to the fundamental tension entailed in the goal of all Buddhist practice: *nirvāṇa*.

We must remember that in a cultural environment that holds to belief in rebirth, the *nirvāṇa* or "annihilation" of the historical Buddha is precisely that which makes his eternal presence *in this world* possible.[64] Enlightenment, according to Mahāyāna doctrine, is not a particular state or realm transcendent to this world, nor is it an object lurking behind particular "iconic" forms. In modern lingo, *nirvāṇa* designates not a signified but, rather, the emptiness of the signifier.

The enlightenment or Buddhahood of the Ch'an abbot is similarly not to be thought of as something lying behind any particular form or expression. Indeed, one common term used for the pictorial representation of the abbot, *ting-hsiang* (Jpn. *chinsō*), is intended to capture precisely this dialectical tension. The term *ting-hsiang* was coined as a translation for the Sanskrit *uṣṇīṣa*, an invisible protuberance on the top of the Buddha's head. The portrait of the abbot-qua-buddha is thus a representation of that which allows no representation; it is a signifier enmeshed in its own dialectical negation.[65]

The abbot's "enlightenment" or "Buddhahood" lies precisely in the emptiness of his form, whether that form be the living abbot himself, his portrait, his *stūpa*, or his mummified remains. Indeed, the mummified abbot, who remains a very real and even lifelike presence in death, would seem an ideal expression of the dialectic of Buddhahood. A dead abbot, it would seem, serves as well as a living one to give form to the formless—provided, that is, that he can be kept from rotting away.

IX

In conclusion, we have seen that the mummification and idolization of the Ch'an master's corpse represents the confluence of a variety of factors, both Indian and Chinese. These include ancient Chinese attempts to prevent the decomposition of the corpse, the pan-Chinese belief that the soul must be furnished with a suitable resting place (such as a memorial tablet) after death, the Indian Buddhist cult of relics, the evolution of the Chinese ancestral portrait as a focus for offerings to the dead, the ritualization of the charisma of the Ch'an master, the economics of Chinese Buddhist monasteries, and the logic of enlightenment, particularly as understood in Ch'an exegesis and enacted in Ch'an monastic ritual. Of course, a detailed analysis of the historical, doctrinal, and religious significance of any specific flesh icon would require a great deal of "local knowledge"—the detailed reconstruction of the immediate social, historical, institutional, and semiotic context of a single mummy—a task that lies beyond the scope of this article. Nevertheless, in drawing attention to the complex and overdetermined nature of Ch'an Buddhist mummies, I hope to have underscored the dangers attendant upon the explication of "Buddhist" or "Ch'an" conceptions of death based solely upon the uncritical analysis of normative and prescriptive sources.

Appendix A

Evidence for the mummification of Chien-chen

There are two major extant sources that record the events surrounding the death of Chien-chen: the *Tō daiwajō tōsei den*, a work compiled in Japan in 779 by Chien-chen's disciple Mabito Genkai, and the *Sung kao-seng chuan*, compiled in China by Tsan-ning in 988.[66] As these two texts differ considerably on the subject of Chien-chen's death, one would expect the purportedly earlier account, compiled by a personal disciple of Chien-chen, to be the more reliable one. But there is evidence that Genkai's version of Chien-chen's death is intentionally misleading.

According to the *Sung kao-seng chuan* biography, Chien-chen's body was preserved as a "flesh icon" following his death: "On the fifth day of the fifth month of the seventh year of the Japanese Tempyō-hōji period [763], in the absence of any illness [Chien-chen] bid farewell to his assembly and died in seated posture. His body neither sagged nor decayed, and from the first year of the Kuang-te reign period of Emperor T'ang Tai-tsung [763] down seventy-seven years to the present day, no hemp or lacquer has been applied to his body, [although] kings, nobles, and devout scholars do daub it at times with precious incense powder. The monk Ssu-t'o composed the *Tōsei den* which relates all this in detail" (*T.*2061: 50.797c7–12).

The author of the *Sung kao-seng chuan*, Tsan-ning, most likely consulted

Ssu-t'o's (d. 805) *Tōsei den* while composing his own abbreviated biography. The original three-fascicle work by Ssu-t'o, presumably written shortly after Chien-chen's death in 763, is now lost, but it evidently served as the primary source for the most complete surviving account of Chien-chen's life, the aforementioned *Tō daiwajō tōsei den* compiled by Genkai in 779. As Genkai, like Ssu-t'o, was a direct disciple of Chien-chen, his text has always been considered a fairly reliable source. Yet Genkai's work departs sharply from the *Sung kao-seng chuan* concerning the details of Chien-chen's demise:

> In the spring of the seventh year of the Hōji period [763] [Chien-chen's] disciple Jen-chi had a dream in which he saw the ridge-pole in the Lecture Hall break apart. He awoke alarmed and frightened, suspecting that it augured the impending death of the master. He thereupon directed all the disciples to model an image of the master. On the sixth day of the fifth month of the same year [Chien-chen] died seated with legs folded while facing west. He was seventy-six years old. The top of his head was still warm three days after his death, and therefore his funeral was delayed for a long time. At the time of his cremation, the mountains were permeated with the scent of incense. While still alive [Chien-chen] had instructed the monk Ssu-t'o: "At my end I wish to die seated [in meditation]. You can establish a separate portrait hall for me at the Kaidanin [the site of the ordination platform], and give my old residence to the monks as living quarters."[67]

Genkai's *Tō daiwajō tōsei den* unambiguously reports that Chien-chen's body was cremated. And given the fact that Genkai and Ssu-t'o were fellow disciples of the Chinese master, and that Genkai is known to have drawn heavily upon Ssu-t'o's three-fascicle biography in composing his own, scholars have assumed that Ssu-t'o's *Tōsei den* also recorded the cremation. This raises the question as to why the author of the *Sung kao-seng Chuan*, who also drew upon Ssu-t'o's work, would claim that Chien-chen's body was mummified and placed on display for worshipers.[68] To add to the confusion, scholars have read Genkai's report of his master's instructions to Ssu-t'o–that Chien-chen wants to die seated, and that a separate portrait hall be built for him at the Kaidanin—as indicating that Chien-chen hoped to be preserved as a "flesh icon." It has been suggested that Chien-chen's visit to Hui-neng's mummy in 750 may have inspired this desire to be mummified and enshrined in the temple he founded.[69]

There is a simple (although ultimately speculative) solution to the apparent discrepancy between the Chinese and Japanese sources. Let us assume that Chien-chen's body was in fact mummified and venerated after death. In this case the earlier account by Ssu-t'o, which served as the source of Tsan-ning's biography centuries later, would no doubt have reported the mummification. Let us further suppose that sometime between 763 when Chien-chen died and Ssu-t'o wrote the *Tōsei den*, and 779 when Genkai compiled the surviving *Tō daiwajō*

tōsei den, something went wrong with the mummification and Chien-chen's corpse had to be cremated. The disciples then replaced the mummy in the Portrait Hall with a portrait sculpture, perhaps the very image that graces the Mieidō of Tōshōdaiji today.[70] The revised account of Genkai, written thirteen years after the original *Tōsei den*, would not exactly be lying when it reports that Chien-chen's body was cremated "after a long time." Moreover, Genkai included an anecdote designed to authenticate the portrait that came to replace the mummy: we are told that the image of Chien-chen was made shortly before his death, the implication being that it is an "authorized" portrait that represents an accurate likeness of the master when he was still alive. If I am correct in my reconstruction, then Chien-chen's case vividly illustrates the ritual, structural, and functional interrelationship between "flesh icons" and dry-lacquer portrait sculptures of deceased Buddhist saints in the medieval period.

Appendix B

Sino-Japanese character glossary

Ch'an-men kuei-shih 禪門規式
ch'an-shih 禪師
ch'an-t'ui 蟬蛻
Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei 禪苑清規
chao-hun 招魂
ch'e-ling 徹靈
chen 眞
Ch'en Jung 陳榮
chen-shen hsiang 眞身像
chen-shen yüan 眞身院
chen-t'ang 眞堂
ch'i-ku 起鼓
Chiao-ting ch'ing-kuei 校定清規
Chien-chen (J. Ganjin) 鑑眞
Ch'ih-hsiu pai-chang ch'ing-kuei 勅修
百丈清規
ch'ing-kuei 清規
Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu 景德傳燈録
Chu T'an-yu 竺曇猷
Chu tzu chia-li 朱子家禮
Ch'üan fa-pao chi 傳法寶紀
ch'ung-t'ang 祟堂
Fa-ch'in 法欽
Fa-yüan chu-lin 法苑珠林

Ho-lo-chieh 訶羅竭
Hsing-hsiu 行脩
Hsü kao-seng chuan 續高僧傳
hsü-ling 徐靈
hsün 熏
Hui-neng 慧能
Hui-shih 惠始
Hui-yüan 慧元
hun 魂
hun-po 魂帛
hun-shen 魂身
Jen-chi 忍基
jou-shen 肉身
jou-shen hsiang 肉身像
Kao-seng chuan 高僧傳
ku-hui hsiang 骨灰像
kuei 鬼
Kuang-hua ssu 廣化寺
Lin-chi 臨濟
ling 靈
ling-ch'u 靈處
ling-tso 靈座
Mabito Genkai 眞人元開
Mieidô 御影堂
Mu-ch'a 木叉
Mujaku Dôchû 無著道忠
Pao-p'u tzu 抱朴子
p'o 魄
Po Seng-kuang 帛僧光
pu-ching kuan 不淨觀
Shan-wu-wei 善無畏
shang-t'ang 上堂
Shih-lao chih 釋老志
Sho ekô shingi shiki 諸廻向清規式
Shu-ts'ao 束草
ssu erh pu wang 死而不亡
Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光
Ssu-t'o 思託
su-chen 塑眞
Sung kao-seng chuan 宋高僧傳
Taishô daizôkyô 大正大藏經

Tan Tao-kai 單道開
T'an-shih 曇始
Tao-hsin 道信
Tao-te ching 道德經
t'ing 亭
ting-hsiang (J. chinsô) 頂相
Tô daiwajô tôsei den 唐大和上東征傳
Tôsei den 東征傳
Tôshôdaiji 唐招提寺
Tsan-ning 贊寧
Ts'ao-ch'i 漕溪
Tso chuan 左傳
tsu-shih-t'ang 祖師堂
tsun-su ch'ien-hua 尊宿遷化
Tz'u-hang 慈航
wang (forget) 忘
wang (perish) 亡
Wang Lo-han 王羅漢
wei-p'ai 位牌
Wei Shou 魏收
Wei shu 魏書
Wu-hsiang 無相
ying-t'ang 影堂
Yu-hsüan 幽玄
Zokuzôkyô 續藏經

Notes

An earlier draft of this article was presented at the panel "Rituals of Death and Immorality" held at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion in New Orleans on November 18, 1990.

1 My interest in this topic grew out of a collaborative research project with T. Griffith Foulk (University of Michigan), and Elizabeth Horton Sharf (McMaster University), concerning the function of Ch'an and Zen portraiture (see our jointly authored report: T. Griffith Foulk, Elizabeth E. Horton, and Robert H. Sharf, "The Meaning and Function of Ch'an and Zen Portraiture" [paper delivered at the annual meeting of the College Art Association, New York, February 15, 1990]; an extended version will appear in *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, in press). Section V of this article, which involves an analysis of funeral rites for Ch'an abbots in the Sung, emerges directly from our collaboration, and I would like to thank them for their assistance and for their permission to use the material here. I would also like to thank Bernard Faure (Stanford University) for generously sharing with me his work in progress, as well as for reading and commenting upon an earlier draft of this article. Faure's work on relic worship and the ritualization of death in Ch'an and Zen, which includes a discussion of Ch'an mummification, appears in his *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of*

Chan/Zen Buddhism (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991). Last but not least, I would like to thank James Dobbins (Oberlin College) and Gregory Schopen (University of Texas), whose perceptive comments and suggestions on earlier drafts have significantly improved this study.

2 The term "icon of flesh" is a rough translation of the Chinese *chen-shen hsiang* (literally, "true-body portrait") or *jou-shen hsiang* ("flesh-body portrait").

3 See Tz'u-hang Tang, *Tz'u-hang ta-shih shih-lileh* (Taiwan: Tz'u-hang fa-shih yung-chiu chi-nien-hui, n.d.); and Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), vol. 5, pt. 2:300.

4 Gregory Schopen's recent work on Indian Buddhist monastic funerals goes a long way toward rectifying this situation. See esp. his "Burial '*Ad Sanctos*' and the Physical Presence of the Buddha in Early Indian Buddhism: A Study in the Archeology of Religions," *Religion* 17 (1987): 193–225, "An Old Inscription from Amarāvati and the Cult of the Local Monastic Dead in Indian Buddhist Monasteries," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 14 (1991): 281–329, and "On Avoiding Ghosts and Social Censure: Monastic Funerals in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 20 (1992): 1–39.

5 Tim Ward reports the case of a pious Thai Buddhist who donated the skeleton of her deceased mother to a local wat where it was displayed publicly as a reminder of the fate that awaits everyone. See Tim Ward, *What the Buddha Never Taught* (Toronto: Somerville House, 1990), pp. 19–20.

6 From the *Visuddhimagga* by the early fifth-century Pali commentator Buddhaghosa, translated by Bhikkhu Ñyāṇamoli as *The Path of Purification* (Sri Lanka, 1956; reprint, Berkeley: Shambhala, 1976), 1:201–2.

7 Schopen, "Burial '*Ad Sanctos*,' " p. 204.

8 According to the Gilgit *Mūlasarvāstivādin vinaya*: "He who would worship a living [Buddha], and he who would worship one who has entered final Nirvāṇa, having made their minds equally devout—between them there is no distinction of merit" (ibid., pp. 209–10).

9 See esp. the classic study of "secondary treatment" by Robert Hertz, "A Contribution to the Study of the Collective Representation of Death," in *Death and the Right Hand*, trans. Rodney Needham and Claudia Needham (Aberdeen: Cohen & West, 1960), pp. 27–86.

10 See Mary Levin, "Mummification and Cremation in India," *Man* (February 1930), p. 30.

11 *Dīgha-nikāya* ii 142 and 162, translated by T. W. Rhys Davids and C. A. F. Rhys Davids in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt. 2, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vol. iii, 5th ed. (London: Luzac, 1971), pp. 155–56, 182–83. See also the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* iii 57 ff., in which King Muṇḍa of Magadha, overcome with grief upon the death of his beloved queen, orders that her body be placed in an oil vessel "so that we shall see her body longer" (translation by E. M. Hare in *The Book of the Gradual Sayings or More-Numbered Suttas*, vol. 3, Pali Text Society Translation Series no. 25 [London: Luzac, 1961], p. 48). The latter account strongly suggests that immersing the corpse in oil was intended as a means of preservation.

12 See the analysis in Levin. Note also the discussion of the relationship between the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha and the *stūpa* in Jorinde Ebert, "Parinirvāṇa and Stūpa," in *The Stūpa: Its Religious, Historical and Architectural Significance*, Beiträge zur Südasienforschung, band 55, ed. Anna Libera Dallapiccola (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1980), pp. 219–37. In an examination of murals on early Buddhist *stūpas* Ebert finds evidence of a belief in the "*immediate metamorphosis* [at the time of cremation] of the burned human body into *stūpa* bodies, death-surpassing bodies" (p. 224).

13 This is immediately evident when we turn to the sections on "Ch'an masters" or "Ch'an practitioners" in the various *Kao-seng chuan* collections ("Biographies of Eminent Monks") dating to the medieval period. The hundreds of recorded biographies are invariably preoccupied with the fabulous powers wielded by these Buddhist saints and the miraculous events that punctuate their lives.

14 See the detailed argument advanced by T. Griffith Foulk in "The 'Ch'an School' and Its Place in the Buddhist Monastic Tradition" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1987).

15 See the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih, T.*2076: 51.251a6–10; and the discussion in Foulk, p. 374. It is simply untrue that all Ch'an monasteries did away with Buddha Halls, but this fact does not diminish the significance of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* account in Ch'an mythology. References to texts in the *Taishō daizōkyō* (*T.*) are cited hereafter by the text number followed by the volume, page, register (a, b, or c), and, when appropriate, the line number(s). References to texts found in the *Zokuzōkyō* (*ZZ.*) are indicated by the volume number in the 1968 Taipei reprint edition in 150 volumes (published by *Chung-kuo fo-chiao hui*), followed by the page and register (a, b, c, or d).

16 A description of the *shang-t'ang* rite can be found in the *Ch'an-yilan ch'ing-kuei*, an influential Sung monastic code. See the edited and annotated edition by Kagashima Genryū, Satō Tatsugen, and Kosaka Kiyū, *Yakuchū: Zen'en shingi* (Tokyo: Sōtōshū shūmuchō, 1972), pp. 71–75. An extended "performative" analysis of the ritual can be found in my "Being Buddha: A Performative Approach to Ch'an Enlightenment" (paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion, Anaheim, Calif., November 20, 1989).

17 I am particularly indebted to two important articles for many of the references to mummies in Buddhist canonical materials cited below: Kosugi Kazuo, "Nikushinzō o-yobi yuikaizō no kenkyū," *Tōyō gakuhō* 24, no. 3 (1937): 93–124; and Paul Demiéville, "Momies d' Extrême-Orient," in *Choix d'études Sinologiques* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), pp. 407–32 (originally published in *Journal des Savants*, Troisième centenaire [Paris, 1965], pp. 144–70).

18 T.2059: 50.389a12–16; see also Demiéville, pp. 410–11.

19 When young he is said to have stopped eating cereals, surviving instead on such things as cypress cones and pine resin for seven years, and he frequently associated with Taoist immortals. See his biography in *Kao-seng chuan* fascicle 9, *T.*2059: 50.387b1–c14.

20 *Kao-seng chuan*, *T.* 2059: 50.387c9–10.

21 See the discussion in Kosugi, pp. 95–96. The term *ch'an-t'ui* is used to refer to another "natural mummy" (an untreated corpse that suffers no decay after death) in the biography of the monk Hui-yüan in fascicle 13 of the *Kao-seng chuan* (*T.*2059: 50.410a16).

22 Both men regularly communed with various miraculous beings, fierce animals, and Taoist immortals. See their biographies in *Kao-seng chuan* fascicle 11 (*T.*2059: 50.395c5–396b16); and the discussions in Kobayashi Taiichirō, "Kōsō sūhai to shōzō no geijutsu," *Bukkyō geijutsu* 23 (1954): 14–15; and E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), pp. 145–56.

23 Note that the term translated here as "imbued" (*hsün*) has a technical Buddhist usage: it refers to the "traces" or "infusions" (Skt. *vāsanā*) left in the "storehouse consciousness" (Skt. *ālayavijñāna*) as a result of volitional activity. A variety of Indian sources describe the relics of Śākyamuni in remarkably similar terms. An inscription from Kharoṣṭhī dated to A.D. 25–26, e.g., speaks of the Buddha's relics as "infused [*paribhāvita*] with morality, infused with concentration, infused with wisdom" (Schopen, "Burial '*Ad Sanctos*'" [n. 4 above], p. 205). See also Gregory

Schopen, "On the Buddha and His Bones: The Conception of a Relic in the Inscriptions of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108 (1988): 531–33.

24 See the biography of Shan-wu-wei in the *Sung kao-seng chuan*: "Shan-wu-wei's body, which can still be seen, has shrunk with time. The black skin has dulled and the bones have become visible. Whenever a draught or flood has occurred in subsequent dynasties, people have gone to pray at the cave and have gotten results, so that many gifts [of gratitude] were laid there. The remains are covered with sheets of embroidered brocade as if he were asleep. Every time the remains are taken out of the cave, they are placed on a low couch and bathed with a fragrant unguent. The rich people in Lo-yang give in competition *ch'an-po*, cleaning towels, and the toilet peas used in the bath. The present Emperor, when propitiating or praying for something, usually sends messengers to present gifts; and [his Majesty's] desires have always been fulfilled." (*T.*2061: 50.716a12–17; translation from Chou I-liang, "Tantrism in China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8 [1945]: 271–72.)

25 See the edition of the *Ch'üan fa-pao chi* edited by Yanagida Seizan in *Shoki no zenshi I*, Zen no goroku 2 (Kyoto: Chikuma shobō, 1971), p. 380; translation from John Robert McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch'an Buddhism*, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism, no. 3 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), p. 263. Compare the abbreviated account in the *Hsü kao-seng chuan*, *T.*2060: 50.606b26–28.

26 *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, *T.*2076: 51.236c11–16; translation (with minor changes) from Philip B. Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch: The Text of the Tun-huang Manuscript with Translation, Introduction, and Notes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 86.

27 For an engaging account of a relatively recent visit to Hui-neng's mummy, see John Blofeld, *The Wheel of Life: The Autobiography of a Western Buddhist*, 2d ed. (London: Rider, 1972), pp. 86–92. A photograph of the mummy is reproduced in Demiéville (n. 17 above), p. 416, as well as in Needham (n. 3 above), fig. 1330. The identity of the mummy is uncertain, but it most probably is not that of the historical Hui-neng. Scholars now believe that much of the biography of Hui-neng is later legend, and that he was relatively unknown in his own day. The appearance of the mummy and the various legends surrounding it were no doubt attempts to capitalize upon the later fame of the master. Note that according to the account in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, a portrait of Hui-neng was included among the objects placed in his *stūpa*. The juxtaposition of portrait and mummy will figure prominently in the discussion below.

28 Ying-shih Yü, "O Soul, Come Back: A Study of the Changing Conceptions of the Soul and Afterlife in Pre-Buddhist China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47, no. 2 (1987): 380. On early Chinese attitudes toward the spirit of the dead, see also Mu-chou Poo, "Ideas concerning Death and Burial in Pre-Han and Han China," *Asia Major*, 3d ser., 3, no. 2 (1990): 25–62.

29 Yü, p. 380.

30 Eduard Erkes, "*Ssu erh pu wang*," *Asia Major*, n.s., 3, no. 2 (1953): 158. Note that where the extant recension of *Tao-te ching* 33 reads *wang* ("perish"), both Ma-wang-tui manuscripts read the homophone *wang* ("forget"), yielding "to die but not be *forgotten* is [true] longevity." In the preface to his recent translation of the *Tao-te ching*, Victor Mair maintains that the traditional reading of "perish" "does not really make sense, even in a religious Taoist context," and argues that the correct reading is that found in the Ma-wang-tui texts (*Tao Te Ching: The Classic Book of Integrity and the Way* [New York: Bantam Books, 1990], p. xii). This, however, begs the issue: there is abundant archaeological evidence attesting to the fact that the Chinese did at times

attempt to preserve the corpse from decay. The "vulgate" reading of "perish" for "forgotten," despite the fact that it may represent any early scribal error, may well have been understood in the light of attempts to mummify the corpse.

31 See, e.g., *Pao-p'u tzu* 2.10a: "All men, wise or foolish, know that their bodies contain *hun* souls and *p'o* souls, and that when some of them quit the body illness ensues; when they all leave him a man dies. In the former case, the magicians have amulets for restraining them; in the latter case, *The Rites* provide ceremonials for summoning them back" (translation from James Ware, *Alchemy, Medicine, and Religion in the China of A.D. 320: The Nei P'ien of Ko Hung [Pao-p'u tzu]* [Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1966], pp. 49–50, with minor changes). Among the many discussions of the *hun* and *p'o* souls, see esp. Carl Hentze, *Chinese Tomb Figures: A Study in the Beliefs and Folklore of Ancient China* (New York: AMS Press, 1974), pp. 1–19; Needham, pp. 85–92; and Yü, pp. 369–78.

32 See Anna Seidel, "*Post-mortem* Immortality—or: The Taoist Resurrection of the Body," in *Gilgul: Essays on Transformation, Revolution and Permanence in the History of Religions*, ed. S. Shaked, D. Shulman, and G. G. Stroumsa (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987), pp. 228–29.

33 Needham, p. 304.

34 Wang Zhongshu cites the *Hou-han shu* as evidence that the purpose of the jade suits was to preserve the corpse: "(The 'Biography of Liu Penzi') claimed that the bodies in jade shrouds in the imperial mausoleums of the Western Han were all so well preserved that they looked like living people. This is, of course, not true. Cao Pi was perhaps more on the mark when he said, in banning the practice, that the use of jade shrouds was a 'stupid and vulgar act' " (Wang Zhongshu, *Han Civilization* [New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982], p. 182).

35 *Pao-p'u tzu* 3.6a-b; translation from Needham, p. 284.

36 Seidel, "*Post-mortem* Immortality," p. 234.

37 I am intentionally avoiding the issue of the relationship between the mummification of Ch'an masters in China and the "self-mummified Buddhas" associated with Japanese esoteric Buddhism. A connection, no doubt, exists; Japanese self-mummified monks, who usually belonged to the Yudono sect of Shugendō, took their inspiration from Kūkai, who, it is said, never died, but remains in perpetual *samādhi*. Nevertheless, the Yudono practice of self-mummification—which involved a prolonged fast designed to end in death through desiccation—ultimately comes to be situated in a very different network of religious significations peculiar to Japanese esoterism. (Actually, the term "self-mummification" is somewhat of a misnomer; even in Japan the full mummification of a monk who fasted to death required the postmortem treatment of the corpse.) The practice of embarking upon a rigorous fast in order to begin the mummification process prior to death was not unknown in premodern China (see J. C. H., "How to Make Dried Priests," *New China Review* 2 [1920]: 313–14), but the practice is not well attested in the medieval period. And where Chinese Buddhist mummies are typically associated with Ch'an, in Japan there is little connection between mummification and Zen. Among the many studies of Japanese mummies, see esp. Andō Kōsei, *Nihon no miira* (Tokyo: Mainichi shinbunsha, 1961); and Hori Ichiro, "Self-Mummified Buddhas in Japan: An Aspect of the Shugen-dō ('Mountain Asceticism') Sect," *History of Religions* 1, no. 2 (1962); 222–42.

38 See, e.g., the case of Wang Lo-han, discussed below, who was lacquered three days following his death.

39 See the descriptions in Demiéville (n. 17 above), pp. 413–14; Helmut Brinker, "Body, Relic and Image in Zen Buddhist Portraiture," in *Shōzō*, Kokusai kōryū bijutsushi kenkyūkai dairokkai kokusai shinpojiamu (Kyoto: Kokusai kōryū bijutsushi kenkyūkai, 1987), p. 47; and J. Prip-Møller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries: Their*

Plan and Its Function as a Setting for Buddhist Monastic Life, 2d ed. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1967), p. 181.

40 Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900–1950*, Harvard East Asian Studies, no. 26 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 343.

41 Langdon Warner, *The Craft of the Japanese Sculptor* (New York: McFarlane, Warde, McFarlane and the Japan Society of New York, 1936), p. 10. See also Langdon Warner, *Japanese Sculpture of the Tempyo Period: Masterpieces of the Eighth Century*, ed. James Marshall Plumer (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 55–60; and Nishikawa Kyōtarō and Emily J. Sano, *The Great Age of Japanese Buddhist Sculpture, AD 600–1300* (Fort Worth, Tex.: Kimbell Art Museum; New York: Japan Society, 1982), pp. 48–49.

42 Although numerous dry-lacquer images produced in ancient Japan have survived to modern times, works from T'ang China are extremely rare. The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York possesses a sculpture of Śākyamuni from the Tai-fu temple, Cheng-ting, Hopei province dated to ca. 650, which may be the earliest extant example. See James C. Y. Watt, *The Arts of Ancient China* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1990), p. 57.

43 Kosugi discerns three stages in the evolution of structures housing such mummies. In the early period "natural mummies" were found in caves or stone crypts in remote mountain locales; in the second stage the preserved remains were placed in earthen tombs within cemetery grounds; and finally in the T'ang, when lacquering became common, mummies typically were enshrined within specially built *stūpa*-mausoleums or memorial halls (Kosugi [n. 17 above], p. 107).

44 From the section on the "passing of a venerable elder [i.e., the abbot]" (*tsun-su ch'ien-hua*) in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, Kagashima, Satō, and Kosaka, eds. (n. 16 above), pp. 259–60. Similar descriptions of funerals for high abbots can be found in most *ch'ing-kuei* compilations, including the *Chiao-ting ch'ing-kuei* of 1204 (*ZZ*.112.19d–21d), the *Ch'ih-hsiu pai-chang ch'ing-kuei* of 1336 (*T*.2025: 48.1127a–1129a) and the *Sho ekō shingi shiki* of 1566 (*T*.2578: 81.659b ff.).

45 See Kagashima, Satō, and Kosaka, eds., pp. 259–60; and the sections on funerals in the monastic codes mentioned in the note above.

46 The list of rites reads as follows: (1) hanging the portrait in a pavilion outside the temple gate (at the grave or cremation site), (2) offering a libation of tea and hot water, (3) lighting the torch of the funeral pyre, (4) installing the bone relics following a cremation, (5) auctioning the robes of the dead monk to raise money to pay the costs of the funeral, (6) collecting the bones and installing them in a *stūpa* ten to fourteen days following the cremation, (7) installing (the tablet?) in the Patriarchs Hall, (8) placing the whole body in a *stūpa*, (9) scattering earth over the coffin (i.e., burying the corpse) (*T*.2025: 48.1128a22–26).

47 On cremation in China, see esp. Kosugi, pp. 98–120; Anna Seidel, "Dabi," *Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire encyclopédique du bouddhisme d'après les sources Chinoises et Japonaises*, sixième fascicule (Tokyo: Maison Franco-Japonaise), pp. 578–82; and Patricia Ebrey, "Cremation in Sung China," *American Historical Review* 95, no. 2 (1990): 406–28. Ebrey notes that, despite official opposition, by Sung times cremation had become popular even among those with no formal ties to the Buddhist church. Cremation proved particularly attractive in cases where a person had died far from home (the ashes could be transported with relative ease for later interment and memorial rites) and in cases where economic constraints made purchase of a grave site difficult.

48 See, e.g., the description of the funeral rites in the *Chu tzu chia-li*, a ritual manual attributed to Chu Hsi (1130–1200) and widely circulated since the Southern Sung. The *Chia-li* records the opinions of Ssu-ma Kuang (1019–1086) concerning the

custom of drawing an image of the deceased on the back of a silk "soul cloth" (*hun-po*) "as something for the spirits to rely on." Ssu-ma Kuang condones this practice only in the case of men who had portraits made when alive, and only if the image is not embellished with the use of "caps, hats, clothes, and shoes" (Patricia Ebrey, *Chu Hsi's Family Rituals: A Twelfth-Century Chinese Manual for the Performance of Cappings, Weddings, Funerals, and Ancestral Rites* [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990], p. 78). The installation of the portrait next to the casket is also mentioned in the journals of Matteo Ricci; see the translation by Louis J. Gallagher, *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci* (New York: Random House, 1953), pp. 72–73. A full description of the funeral rites as practiced at the turn of the century can be found in Jan J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China: Its Ancient Forms, Evolution, History and Present Aspect: Manners, Customs and Social Institutions Connected Therewith* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1892–1910), vols. 1–3. For a description of the funerary portraits, see esp. 1:113–14.

49 De Groot, *The Religious System of China*, 1:113.

50 *Ch'an-lin pei-yung ch'ing-kuei*, *ZZ*.112.62c. See also the section on "minor consultations facing the spirit [seat]" in the *Chiao-ting ch'ing-kuei*, *ZZ*.112.20d.

51 Mujaku Dōchū, *Chokushū hyakujō shingi sakei*, ed. Yanagida Seizan (Kyoto: Chūbun shuppansha, 1979), p. 484.

52 James L. Watson, "The Structure of Chinese Funerary Rites: Elementary Forms, Ritual Sequence, and the Primacy of Performance," in *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*, ed. James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), p. 4.

53 Note the common use of effigies in Buddhist funerals in nineteenth-century Amoy, described in a lengthy article by Jan J. M. de Groot, "Buddhist Masses for the Dead in Amoy," in *Actes du sixième congrès internationale des orientalistes*, pt. 4, sec. 4 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1885), pp. 1–120. The effigy, called a *hun-shen* ("spirit-body"), is constructed of paper pasted over a bamboo frame and attired in the formal dress proper to the office of the deceased. It resides in a "kind of tabernacle" known as the *ling-ch'u* which occupies the central position in the main hall of the house (pp. 36–37). On the first day of the mass a ceremony known as *ch'i-ku* ("raising the drum") or *chao-hun* ("hailing the soul") is performed by a Taoist priest positioned at some distance from the home of the departed. The priest, beating upon a drum and calling out the name of the deceased, entices the spirit to return to his or her home and enter the effigy (pp. 49–50). From here the spirit will participate in the ceremonies and receive various offerings from family members and friends. The mass ends with a rite known as *ch'e-ling* or *hsü-ling* ("removing the spirit"), believed to transport the soul to the Western Pure Land. At the culmination of this rite the effigy is set on fire along with its entire retinue, including paper retainers and servants, paper money, treasuries, luggage, food, wine, and other supplies provided for the comfort of the departed. De Groot comments: "The burning of the soul-body unmistakably of itself suggests that this thing is expected to do duty instead of the body of the dead also in Paradise. It is, indeed, most repugnant to the mind of the Chinese that the soul of a beloved deceased should roam about in the World of Shades without an artificial support which it could stick closely to, to thus prevent its evaporation and dissolution" (p. 106).

54 There are interesting parallels between the ceremonial use of the funerary effigy of the Ch'an abbot and the effigies used in the royal funerals of English and French monarchs during the renaissance. See esp. Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1960), pp. 145–75; and Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 419–37. Giesey has

noted the desire for lifelike realism in the construction of French royal effigies. In a discussion of the grandiose funeral procession of Francis I, Giesey comments: "Beyond doubt the eyes of everyone were on the effigy. Its realism was so great as to have been, perhaps, frightening: more than a few feet away from it, one could not have been sure that what he saw was not a living figure" (p. 13).

55 On the relationship between the worship of eminent monks, the preservation of their remains, and the evolution of Buddhist portraiture, see esp. Kobayashi (n. 22 above).

56 From fascicle 114 of the *Wei shu* by Wei Shou; translation (with some changes) from Leon Hurvitz, "*Wei Shou*, Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism: An English Translation of the Original Chinese Text of *Wei-shu* CXIV and the Japanese Annotation of Tsukamoto Zenryū," in *Yün-kang: The Buddhist Cave-Temples of the Fifth Century A.D. in North China* (Kyoto: Kyoto University Institute of Humanistic Studies, 1956), 16:62–63. Compare Hui-shih's biographies in fascicle 10 of the *Kao-seng chuan* (*T.*2059: 50.392b3-c7) and fascicle 19 of the *Fa-yüan chu-lin* (*T.*2122: 53.428a25-b1), where he is called T'an-shih.

57 Fascicle 9 of the *Sung kao-seng chuan* further records that Fa-ch'in's hair had grown so long that it covered his face (*T.*2061: 50.764b14–765a11). See also Kosugi (n. 17 above), pp. 109–10, where he discusses these and other cases of *stūpas* containing effigies.

58 See the full discussion in Kosugi, p. 111.

59 There is another means by which the distance between portrait and relic may be negated, namely, mixing the ash and bone relics of a cremated saint with clay and using the amalgam to model a portrait of the deceased known as a *ku-hui hsiang* ("image made of bones and ash"). There are no known surviving examples of *ku-hui hsiang*, but three cases are reported in the *Sung kao-seng chuan*, all dating to the T'ang. The earliest is that of the Korean Ch'an master Wu-hsiang (Korean: Musang, 684–762). Following his death a clay sculpture was made incorporating his relics and "over the following days sweat flowed over the entire face of the image" (*T.*2061: 50.832c29–833a2). The two other recorded cases are those of Mu-ch'a (*T.*2061: 50.823b1–5) and Shu-ts'ao (*T.*2061: 50.857b2–13; see also Kosugi, pp. 116–17). Yet another variation involves inserting a relic container inside a portrait sculpture, but a full discussion of this well-attested phenomenon would take us far afield. An informative discussion of one such example can be found in Itō Shirō, "Shoki tendaishū no shōzō chōkoku—Enchin zō o chūshin ni," in *Shōzō*, Kokusai kōryū bijutsushi kenkyūkai dairokkai kokusai shinpojiamu (Kyoto: Kokusai kōryū bijutsushi kenkyūkai, 1987), p. 23.

60 See Hertz (n. 9 above).

61 From the biography of Hsing-hsiu in fascicle 30 of the *Sung kao-seng chuan*, *T.*2061: 50.899a2–6; see also Kosugi, p. 112.

62 The major sources for Chien-chen's biography, along with an analysis of the evidence for his mummification, can be found in App. A to this article.

63 The phrase is borrowed from Richard Huntington and Peter Metcalf, *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 129.

64 The logic that affirms the Buddha's continued presence after his *parinirvāṇa* is explored by John Strong in his article "*Gandhakuṭī:* The Perfumed Chamber of the Buddha," *History of Religions* 16, no. 4 (1977): 390–406. According to Strong, the structure known as a *gandhakuṭī* served in India as the focus for devotional sweeping and ritualized offerings of flowers, incense and perfumes (whereby it was rendered a "Pure Land"), and ritually located or "framed" the presence of the Buddha in his very absence. See, however, Gregory Schopen's critique of Strong's analysis in "The

Buddha as an Owner of Property and Permanent Resident in Medieval Indian Monasteries," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 18 (1990): 212–13, n. 60.

65 A full discussion of the significance of the term *ting-hsiang* as a designation for a Buddhist portrait can be found in Foulk, Horton, and Sharf (n. 1 above).

66 For a complete list of sources pertaining to the biography of Chien-chen, see Takakusu Junjirō, "Le voyage de Kanshin en Orient, 742–754," pts. 1, 2, 3, *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 28 (1928): 1–41, 441–72; 29 (1929): 47–62. Takakusu's study includes a French translation of the *Tō daiwajō tōsei den*. For a detailed textual study of the *Tō daiwajō tōsei den*, see Kuranaka Susumu, *Tō daiwajō tōsei den no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Ofūsha, 1976).

67 *T.*2089: 51.994b4–10. In early Buddhist Japan it was not unusual to turn the founder's residence into a commemorative portrait hall upon his death. This was done in the case of the Shingon patriarch Kūkai, as well the Tendai abbots Ennin and Enchin. And contrary to Chien-chen's wishes, it seems that the portrait hall built during the Heian period to house his image was, ironically, located on the site of his original residence. See the discussion in Mōri Hisashi, *Japanese Portrait Sculpture*, trans. W. Chie Ishibashi (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd. & Shibundo, 1977), pp. 18–23.

68 See the extended discussion in Kosugi, p. 123, who puzzles over the conflicting sources.

69 See, e.g., Inoue Tadashi, "Kōsō shōzō chōkoku no mondai ten," in *Shōzō bijutsu no shomondai—kōsōzō o chūshin ni*, Bukkyō bijutsu kenkyū, Ueno kinenzaidan josei kenkyūkai hōkokusho no. 5 (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 1978), p. 2; Brinker (n. 39 above), p. 48; and Kosugi, p. 122.

70 The famous Tōshōdaiji sculpture of Chien-chen clearly dates to the late Tempyō era. During restoration in the 1930s it was found to be constructed using the hollow-core dry-lacquer technique described above, although it had been heavily restored with papier-mâché during the Edo period. See *Nara rokudaiji taikan*, no. 13, *Tōshōdaiji* 2, ed. Nara rokudaiji taikan kankōkai (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1972), pp. 40–43.

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BUDDHIST INFLUENCE ON EARLY TAOISM

A survey of scriptural evidence

Erik Zürcher

Source: *T'oung Pao* LXVI, 1–3 (1980): 84–147.

1. Introductory remarks

This paper does not pretend to be more than is suggested by its title. It is a preliminary survey and analysis of elements of Buddhist origin found in a selection of about 120 Taoist scriptures that can safely be assumed to be "early," i.e. to date from the period between the Later Han and the early sixth century[1]). The scope of the investigation is therefore clearly limited, and so are the results gained from it. The conclusions should be checked against the data yielded by other sources of information: historical and bibliographical literature, belles-letres, inscriptions and iconographical evidence. Only then a reasonably balanced picture could be drawn of what, after all, appears to be one of the most characteristic developments in medieval Taoism: its absorption of a great number of elements at various levels, ranging from simple terminological loans to doctrinal complexes, from Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism. It should be added that in the present study I only rarely touch upon the "Taoist countercurrent" which actually should receive due attention because it places the subject in its true perspective: what we observe here is no doubt one half of a process of mutual influencing in the course of which Chinese Buddhism absorbed and digested quite a number of Taoist elements.

That the vast majority of Taoist scriptures of the period show signs of Buddhist influence cannot be doubted. Of the 123 texts investigated, no less than 93 showed at least marginal Buddhist influence; the 28 early *Ling-pao* 靈寶 texts are all clearly affected by Mahāyāna Buddhism, and particularly in that tradition we find a number of scriptures in which borrowed terminological, stylistic and conceptual elements reach such proportions that we can almost speak of "Buddho-Taoist hybrids."

The fact itself is not surprising—on the contrary: when we consider that the two great religious traditions both took their rise in the second century AD, and

since then developed side by side in the same geographical areas, it would be quite extraordinary if they would not show signs of mutual influence. It does, however, give rise to a number of questions:

1 What types of borrowing do we find? Are the loans mainly formal, i.e. terminological and stylistic, contributing to the presentation of Taoist ideas in a more diversified, enriched, even "exotic" way, without really affecting the content of the message? Or are they also conceptual, i.e. do they also basically add new elements to the body of Taoist doctrines which by their absorption is altered or even reoriented? Or do the elements borrowed from Buddhism serve to reinforce and stimulate pre-existing Taoist notions without really altering them or adding new ideas and practices?
2 Since processes of adoption usually imply selection, can we define what element or complexes of elements were selected from the immense corpus of Mahāyāna Buddhism as it gradually became known in the course of this period? Is it a very broad selection, covering the whole spectrum of Buddhist doctrines, monastic discipline, scholasticism, hagiography, morality, devotionalism and worship (to mention a few sectors at random)? Or do we observe a clear concentration of loans in particular sectors, and have vast fields of Buddhist religious life failed to influence Taoism? If so, can we suggest an explanation for the pattern of preference?
3 Conversely, do we find considerable differences in density in the distribution of Buddhist loans in scriptures belonging to different "sects" or orientations within Taoism? If we find (as we do) that scriptures of the *T'ien-shih* 天師 tradition are only marginally affected by Buddhist terminology, whereas the highest concentration (both in number, scope and intensity) is found in the *Ling-pao* tradition, can we offer an explanation?
4 Does a closer study of Buddhist loans enable us to draw conclusions as to the dating of Taoist scriptures? Or, more concretely, are the borrowed elements so specific that they can be related to one source of information: a certain text, or at least a certain translator or school of translators, so that the latter gives us a *terminus post quem*? And if a certain Taoist text does not contain any trace, however marginal, of Buddhist influence does that fact point to an early date?
5 Lastly, a student of Chinese Buddhism may be allowed to add a final question, at the risk of its being irrelevant in this context: what do the survey and analysis of Buddhist influences in early Taoist literature teach us about Chinese Buddhism itself?

"Influence" and "borrowing" are vague terms that cover a whole range of phenomena, from the most superficial "ornamental" use of a Buddhist term to the incorporation of a whole complex of Buddhist origin. At least for the purpose of analysis we have to distinguish various types or levels of borrowing,

even if it is obvious that there are many border cases and that, in principle, even the most formal loans to some extent do affect the content of the message.

The first and most elementary type of loans I would call *formal borrowing*: elements of Buddhist origin that exclusively or mainly contribute to the verbal and stylistic presentation of the message. If we find the common expression *ch'i pao* 七寶 (*saptaratna*) in a Taoist context, it usually occurs in passages describing the gorgeous setting of the revelation or the splendour of a superhuman environment. It is not a meaningless expletive, for the whole series of seven is sometimes enumerated in the right conventional order, just as we find them in Mahāyāna scriptures. But its function is clear: it enriches the description, adds to conventional Taoist religious idiom, and makes the story more overwhelming and therefore—hopefully—more effective. The same may be said of a whole range of stylistic loans such as the imitation of the Buddhist *nidāna*-formula at the beginning of a *sūtra*, the "flash-back" effect of a birth story, the conventional closing formula, the accumulation of superlatives and immense numbers, the "exotic" use of transcribed Sanskrit words taken from Buddhist sources or the free invention of pseudo-Sanskrit names.

The second category I would call *conceptual borrowing*. It is a somewhat more elusive type, because in many cases it is difficult to make out in how far a term denoting a well-defined doctrinal concept in Mahāyāna Buddhism has retained some of its original value in the Taoist context. In some cases contextual analysis may enable us to define the content of a certain term as it functions in its new surroundings: it is quite clear that the original Buddhist concept of "rebirth in remote border areas" (邊境, *pratyanta-janapada*), as opposed to rebirth in "the Central Region" (中國, *madhyadeśa*), has acquired a totally new significance, whereas the concept *san chieh* 三界, the Three Spheres of Existence that plays a central and rather complicated role in the Buddhist world-view, appears to be so hollowed out in Taoist usage that it means little more than "the world of being". In some cases the use of borrowed doctrinal terms is so loose and unspecific that they border upon what I have called "formal loans": does a reference to "the endless, innumerable, countless worlds" really imply an acceptance of the Buddhist panorama of numberless world-systems (*lokadhātu* 世界) floating in the immensity of space, or is it just a figure of speech?

The third category is that of *borrowed complexes*: the absorption of a coherent cluster of ideas and/or practices, taken over from Buddhism as a complex in which at least part of the original constituent elements are maintained, even if the interpretation and function of those elements and of the complex as a whole may be quite different from the original ones. This category comprises subjects like the structure of our world and of the universe (world-systems; the "ten directions" 十方 of space; the earth with its four continents surrounding Mt. Sumeru; the multiplicity of Heavens with their hierarchy of gods, the various Hells with their highly specialized tortures; the cosmic eras and the "*kalpa*-disasters" 劫災 that bring about the periodic destruction of the universe up to a certain level). Another complex is that of karmic retribution, sin, personal guilt,

and penitence. It should be pointed out that the difference between this category and the second one, that of "concepts", is mainly one of coherence and complexity. Thus, a concept like *pen-yüan* 本願 "original vow" (to strive for salvation) clearly belongs to the complex "accumulation of merit" which is closely related to *karman* and retribution, whereas the theme of "the body (of the Adept) producing water and fire" 身出水火 (originally one of the miraculous powers of the Buddhist Saint) only occurs in isolation, without any reference to other distinctive traits of the Buddhist complex, and therefore should be regarded as a conceptual borrowing.

There is a fourth category which is so elusive that at least at this stage of the investigation it is better not to speculate about it: the "pervasive influence" of Buddhist ideas and practices which may have contributed to the development of Taoism without, however, finding its expression in recognizably Buddhist terms. It is very probable that a number of fundamental notions and orientations in Taoism were reinforced or stimulated by analogous (or seemingly analogous) Buddhist ideas, such as the notion of a personal revelation, a certain periodicity not only in the formation and destruction of the universe but also in the preaching of the Dharma; the assumption of an impersonal and inexorable law of retribution yet combined with a personalization of both good and evil; the doctrine of good works and charity; the idea that a holy text may act not only as a piece of religious instruction but also as an object of worship and as a powerful protective charm; the belief that certain forms of mental concentration or trance may temporarily enable the practicant to visit the higher spheres of existence; certain techniques of visualization (觀) developed in Mahāyāna Buddhism, and many more. At this stage, little more can be said about this with any certainty. In most cases the Buddhist and Taoist ideas supported and stimulated each other, so that for every subject both a Buddhist and a Taoist (or at least an endogenous Chinese) origin could be suggested. I shall not deal with such pervasive influence or convergence, which is at best hard to prove, and limit myself to those cases in which Buddhist influence is made explicit by the use of recognizably Buddhist terminology.

The main part of this study is devoted to a survey of the stylistic and terminological features that form the category of "formal borrowings," and to the "conceptual" borrowings which will be treated in relation to a number of Buddhist technical expressions that frequently figure in our body of Taoist texts. As to the third category, that of complex borrowings, an attempt will be made to define the most important areas of influence and their main features without, however, treating them in detail. There are several reasons for this way of presentation. In the first place, this survey should serve a practical purpose: it is designed to make the student of Taoism acquainted with the main features of Mahāyāna "scriptural style" as far as they are found in early Taoist literature; it should provide him with a body of concrete and easily observable terminological and stylistic phenomena. This part of our findings must therefore be presented in somewhat more detail. Secondly, in the course of this study it has become clear

that the whole subject of complex borrowing is a vast field full of extremely complicated problems, and that an adequate presentation of even one cluster, such as the complex "guilt-sin-penitence-expiation" would swell this article far beyond its intended size.

2. The image of Buddhism

Buddhism is very rarely mentioned in early Taoist scriptures; it is nowhere described at any length in either positive or negative terms. Such a silence is both remarkable and regrettable. Remarkable, because it curiously contrasts with the often massive presence of Buddhist terms and ideas in the text themselves. Regrettable, because our analysis of Buddhist influence would no doubt have gained in depth and coherence if we had more information about the Taoist perception of its greatest rival. However, the few passages in which Buddhism is treated (ten passages in no more than five texts, belonging to both the *T'ien-shih* and *Ling-pao* traditions), plus some negative evidence from passages in which Buddhism is conspicuously absent, allow us to draw some general conclusions.

To begin with the negative evidence: it is very striking that Buddhism is nowhere explicitly condemned as a heterodox or pernicious system. Nowhere do we find a tone of accusation and contempt such as so often appears in fifth-century Buddhist and Taoist polemical treatises—polemics that, surprisingly, do not appear to have left any traces in early scriptural literature. There are plenty of condemnations, but they only regard manifestations of "heterodox religions": the exorcists 巫 who follow an evil road and therefore have to face the most gruesome punishments in Hell together with their clients[2]); the many kinds of "excessive sacrifices" 淫祠 and other forms of popular cults and magic:

> "Those who kill living beings to make their excessive sacrifices; who offer their oblations to shamans and demons; who slander and ridicule Taoists ... who with covered heads and loose hair look up to heaven and summon the spirits; who detestably utter immoral prayers, wishing thereby to kill other people; or who hold Sun and Moon in contempt and scold the Constellations ..."[3])

Even the most elaborate lists of all possible transgressions and sinful acts or attitudes do not contain the slightest hint at Buddhist beliefs or practices; religious transgressions are mentioned by the dozen, but they either concern misbehaviour within the Taoist community (such as ritual transgressions committed when accepting or transmitting a sacred text, or committing ritual mistakes when fasting), or are clearly directed against popular cults such as mentioned above[4]).

If we now turn to explicit references to Buddhism, the most striking theme, returning again and again, is that Buddhism in various ways is regarded as *complementary* to Taoism: a relation in which Taoism is no doubt seen as

superior, but in which Buddhism is not denied a right to exist as a kind of alternative way.

Thus we find in a *Ling-pao* text with strong Mahāyānist elements a curious passage in which two Perfected 眞人, both authorized by the Heavenly Venerable One 天尊 to preach in the world, apparently do so as representatives of, respectively, Taoism (the "left" way, or Yang) based on a contractual relationship in which the recipient pays for the sacred texts, and of Buddhism (the "right" way, hence Yin) based on almsbegging and free preaching without remuneration. The Perfected One on the Right is expressly told not to accept any "pledge" 信 payment for his instruction, whereas the one on the Left is ordered to conform to the normal Taoist rules regarding remuneration. When asked why he issues such contradictory orders, the Heavenly Venerable One tells the "Taoist" disciple:

> "All practitioners 兆 are not the same; their minds are all different. Therefore I open up two ways, but they lead to the same goal 其歸一也. Why is this so? The Arcane Disciple of the Right (one of the two Perfected) is a *śramaṇa* (or ?) laic 桑門居士; such a layman will go everywhere begging 普行乞求: he regards the destruction of evil as the (saving) Bridge of the Law 法橋. If there can be (found) people who spend gifts (to the *saṅgha*), then their happy retributions will be a thousandfold. Therefore I let him confer the scriptures (on the believers) without again asking a remuneration. But if you now as a Disciple would practice *piṇḍapāta* 分衛 (food-begging) in order to ask for alms and to save people—if they would not give, this would even increase the guilt 罪 of those people. If their faith has no means to express itself, how could they be saved? . . ."[5]).

The idea of complementarity, based on the fact that both doctrines have sprung from one source of wisdom, is curiously illustrated by a pseudo-historical story attributed to Ko Hsüan 葛玄, here acting as a high official in the hierarchy of Immortals. The text is very clearly inspired by Buddhist *avadāna* stories devoted to the karmic careers of persons in their past lives. After having given a survey of a great number of his past existences, he treats his last lives in somewhat more detail, because the Immortals present have also played a role in them:

> (*Ko Hsüan was at that time a ruler who excelled in piety. He and his attendants made a vow in their next life to devote themselves to religion*): "I would be a recluse, Shih Tao-wei 釋道微 and Chu Fa-lan 竺法蘭 vowed to become *śramaṇas* 沙門, and Cheng Ssu-yüan 鄭思遠 and Chang T'ai 張泰 would be Taoists 道士; we would have the universal aspiration to rise up and become Immortals, and to transcend the (worldly) affairs of government. At my death I straightway rose up to the Heavenly Hall, where I obtained clothing and food from the divine

> kitchens. Then I was born as a recluse, (Chu Fa-)lan and (Shih Tao-)wei became *śramaṇas*, and Chang (T'ai) and Cheng (Ssu-yüan) became Taoists. Together we entered (religious life) to study the Way and to seek Immortality. Later I acted as a teacher for those men, and we aspired for the practice of Mahāyāna 大乘行." (*After a description of his Taoist career, Ko Hsüan continues*): "the karmic factors of causation 因緣 had not yet been exhausted when I passed away into the Great Yin—then we were born in distinguished households, and we again became Taoists and *śramaṇas*. Together we again devoted ourselves to (religious) study in a teacher-disciple relation. Again I received the great scriptures; I observed the rules of fasting and practiced the Way ... At that time (Chu Fa)-lan, (Shih Tao-)wei, Chang (T'ai) and Cheng (Ssu-yüan) all attended on me. That we today are (again) in each other's company is the result of our karmic vow made in a former life"[6]).

This tradition which associates Ko Hsüan with the two monks is echoed by another *Ling-pao* text:

> "The T'ai-chi tso hsien-kung 太極左仙公 Ko Hsüan ... on Mt. T'ien-t'ai instructed his disciple Cheng Ssu-yüan, the *śramaṇas* Chu Fa-lan and Shih Tao-wei, and the first ruler at the time of the Wu (kingdom), Sun Ch'üan"[7]).

Of course the story is quite apocryphal as it contains several glaring anachronisms. Chu Fa-lan is well-known, according to an equally unreliable tradition, as one of the two apostles of Buddhism in China: it was he who is said to have come to China together with Kāśyapa Mātaṅga, at the invitation of the Han messengers who were sent out around 65 AD by Emperor Ming after the latter had had his famous dream. His name is therefore intimately connected with the whole apocryphal story of the so-called translation of the *Sūtra in 42 sections* 四十二章經 which we do not need to go into here[8]).

Another mystery is the identity of the monk Shih Tao-wei, who is unknown from elsewhere. The form of the name itself is, however, an interesting detail because it provides us with a reliable *terminus post quem*. The clerical surname Shih 釋 (Śākya) is known to have been introduced by Tao-an 道安 around 370 A.D.[9]), and this innovation was so succesful that after one generation the older "ethnic" clerical surnames such as Chu 竺 and Chih 支 were superseded by *Shih*. The text therefore must be dated around 400 A.D. at the earliest. It is almost incredible that even after more than two centuries of Buddhism in China, and at least one century after it started to penetrate in gentry circles in the Chienk'ang area, such fantastic notions about one of the founding fathers of Chinese Buddhism were still current among the highly cultured public for which this text (and, to judge from their sophisticated language, all other *Ling-pao* scriptures)

was intended. But that aspect does not concern us here. Most important to note is that (a) here again two representatives of Buddhism are mentioned in a rather appreciative way, in any case without the slightest tinge of condemnation or ridicule, and (b) this text again suggests a certain complementarity: both *śramaṇas* and Taoists were disciples of the great Ko Hsüan—they only chose "another Way".

As we should expect, most information—if we may call it that—about Buddhism in our Taoist scriptures is directly related to the *hua hu* 化胡 theory. Here, too, the theme of complementarity—two alternative methods established by the same Sage—is stressed, but the relation is expressed in other terms: since Buddhism is *Yin*, and therefore associated with both submission and death, it was originally adapted to the nature and customs of barbarians, who (at least according to one episode in this composite story) were forced to accept it by magic intimidation.

The most extensive text, found in the *T'ien-shih* scripture *San-t'ien nei-chieh ching* 三天內解經, is well-known: it consists of a conflation of at least three different traditions about the origin of Buddhism, so that that religion actually appears to have been created or revealed three times: once in highest antiquity at the time of Fu Hsi and Nü Wa; once again by Lao-tzu in his next *avatāra* under the Chou, in Kashmir; and finally in India, by an *avatāra* of Lao-tzu's disciple and companion Yin Hsi. The most essential passages in this extremely confused story are the following:

> (1) (At the time of Fu Hsi, Lao-tzu) "then produced the Three Ways 三道 to instruct the gods and the people. In China, the *Yang* fluid is pure and correct, so he let (the people there) observe the great Way of Non-action 無為大道. In the sixty-one regions of the outer barbarians the *Yin* fluid is strong and exuberant, so he let them observe the Way of the Buddha 佛道 with its very severe prohibitive rules, in order to suppress the *Yin* fluid. In Ch'u and Yüeh the fluids of both *Yin* and *Yang* are weak, so he let them observe the Great Way of Purity and Moderation 清約大道. At that time the orderly rule of the Six Heavens flourished, and the Three Ways were practiced"[10]).
>
> (2) (After a second birth, this time from an apparitional mother created by Lao-tzu himself, and after living through the second half of the Yin and the first half of the Chou, Lao-tzu, disgusted at the degeneration of Chou, went to the West accompanied by Yin Hsi): "Seeing that the Western Hu were stubborn and hard to convert, he and Yin Hsi together went (further) westward and entered the country of Chi-pin 罽賓 (Kashmir). He miraculously changed himself into the great man Mi-chia 彌加大人 and (so) converted and subdued the King of the Hu; for him he made Buddhist scriptures (totalling) six thousand and forty thousand words (六千四萬言), and the king with his whole country

revered and served him. This country lies at a distance of 40.000 *li* from the country of Han. When the whole territory of Chi-pin submissively followed the Great Doctrine 大法, Lao-tzu again went westward and entered the country of T'ien-chu 天竺 (India), which again lies at a distance of 40.000 *li* from Chi-pin. The king of that country had a concubine named Ch'ing-miao 淸妙. When she was sleeping in the daytime, Lao-tzu ordered Yin Hsi to ride a white elephant, and then to transform himself into an oriole that flew into Ch'ing-miao's mouth; it had the appearance of a meteor. The next year, on the 8th day of the 4th month, (Yin Hsi), splitting open her right side, was born. When he fell on the ground, he walked seven steps, raised his right hand, pointed to the heavens, and said: "In the Heavens above and on earth below, only I am venerable; The Three Spheres are all (full of) suffering; what is there enjoyable in them?" After having been born (into this world) he strenuously exerted himself, and then was (endowed with) the body of a Buddha. Then the Way of the Buddha started flourishing again (i.e. for the second time, after its first revelation under Fu Hsi)"[11]).

The text goes on to describe the moral degeneration which in Later Han times was aggravated by the introduction of Buddhism under Emperor Ming, leading to a situation in which "the Three Ways became mixed up together, so that the people were confused and disorderly, and Chinese and foreign (religious) were mingled." Therefore Lao-tzu revealed a new doctrine to Chang Tao-ling in order to abolish the "Three Ways of the Six Heavens" 罷廢六天三道.

To this point, Buddhism is represented as absolutely inferior and dispensable. However, in a following passage the idea of complementarity of *Yin* and *Yang* and the theme of the two Ways springing from a single fountainhead of wisdom are again stressed:

"For the Three Ways are different branches springing from one trunk; ... they all are doctrines of the Highest Lao-chün, and although their teachings are not the same, their general purport is (rooted) in the True Way 大歸於眞道. Lao-chün emphasizes the transformation of life 生化, whereas Śākya(muni) emphasizes the transformation of death 死化. That is why Lao-tzu was born by splitting open the left armpit, for he emphasizes the left which is the *Yang*-fluid; (hence) he emphasizes the Record of Life in the Blue Palace 靑宮生錄. Śākya(muni) was born by splitting open the right armpit, for he emphasizes the right which is the *Yin*-fluid; (hence) he emphasizes the Record of Death of the Black Registers 黑簿死錄. Therefore the teachings of Lao-tzu and Śākya(muni) have different methods of left and right (respectively). The Transformation of the Left follows the life-fluid of the Palace of the Left, so that the body rises up to become a flying Immortal; the Transformation of the Right follows the death-fluid, so that one is annihilated 滅度 to

be born again. The (monks') religious garments are all black, (for the Buddha) made them wear black clothes in order to imitate the *Yin*-fluid: they are entered into the Black Register. The Highest One created the teaching methods of these Three Ways; although they are different paths, yet in the end they stem from the Perfection of the Way, and (as such) they are not different 雖殊途終歸於道真無有異也. One can only say that man has obtained the primordial fluid to be able to perfect his body, and that it is naturally difficult for him then again to be subjected to destruction, to undergo the *Yin*-transformation, and to go round in the cycle (of rebirths). So although the Transformation of the Right (= Buddhism) is not as swift and easy as the (method of) the Palace of the Left (= Taoism), yet it is also a good thing to return to Perfection through the cycle of rebirths 輪轉歸真亦為善事! The reason why I say that Right is not as good as Left is because according to the scripture the Perfect Way loves life and hates death; longevity is the Way, and death and destruction are not. Therefore it is better to be a live mouse than a dead king!"[12])

Apart from the ideas of complementarity and shared origin, we find here another distinction made between the two religions (or "methods," 法): Taoism is relatively easy, for by nourishing one's vital forces in the body one gains so to speak a direct way to paradise, whereas Buddhism is cumbersome, roundabout, for final release is only won after an inmense detour through innumerable lives. Of course this is a complete misunderstanding of the essential message of Buddhism, the inexorable law of *karman* and rebirth: *Samsāra* is the inescapable condition of existence itself, not an option! Here we touch perhaps the deepest reason why Buddhism, in this distorted image, is treated as a somewhat inferior but not unreasonable alternative. For the authors of the passages quoted above Buddhism was not a religious system claiming absolute truth, but, *more Sinico*, a method, a "technique". And against this background we can understand why in another passage of the same scripture the difference between Buddhism and Taoism is not described in terms of religious dogma or metaphysics, but by pointing to some contrasting techniques of auto-hypnosis and mental concentration:

"Now a Buddhist monk 沙門道人 who is a student of the Small Vehicle will sit quietly 静坐 and count his own breaths (自數其氣, referring to *ānāpāna* practice in meditation); when he has completed (a series of) ten he starts again, for years and years, and he never forgets to do it even for a moment. For Buddhism does not let people concentrate on the spirits in the body 存思身神; therefore they devote themselves to the work of counting their breaths in order to cut off external thoughts. The Taoist who studies the Great Vehicle always meditates on the Perfect spirits inside his body, their bodily forms, the colours of their

garments, their *tao-yin* 導引 (movements), (their) coming and going, as if he were facing the spiritual lords; as he does not interrupt this even for one moment, external thoughts will not enter . . .[13]).

3. Stylistic and terminological borrowings

For anyone familiar with Chinese Buddhist literature features of this kind are easily recognizable in Taoist scriptures, for they belong to a very characteristic Chinese Buddhist "scriptural style" which had already developed most of its distinctive idiom as early as the third century A.D. It was the results of a process of absorption and sinization of Indian prototypes, in the course of which generations of "translation teams" (foreign masters and their Chinese assistants) gradually had been able to coin a huge mass of standard equivalents for typically Buddhist stylistic features, metaphors, proper names and technical terms. The early development of this Chinese Buddhist "translationese" is a vast and neglected subject; here I can only present a few general remarks by way of introduction.

In the period covered here (Later Han to early sixth century) roughly three phases can be distinguished: the period of "primitive" translations (from the middle of the second century to ca. 220 A.D.), that of the "archaic" translations (from the end of the Han to ca. 390 A.D.), and the phase of "early" versions initiated by the great translator Kumārajīva. The period of the "new" versions, characterized by a completely new and very technical translation idiom that was introduced in the early T'ang falls outside the scope of this paper.

The Late Han was a period of stylistic and terminological experimentation. The ca. 30 genuine Han versions that have been preserved[14]) show a great variety of approaches and solutions: different ways of rendering technical expressions, of including or excluding vulgarisms, of maintaining or avoiding the cumbersome and unintelligible transcription of Sanskrit words. By the end of the Han these different schools had merged into a rather conventionalized idiom which conformed to the moderate aims set by the Buddhist community in those early days—the production of very free but understandable versions of Buddhist scriptures. The medium failed completely as soon as the arcana of Indian Buddhist scholasticism with its very rich and sophisticated vocabulary had to be rendered in Chinese.

The period of "archaic" translations is characterized by two main streams: the versions produced in the Lower Yangtze area (Wu, mainly Chien-yeh) and the translations made by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 and his school in North and Northwest China. Together they cover the third and the beginning of the fourth century. Both are based on the semi-literary syncretic translation style of the end of the Han, but with some marked differences. In the translations of Wu (ca. 220–250) there is a clear tendency to "polish" the Chinese versions by the use of *wen-yen* elements and conventions of Chinese literary style, exhibited in a great

number of short *sūtras* and narrative stories of the *jātaka* and *avadāna* type—in other words, a kind of "easy to read," entertaining religious literature suited to the taste of a cultured public. This agrees with the information from historical sources which indicates that at that time Buddhism had some influence in court circles. In the North we find a continuation of the late Han idiom with less "polishing"; there is, however, a gradual increase in the use of classical features in the second generation (early 4th century).

The period of "early" versions starts with the introduction of the great scholastic and disciplinary compilations in the late fourth century, which led to the development of a more accurate translation idiom and an enormous production of Chinese technical terms. This reached its climax of activity and creativity after the arrival of Kumārajīva in Ch'ang-an (402 A.D.) and the setting up of a veritable "translation project" which in the late fourth and early fifth century turned out a mass of translations of unprecedented quality. In close collaboration with his dozens of highly cultured Chinese assistants, Kumārajīva created a very fluent, eminently readable, and yet reasonably accurate translation idiom which, together with its hundreds of new Chinese readings of Sanskrit terms, was soon taken over by subsequent translators.

For our subject we can confine ourselves to Buddhist Mahāyāna *sūtras*, which seems to be the only category of Buddhist literature that has influenced the Taoist scriptures as far as style and terminology are concerned. For the purpose of description we may distinguish three types of borrowings:

(a) stylistic features affecting the form of the scripture as a whole;
(b) the use of idiomatic expressions;
(c) the influence of transcribed Sanskrit terms and proper names.

(a) *Stylistic features* characteristic of the form of Mahāyāna *sūtras* derive from the general structure and conventions found in both the Indian prototypes and the Chinese versions. The most prominent elements are the following:

— A very stereotyped opening formula, in which a speaker (actually the disciple Ānanda as transmitter of the text) declares "Thus I have heard" (聞如是, *evaṃ mayā śrūtam*; in the early fifth century supplanted by 如是我聞)[15]); he goes on to indicate the exact place of action ("at a certain time, at a certain occasion, the Lord stayed in the county of *x*, at *y*, in the *z vihāra*"), and the size and composition of the audience. This is the formula describing the "occasion" (*nidāna*). It is balanced, at the end of the sūtra, by a closing formula stating that the audience, after having listened to the sermon "rejoiced at the words of the Lord, and, having paid obeisance, went their ways"[16]).

— In Mahayana *sūtras* the audience reaches gigantic proportions, and, unlike the listeners in Hīnayāna scriptures who generally only consist of a moderate number of monks and some laics, it comprises immense numbers of bodhisattvas, gods of all classes, several kinds of supernatural beings, kings and religious leaders.

— Very often the sermon is "sollicited" by a person from the audience, who asks a specific question of a doctrinal nature, or simply wants to hear a sermon, or asks for the explanation of miraculous signs that introduce the actual preaching, notably a ray of light emanating from the Buddha; it pervades and illuminates the whole universe and returns to the top of his head; the world is temporarily transformed into a kind of paradise, and the sufferings of all beings of the "three evil destinations" 三途 are suspended.

— The rest of the sermon generally takes the form of a dialogue; in most cases the dialogue is "socratic", since the person addressed confines himself to remarks like "so it is, Lord," or to an occasional request for further elucidation, or to words of praise.

— The main text is full of embellishing features: miraculous happenings of all kinds described in absolutely standardized formulas, the use of extreme numbers, the accumulation of epitheta, and the arrival of new groups of illustrious persons (bodhisattvas or gods). The sermon is often enlivened by digressions and inserted passages such as parables or "flash-back" birth stories (*jātaka, avadāna*).

— Many *sūtras* contain versified portions (*gāthās* 偈). In a prose context these verse often render direct speech, being introduced by such formulas as "and then, speaking in *gāthās*, he said . . .". But the *gāthā* portions may also be descriptive, or even contain a versified dialogue. *Gāthās* are always unrhymed, both in the Indian original and in Chinese translations.

— Many texts contain excessive words of praise (uttered either by the preacher himself or by the audience) about the immense qualities and beneficial effects of the *sūtra* itself, and at the end it is often "entrusted" to a certain person.

— After hearing the sermon, it often happens that a number of people undergoes its effects immediately: they obtain the "pure eye of the Dharma", or acquire one of the standard stages of Saintliness.

At the level of general stylistic features such as those listed above, the Taoist scriptures show many signs of Buddhist influence, notably in the *Ling-pao* tradition. Even there, however, we do not find extreme cases of imitation such as can be found in later Taoist literature. A few *Ling-pao* texts exhibit a whole range of *sūtra* features, but apparently the Nan-pei ch'ao period did not yet produce real pseudo-Buddhist *pastiches*[17]). Another (somewhat disappointing) observation is that the influence of the Buddhist scriptural style appears to have been global, not specific—it is only very rarely possible to relate the terminology of a Taoist text to one specific *sūtra*.

The *nidāna*-formula is never taken over as a whole; there is no Taoist equivalent of 如是我聞, but this omission is quite understandable, since we are dealing with direct revelation and not, as in Buddhist lore, with Ānanda "reporting" the Buddha's words after the latter's *nirvāṇa*. The formula "At that time . . .", *erh-shih* 爾時, so well-known from later Buddho-Taoist hybrids, occurs only once in this body of early texts[18]). But in many cases the other introductory

elements are there. There is the very detailed localization, in Taoist scriptures (no doubt under the influence of Chinese bureaucratic practice) enriched by a "dating" of extreme precision: "On the first day of the seventh month of the first year of the K'ai-huang era, at noon, the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning resided in the county of Hsi-na-yü, in the Yü-ch'a Mountains, on the Fu-lo Peak, in the Ch'ang-sang Grove ..."[19]). It is sometimes followed by the Taoist version of a well-known Buddhist cliché: the Lord's smile, followed or accompanied by a multicoloured ray of light that illuminates the whole universe and indicates that an important truth will be revealed, and also the list of miraculous signs and happenings is clearly derived from Buddhist examples[20]). The long and exuberant enumeration of the supernatural audience is often there, and we regularly find the "interrogator" coming forward to pray for a revelation[21]), as well as the arrival, at an important point in the middle of the revelation, of a new group of auditors from the "innumerable worlds of the ten directions (of space)" 十方無極世界[22])—in short, in Mahāyānistic hyperbolic idiom, the "innumerable multitudes of infinite, countless species of Utmost Perfected and Great Spiritual Beings"[23]). In the same way, a number of *Ling-pao* scriptures contain at the end an imitation of the stereotyped closing formula of a *sūtra*, stating that all present were filled with gratitude, payed obeisance and retired[24]).

Occasionally we find—again: exclusively in the *Ling-pao* tradition—the insertion of moralistic tales clearly patterned after the Buddhist birth stories; their main function (apart from enlivening the narrative) is to illustrate the working of *karman* in a simple and attractive way. I can here only summarize the content of some interesting examples. Sometimes the preacher will give a long survey of his past "karmic career" covering dozens of lives, in which in every new existence the sins or noble deeds of the preceding life are punished or rewarded, culminating, of course, in his final apotheosis[25]). One or two lives may be treated in detail, resulting in a miniature *avadāna*, like Ko Hsüan's account of his frustrating experience with an unwilling disciple under Yao, and of his last three lives in which, as we have seen (above, p. 91–92), two Buddhist priests played an important role[26]). A complete birthstory which in all essentials agrees with the Buddhist pattern is found in another *Ling-pao* text: the long story of the pious Yüeh Ching-hsin 樂淨信 and his son and daughter-in-law—a glorification of liberality (施, *dāna*) in its most extreme form, including the willingness to give away one's own children[27]). It also contains the conventional *dénouement* in which the narrator after the conclusion of his story reveals to some persons from his audience that they themselves are the ones who, many *kalpas* ago, were the main actors in the drama that has just been told. Even closer is the correspondence between the Buddhist *avadāna* and the touching story of the pious girl A-ch'iu-tseng 阿丘曾, who vowed to have her body changed into that of a man (a well-known Buddhist theme)[28]). Māra, afraid that she will escape from his kingdom, tries to seduce her with Confucian arguments: her body having been produced by her father, any attempt to change it would imply a lack of filial piety. But she remains firm and tells Māra that her female

body is not the product of the parents but of her past sins. Finally the girl lights a pyre on an altar and throws herself into it (a clear case of *ātmatyāga* 遺身 or religious self-immolation), but at that very moment she assumes a male body and appears before the Tao. At that point the story is rounded off by a veritable *vyākaraṇa* 授記, a prophecy of future Buddhahood, in Taoist garb: the Tao declares that this girl (*sic*!) has already adored the *Ling-pao* scriptures during 10.000 *kalpas*; she will now be reborn on earth, and after 99.000 kalpas she will reach the state of a Perfected One[29]). Many other pieces of ornamental and illustrative lore derived from Buddhist prototypes could be mentioned, such as the theme of the sailors setting out to gather precious stones from the ocean[30]), or the equally well-known scene in which the Buddha, or in this case the Yüan-shih t'ien-tsun 元始天尊, manipulates space so that huge crowds can take place in a very small room (here: inside a hollow pearl)[31]). An interesting transposition is found in the striking illustration of the length of a kalpa, viz. the time needed for a huge mountain to be completely worn away if it is wiped with a soft tissue by a man passing by once in a century—a well-known Buddhist *cliché*; in the Taoist version the mountain has become K'un-lun, and "silk gauze" 羅 has taken the place of the fine cloth of Benares[32]).

Of course versified portions occur in the majority of Taoist scriptures, and there are clear signs that the Buddhist "prosimetric style" with its alternation of prose and *gāthās* did contribute to the style and content of the stanzas as we find them in some Taoist texts; they are sometimes even explicitly called "*gāthās*" 偈[33]). However, there is every reason to suppose that Taoist verse, particularly of the "cryptic" and mnemonic type (such as those of the *Huang-t'ing wai yü-ching* 黃庭外玉經) are not derived from any Buddhist model. The earliest attempts of translators to render Buddhist *gāthās* in Chinese *un*rhymed verse (a feature unknown in early Taoist scriptures) can be dated around 180 AD; they are found in the translations made by Lokakṣema 支婁迦讖[34]). It is unknown whether the practice of writing such lines of four, five or seven syllables to render the complicated patterns of Indian metre was a free invention or a borrowing from an unknown Chinese tradition. Two of Lokakṣema's Chinese collaborators are known to have been patrons of some obscure local cult[35]), and it would be tantalizing to suppose that through them some form of popular incantation may at least have contributed to the Chinese Buddhist prosimetric style. But that is mere speculation. In any case even in the earliest texts Taoist stanzas basically differ from Chinese Buddhist *gāthās*: they always rhyme, and they never include narrative passages, as *gāthās* quite often do. The Buddhist parallel has no doubt influenced and enriched the *répertoire* of Taoist verse, but it certainly did not give birth to it.

The same must be said about the many passages extolling the excellence and supernatural qualities of a certain scripture, its antiquity, its sacred origin, etc. which is one of the most common elements in Taoist religious literature. It is true that Mahāyāna scriptures regularly make the most fantastic claims in this respect, the *Lotus Sūtra* probably outdoing all other texts in self-glorification.

Here again, the Buddhist practice may have exerted some additional influence, if any was needed. But the basic orientation is, of course, quite different, and the Taoist conception of the text itself as a sacred object, a spell or a quintessential charm "chrystallized" at the beginning of time is amply sufficient to explain the existence of such passages.

We may conclude that, particularly in the *Ling-pao* tradition, Buddhist stylistic patterns regularly occur, without, however, dominating whole texts. The patterns taken over show a certain distribution: the central part of the scripture is seldom deeply affected, and the elements borrowed mostly occur in passages describing the gorgeous setting of the revelation with its supernatural crowds and its miracles, or in inserted narratives with an ornamental or enlivening function. The selection points to a superficial acquaintance with Buddhist scriptures without any clear preference for one particular *sūtra*; practically all elements are well-known *clichés* that occur in a great number of Mahāyāna texts.

(b) *Conventional terminology* comprises a great number of idiomatic expressions that figured in the Indian originals, and for which the successive schools of translators have coined standard Chinese equivalents; there are among the most characteristic features of Chinese Buddhist translated literature. A characteristic example is the use of the vocative, common in Sanskrit but very rare in written Chinese; the translators could find no better solution than awkwardly inserting it somewhere in the first part of a phrase: 如是舍利弗一切諸法 ... "thus, Śāriptura, all *dharmas* ..." Other examples are 賢者 (*āyuṣmat*) "Sir" and 仁者 (*bhadre*) "dear fellow" as forms of address; 衆生 and 羣生 (*sarvasattva*) "all beings"; the curious 所以者何 and 何以故 for "why is this?" (*tat kasya hetoḥ*); 於意云何 for "What do you think about it?" (*tat kiṃ manyase*), to mention a few at random.

It is a striking fact that in the Taoist scriptures studied here, even in those that exhibit many Buddhist features, loans of this type are comparatively rare; the only idiomatic expression which occurs a number of times is 羣 (or 衆) 生 "all beings". The very characteristic 所以者何 occurs only twice[36]), there are some cases of 賢者[37]), and of the "brethren and sisters" 善男子善女人 (*kulaputra-kuladuhitā*)[38]) which is extremely common in Buddhist narrative, although it is probable that the expressons like 道弟子男女 or 若男若女 are Taoist variations of the Buddhist term. We can, however, conclude that in our Taoist texts Buddhist formal loans are mainly found either at the level of major structures (the form of the scripture as a whole, as treated under a) above), or at the level of technical terms to which we shall turn presently. Before doing so we shall have a look at a very curious type of borrowing and adaptation: the influence of Buddhist transcriptions.

(c) *The impact of transcribed Indian terms and proper names* can only be understood if we try to imagine how the average Chinese reader—Buddhist and non-Buddhist alike—must have undergone the effect of such completely unin-

telligible polysyllables as 阿耨多羅三藐三菩提 (*anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi*) and 菩薩摩訶薩摩訶衍 (*bodhisattva-mahāsattva mahāyāna-saṃnāha-saṃnaddha*), that stud the pages of so many translations of Buddhist scriptures. If his reaction was positive (for many educated Chinese may have rejected the whole thing as barbarian mumbo-jumbo), it may have been the effect of both the unintelligibility—hence the "mystery"—of the words and their "exotic" quality. The "mystery" aspect may have been heightened by the fact that some well-known Mahāyāna *sūtras* contain spells (*dhāraṇī*)[39]) which even in the original Sanskrit have no meaning in the normal sense of the word. In any case it appears that this combination of mystery, magic and exoticism has formed the incentive not only to make use of such terms in Taoist scriptures (which was only done in a few cases), but also, more frequently, to coin new words of this type, and use a kind of pseudo-Sanskrit gibberish in proper names and in certain sacred texts.

This seems remarkable because one of the standard objections against Buddhism was that it was foreign or barbarian, and the use of outlandish words must have constantly reminded the public of its foreign origin. There can be no doubt that Taoism shared the general negative view of barbarians. Birth in China is a reward of virtue, just as birth in a barbarian frontier region 邊境 is a severe karmic punishment.

This concept, very frequently exposed in *Ling-pao* scriptures, is an extremely interesting case of transposition. It is a well-established Buddhist idea that rebirth in an outlying territory (*atyanta-janapada*) is one of the eight "difficult situations" (八難, *aṣṭāv akṣanāḥ*) in which one has no opportunity to meet a Buddha and to hear him preach, just as rebirth in the "central region" (中國 *Madhyadeśa*, originally the old heart-land of Buddhism) is a favourable condition because there the Buddhas appear. In the Taoist version 中國 has, understandably, become China, and the outer darkness of the *atyanta-janapada* has been filled with the concrete barbarian enemies at China's borders: 胡, 夷, 蠻, 貊, 戎, 氐, 狄, 羌[40]). After a thousand *kalpas* in Hell one may have a chance to be reborn among the I of the border region, "who have a human body but no human feelings" 雖有人形而無人情 (a *topos* which occurs many times)[41]). Barbarians are, as always, characterized by the absence of the right norms of conduct, and even the barbarian himself who applies to become a member of the Taoist community in China is supposed ruefully to confess that on account of his former sins he was born in the frontier wilds 邊荒 as one who knows neither ritual nor etiquette[42]).

There were, however, redeeming factors. In the first place there is the authentic Buddhist tradition that Sanskrit was a divine language created (together with the *nāgarī* script) by the God Brahmā, and that after the formation of our universe it was brought to the world of men by gods who had descended to feed upon the "fat of the earth"[43]). The tradition was known in Taoist circles, as is proved by the terminology used (梵語, 梵音) and by the fact that certain esoteric texts in that language are found in the heavens: they are the "spontaneous jade characters (containing) the esoteric sounds of the heavens" 諸天內音自然玉字

which contain the "secret language of the Great Brahā" 大梵隱語[44]). Being associated both with the gods and with the beginning of our universe, the Buddhist tradition was easily incorporated in *Ling-pao* lore with which it seemed to have so much in common.

Secondly, the *hua-hu* theory, which already served so many purposes, could also make Sanskrit more acceptable. "When Lao-tzu had gone westward to convert the barbarians and when he taught the people of foreign countries to read the scriptures (he produced), he made much use of the sounds of Brahmā-heaven, just because it was something that the Taoists (in those countries) liked" 老子西化胡,教外國讀經時,多是梵天音也,適道士所好耳[45]). This may especially refer to "Taoists" in foreign countries, because the same text states that "(in China?) the right way to read scriptures is to take the Chinese pronunciation as model; that is, the correct pronunciation used by (the gods of) the Nine Heavens (or: the Ninth Heaven, which is not that of Brahmā?)" 讀經之法,法中夏之音,此是九天之正音也[46]). And even on Mt. K'un-lun there seems to have been a bilingual situation with a distinct class-nature, for the Saints 聖人 all speak Sanskrit which is very melodious, whereas the Immortals 諸仙 mostly speak Chinese[47]). Small wonder that the esoteric text of the *San-tung ching* 三洞經 on Mt. K'un-lun is stored in a place bearing the mixed-pseudo-Sanskrit name of "Yüan-nalavastu" 緣那羅衛.

Borrowing of authentic transcribed terms is comparatively rare; apart from the very common 魔 (*māra*) and 劫 (*kalpa*), and the the words 佛 (*buddha*); 桑門 or 沙門 (*śramaṇa*); 分衛 (*piṇḍapāta*) and 釋迦 (*śakya*) that incidentally occur in passages directly referring to Buddhism, it is limited to the names of Five Heavens (from the series of Nine found in scriptures of various traditions) and to those of the Four Continents; both will be treated below in the section devoted to cosmology. Pseudo-Sanskrit terms, easily recognizable by their typical "transcription characters" such as 闍, 那, 婆, 郁, 陀, 摩 etc., are used in two different ways: as "esoteric names" 內諱 of paradise-like regions and of persons of superhuman status, or as sacred spells kept in those regions or in the Heavens.

One of the most typical examples is found in a *Shang-ch'ing* text[48]) that contains a fanciful description of the "outer countries" 外國 lying beyond the Four Continents of Buddhist tradition, to which have been added, apparently under the influence of the equally Buddhist 十方 orientation (which includes zenith and nadir), two more "outer countries," situated above and below the earth, and therefore not related to any continent. The scheme seems to be an interesting triple compromise between (1) the old Taoist conception of terrestrial paradises in a horizontal plane, (2) the later one, both Taoist and Buddhist, or a vertical system of Heavens, and (3) the exclusively Buddhist concept of Buddha-worlds in the Ten Directions of Space, including nadir. The text, which shows many signs of Mahāyāna influence, gives for each region a description of its inhabitants, the size of their bodies, their life-span, their celestial joys and the supernatural vegetation. As in Sukhāvati, the inhabitants of each Ultima Thule make music and sing hymns, but in this case each hymn consists of six six-syllable

lines that are clearly modelled on Sanskrit transcriptions, the only concession to Taoist taste being that they rhyme. By way of illustration (in which I have rendered the pseudo-Sanskrit syllables according to their most common transcription value, in order to bring out their exotic effect; syllables that do not belong to the systems of conventional transcription have been rendered in capital letters with their modern Chinese pronunciation): 90.000 *li* beyond the eastern continent of Pūrvavideha (弗于逮) there is the country of 呵羅提 *Haratī; where an esoteric hymn is sung that begins with the words 擅阿夷提那維 **danājitinavi*/ 越家摩須雲持 *vaCHIAmasuYÜN-CH'IH/ 曇真釋遮緣陀/ **dhar-(ma) kiṃśak(ya)ja*YÜAN*dha* ... Such hymns are also sung beyond the other three continents in regions called, respectively, 伊沙陀 **Iṣatā*, 尼維羅緣那 **Nivira*LÜ*nā*, and 旬他羅 **Suntarā*[49]).

An even more extensive use of *hierolalia* is found in a *Ling-pao* text in which nearly a whole chapter is devoted to the heavenly sounds 天音 of the Thirty-Two Heavens, in four groups of eight[50]). Each Heaven possesses a mystical eight-syllable inscription, many of which are clearly pseudo-Sanskrit (unlike the Heavens of the series of Nine, the names of the four groups of Eight do not show any Buddhist influence). Thus, the inscription of the first Heaven of the first group, called T'ai-huang pai-tseng 太黃白曾天, says 亶婁阿薈無想觀音 **dhar(ma)ruyabhāmova*-KUAN-YIN", and another one 那育郁馥摩羅法輪 **naśokayubhuktimāra*-FA-LUN. As is shown by these examples, the system of conventional transcription characters is not consistently applied, and some spells contain bits of Buddhist lore in understandable Chinese, such as 觀音 and 法輪. Sometimes an attempt is made to pattern a pseudo-Sanskrit word after a genuine Indian proper name, such as the fabulous county of 緣那羅衛 *YÜANnalavastu, probably inspired by 迦維羅衛 Kapilavastu, the Buddha's birth-place and therefore well-known from all Buddha-biographies since late Han times[51]). In all cases the context proves that such "Brahmā-sounds" were not intended as mere embellishments of the text; they form a special type of incantation. The disciple is supposed to chant the hymns, "inscriptions" and esoteric names, while mentally visualizing the appropriate region or Heaven and inviting the supernatural beings to appear before him. Although this is of course a fundamentally Taoist form of meditation, it may well be that in this particular case, which is so obviously associated with Buddhist transcriptions, it was influenced by the practice of "commemoration of the Buddha" (念佛, *buddhānusmṛti*), especially as developed in popular Ámidism with its "visualization" of the Western Paradise and the chanting of the 南無阿彌陀佛 invocation. There is, however, no recognizable attempt to imitate spells of the common *dhāraṇī* type with their typical repetitive structure[52]).

The Taoist use of pseudo-Sanskrit is a very curious or even bizarre example of the way in which isolated elements of Buddhist origin were incorporated, and by their incorporation acquired a completely new function. This is a general phenomenon fundamental to the whole mechanism of borrowing: the more an element is taken over in isolation, dissociated from its original context, the

easier will be its complete digestion and its change of meaning and function. The structure is only basically affected when whole complexes are taken over. This principle can also be observed in the incorporation of isolated doctrinal concepts to which we shall turn now.

4. Conceptual borrowings

Our treatment of conceptual borrowings will be based on a survey of "technical" Buddhist expressions found in our Taoist texts. According to the principle indicated above (p. 3–4) we shall treat in this section such Buddhist doctrinal concepts that in their original context usually were part of a larger complex, but which in Taoist scriptures appear as isolated loans detached from their original associations. Thus, for example, the expression (*ju*)-*ting* (入) 定 (*samādhi*) in its Buddhist sense denotes a system of mental concentration, usually in four stages corresponding with the four divisions of the highest Sphere of Existence, that of the Formless 無色界; it is part of a complicated scheme of yoga-exercises intended to lead the disciple through a number of mental states of decreasing sense-perception, up to the highest level in which both consciousness and non-consciousness have ceased to exist. In its Taoist context 定 still means something like "mental concentration" of "fixation", but here it has been drawn into the moral sphere by being associated with a series of "commemorations" 念 designed to focus the mind on good works and universal salvation[53]). In the same way, the expression *liu ch'ing* 六情 (*ṣaḍ-āyatana*) originally means the six senses with their objects and with the particular kind of sensorial consciousness associated with each of the sense-organs, and as such they are part of a whole complex of ideas about the composition and functioning of man as an aggregate of material and immaterial elements—a complex of which surprisingly little has been absorbed in Taoism. In Taoist text, where the six sense-organs do figure in passages strongly influenced by Buddhist terminology, they have been detached from the original complex; the six organs are there, and they are indeed described as sources of mental disturbance due to external impressions, but for the rest they are, in true Taoist fashion, associated with the six penetrating powers 六洞, with the various classes of gods residing in the respective sense-organs, and with Heaven, Earth, and the four cardinal directions[54]).

There are a number of Buddhist terms that do not require further comment, as even in their original context they are largely ornamental; 七宗 (*saptaratna*) "the seven precious substances"; the names of such precious materials, notably 琉璃 *vaiḍūrya*; the term 長夜 (*dīrgharatrī*), the "Long Night," in Buddhist usage used for all the woes of existence, but in Taoist texts especially indicating the darkness of Hell; and the epithet 無上真正 in 無上真正道 "the unsurpassed true and correct Way" which clearly imitates 無上真正菩提 *anuttara-samyak-sambodhi*. I have listed them here, because in spite of their doctrinal insignificance they must be recognized as signs of Buddhist influence. The same can be said about a few terms only occurring in passages that directly refer to Buddhism (see above,

p. 89–96). The remaining isolated loans of Buddhist doctrinal terms will be listed below in alphabetical, order, with a short indication of their value both in their original context and in Taoist usage.

1 *chih-hui* 智慧 (*prajñā*). Wisdom, particularly the liberating, transcendent Insight into the true (i.e. illusory) nature of all phenomena. In Taoist texts the term has no such connotation. It sometimes simply means "wisdom" or "intelligence"[55]), but in most cases it appears in a purely moralistic context; it is the insight in correct social and religious conduct, as exemplified in a series of rules, commandments and prohibitions[56]).

In Mahāyāna Buddhism, *prajñā* is especially associated with the Doctrine of Emptiness (空, *śūnyatā*) as set forth in *Prajñāpāramitā* literature. I shall revert to it below (p. 119) when dealing with the conspicuous absence of any influence of *Prajñāpāramitā* thought in Taoist scriptures.

2 *fa-lun* 法輪 (*dharmacakra*) the "wheel of the Law", an image derived from the theme of the Cakravartin, the ideal monarch "Turner-of-the-Wheel"; his religious counterpart is the Buddha who in Benares "set the Wheel of the Doctrine into motion" by his first preaching—hence a general term for the revelation of the Doctrine. In Taoist texts it also occurs as a very general expression, something like "the true Way" or "salvation"[57]).

3 *fa-men* 法門 is in archaic and early translations used for both *dharmamukha* "entrance or introduction to the Doctrine" and *dharmaparyāya* "way of teaching the Doctrine". In Taoist usage the metaphor has become much more concrete, 門 being interpreted in a literal sense, either as "door" (as in 開張法門 and 廣開法門 "widely to open the Door of the Doctrine"[58]), or even in the sense of "family," as in 得生法門[59]).

4 *fa-shen* 法身, (*dharmakāya*) is in Mahāyāna scholastics the highest of the three bodies of the Buddha; it is the "abstract" Buddha considered as the embodiment of the absolute Truth, which is therefore universal, free of all characteristics, and timeless. It rarely occurs in the Taoist scriptures studied here; the only time that something is said about it it is quite clear that the Taoist interpretation of this extremely difficult and abstract concept has little to do with its original meaning, for there it is said that the ignorant masses by their sins "damage and harm the *fa-shen*" 毀損法身[60]).

5 *fan-jen* 凡人 (*pythagjana*), a "common man" outside the sphere of Buddhist religious life. In a Taoist context the term seems to refer to ordinary people who may aspire to the lower level of saintliness, but to whom the higher revelations are not accessible[61]). The term is therefore embedded in a complex of beliefs and prohibitions concerning esoteric transmission and secrecy that is foreign to the whole spirit of non-Tantric Buddhism.

6 *ju-ting* 入定 (*samādhi*), see above, p. 112.

7 *h'ung* 空 (*śūnyatā*), "emptiness", the illusory nature of all phenomena which is a fundamental conception in many Mahāyāna *sūtras*, particularly of the *Prajñāpāramitā* type. The term is only once used in an explicit way, but

after an introductory phrase, in which the illusoriness of the Three Times (三世, *tryadhvan*)—a basic theme in *śūnyavāda* Buddhism—is indeed correctly stated, the concept is elaborated in a way that has very little to do with the Buddhist idea of Emptiness:

"In the Three Spheres of Existence the three times (past, present, and future) are all empty. If one knows the emptiness of the three times, one realizes that even if one has a body, it will all be reduced to emptiness. If one understands this principle of reduction to emptiness, one is able to forget one's body. How would a person who is able to forget his body still love it? Once he does not love (even) his (own) body, he is able to abstain from loving anything at all—the Way will be the only thing he loves. If a person is able to love the Way, then the Way will also love him; had only he who is loved by the Way will return to Perfection . . ."[62]).

8 *liu ch'ing* 六情 (*ṣaḍ-āyatana*) the Six Senses, see above, p. 112.

9 *san ch'eng* 三乘 (*tri-yāna*) the "Three Vehicles" or religious careers: the Small Vehicle 小乘 of the disciples (*śrāvaka*, "auditors" 聲聞) who strive after arhatship and permanent extinction for their own sake; the Vehicle of the Solitary Enlightened Ones (辟支佛, *pratyekabuddha*) who realize Enlightenment and then pass into extinction without preaching the Doctrine to others; and the Great Vehicle 大乘 of the Boddhisattva who strives after salvation for the sake of all beings. The term 三乘 occurs incidentally in Taoist scriptures, but no explanation is ever given (unlike 小乘 and 大乘 which have a highly interesting doctrinal content that shall be treated below, p. 134). The context suggests that it is used in a very loose and indistinct way, something like "religious life"[63]). We could hardly expect a more specific use of the term, since in Taoism no concept appears to have been developed that is comparable to the career of the *Pratyekabuddha*.

10 *san kuei* 三歸 (*tri-śaraṇa*), the formula of "triple refuge", by which the devotee surrenders himself to the "Three Jewels": the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Community of monks. In Taoist usage its meaning is completely different, because in the Taoist version of the formula "three" does not refer to the Three Jewels 三寶 (see under 11) but to three aspects of the devotee's own person 歸身, 歸神, 歸命[64]).

11 *san shih* 三世 (*tryadhvan*), see above under 空 (7).

12 *san pao* 三寶 (*triratna*): the Three Jewels, i.e. the three main elements of Buddhist religious life: the Buddha, the Doctrine and the monastic Community. In our Taoist scruptures we find two widely different explanations of the term. The first one seems to be patterned after Buddhist usage: the Way, the Scriptures, and the Master 道, 經, 師[65]). The second one, also found in a *Ling-pao* scripture, is applied to another triad, viz. 天寶君, 靈寶君 and 神寶君, who are the gods of, respectively, the 大洞, 洞玄 and 洞神[66]). The double use of the term may be coincidental, the first being derived from a Buddhist example, and the second one being a triplicate expansion of a single *ling-pao*.

13 *shen ch'u shui huo* 身出水火, "the body producing water and fire", the "twin miracle" (*yamaka-prātihārya*) often performed by Buddhas and saints, particularly before entering Nirvāṇa. In the Taoist context the theme appears to be connected with the belief that an intense internal heat, provoked either by drugs or by respiratory concentration techniques, could be used to destroy the mortal elements in one's body[67]).

14 *ssu chung* 四衆, and

15 *ssu pei* 四輩 (*catuḥ-pariṣad*), the Four Groups of religious life, viz. monks, nuns and male and female lay devotees. The term is rather loosely used in Taoist scriptures, notably in the closing formula which is clearly imitated from Buddhist *sūtra* style: 於是四衆同時稽首 ...[68]). It also occurs in one out of a series of negative commandments, stating that one should not wrangle with nor criticize the 四輩[69]); here it may refer to four categories of religious professionals and lay devotees, analogous to Buddhist usage.

Fifteen doctrinal terms borrowed from Buddhism, most of which have, moreover, been so completely integrated in Taoist complexes that their original meaning and function have changed beyond recognition, whereas the remaining terms have become so generalized that they hardly mean more than "truth" or "religious life". It is not a big harvest. However, its very poverty allows us to draw an important conclusion. In the first place, the selection of terms again confirms the conclusion drawn from our survey of stylistic features (above, p. 105): the terms are extremely common and unspecific; without exception they belong to a "basic Buddhist vocabulary" known to anyone superficially acquainted with Mahāyāna Buddhism. In fact, they are so common that they probably all occur a number of times in a single major scripture such as the *Lotus Sūtra*. Secondly, it is again obvious that the overwhelming majority of loans at this level are found in the scriptures of the *Ling-pao* tradition. Thirdly, the extreme distortion and devaluation in meaning and function prove that Buddhist influence even in the *Ling-pao* tradition was far from evenly distributed. As we shall see in the next section, most conceptual borrowings are not of the isolated type presented here: they clearly are clustered in three complexes. Outside those complexes Buddhist influence was slight and superficial: a handful of terms which have been absorbed and digested to such and extent that they virtually have lost their identity, and in no case have basicially affected the structure into which they were incorporated.

5. Complex borrowings

Let us again, at the risk of unreadability, begin with a survey of the remaining Buddhist terms, with a minimal indication of their original content, in alphabetical order.

1 *chieh* 劫 (*kalpa*) world-age, cosmic period.

2 *ch'ih chieh* 持戒 (*sīla*) discipline, keeping the commandments; the second of the six Supreme Virtues (*pāramitā*).

3 *chien-shu* 劍樹 (*asipattravana*) the infernal torture of the "knife-leaved trees".

4 *ching-chin* 精進 (*vīrya*), zeal, energy; the third of the six *pāramitā*.

5 *chuan-lun sheng-wang* 轉輪聖王 (*cakravarlin*) the universal monarch "Turner-of-the-wheel".

6 (Chü)-yeh-ni [俱] 耶尼 ([*Apara*]-*Godānīya*) name of one of the Four Continents, situated on the West.

7 *s-lou* 惡漏 (*āsrava*) the "evil outflows".

8 *Fan* 梵 (*Brahmā*) name of a god and of several classes of gods.

9 *Fan-chung t'ien* 梵衆天 (*Brahmakāyika*) name of a class of gods.

10 *Fan-fu t'ien* 梵輔天 (*Brahmapurohita*) idem.

11 *Fan-mo-chia-i t'ien* 梵摩迦夷天 (*Brahmakāyika*), id. (cf. 9)

12 *fu-t'ien* 福田 (*puṇyakṣetra*) "field of merit": a propitious karmic sittuation built up by the practice of good deeds in successive lives.

13 (*Fu*)-*yü-tai* [弗] 于逮 (*Pūrva-videha*) name of the southern Continent.

14 (*Hua*)-*ying-sheng t'ien* [化] 應聲天 (*Paranirmita-vaśavartin*) name of a class of gods.

15 *hsiang-hao* 相好: the 32 characteristic bodily marks (*lakṣaṇa*, 相) of a superior man (Buddha or Cakravartin), and his 80 secondary marks (*anuvyañjana*, 好).

16 *hsiao-ch'eng* 小乘 (*hīnayāna*) the Small Vehicle.

17 *jen-ju* 忍辱 (*kṣānti*) patience if suffering; the fourth of the six *pāramitās*.

18 *kuo-t'u* 國土 (*kṣetra*) region, "field", especially a "Buddha-field" (*buddhakṣetra*), i.e. a world in which a Buddha is residing.

19 *liu tu* 六度 (*ṣaṭ-pāramitā*) the six Supreme Virtues practised by the Bodhisattva both for the sake of all beings and in order to accumulate karmic merit: charity (*dāna*, 布施), discipline (*sīla*, 持戒), zeal (*vīrya*, 精進), patience (*kṣānti*, 忍辱) meditation (*dhyāna*, 禪) and wisdom (*prajñā*, 智慧),

20 *lun-chuan* 輪轉 (*saṃsāra*) the cycle of birth-and-death.

21 *Mo* 魔 (*Māra*) more specifically

22 *Mo-wang* 魔王 (*Māra* [*deva*]-*rāja*), Māra, the Evil One, as the personification of lust; Lord of the Sphere of Desire (*kāmadhātu* 欲界).

23 *pa nan* 八難 (*aṣṭāv akṣaṇāḥ*) the eight unfavourable conditions which prevent one from gaining Enlightenment (rebirth in Hell; as a hungry ghost; as an animal; as a very long-lived god; in a frontier region; being blind, deaf or dumb; adhering to heretical views; living in a world without a Buddha).

24 *pen-yüan* 本願 (*pūrvapraṇidhāna*) the "original vow" of a Bodhisattva to strive for Enlightenment and to practise the Supreme Virtues for the sake of all beings.

25 *Po-lo-ni-mi-t'ien* 波羅尼蜜天 (*Paranirmita-vaśavartin*) name of a class of gods (cf. 14); *var. Po-lo-ni-ye-pa-chih-t'ien* 波羅尼耶拔致天.

26 *Po-li-ta-ho-t'ien* 波梨答想天 (*Parīttābha*) name of a class of gods.
27 *Pu-chiao-lo t'ien* 不驕樂天 (*Nirmāṇarati*) name of a class of gods.
28 *pu-shih* 布施 (*dāna*) charity; the first of the six *pāramitās*.
29 *san-chieh* 三界 (*traidhātuka*) the three Spheres of Existence, viz. the Sphere of Desire (*kāmadhātu* 欲界); that of Form (*rūpadhātu* 色界), and that of the Formless (*ārūpyadhātu* 無色界).
30 *san-ch'ien-ta-ch'ien shih-chieh* 三千大千世界 (*trisāhasra-mahāsāhasra-lokadhātu*) a large world-system consisting of 1,000³ worlds.
31 *san t'u* 三途 (*trayo durgatayaḥ*) the three evil destinations; rebirth in one of the Hells; as a hungry ghost (*preta*); as an animal.
32 *san yeh* 三業 (*trividha-dvāra*) the three types of retribution: immediately in this life; in the next life; after the next life.
33 *se-chieh* 色界 (*rūpadhātu*) the Sphere of Form, the second of the three Spheres of Existence (cf. 29).
34 *shih-chieh* 世界 (*lokadhātu*) a world-system consisting of 1000, 1000² or 1000³ worlds.
35 *shou chieh* 守戒 (*śīla*) discipline, cf. (2).
36 *shih fang* 十方 (*daśa-diś*) the ten directions of space (the eight cardinal and intermediate directions, zenith, and nadir).
37 *ssu tong-hsin* 四等心 (*catvāry apramāṇāni*) the four Infinite Sentiments of a Buddha or advanced Bodhisattva: compassion (*maitrī* 慈); pity (*karuṇā* 悲); joy (*muditā* 喜); indifference (*upekṣā* 捨; in early Chinese translations usually rendered by *hu* 護 "protection").
38 *ta-ch'eng* 大乘 (*mahāyāna*) the Great Vehicle.
39 *ta-ch'ien* 大千 (*mahāsāhasra*-[*lokadhātu*]) a world-system consisting of a thousand worlds; cf. (30).
40 *Ta-fan* 大梵 (*mahābrahmā*) name of a class of gods.
41 *T'a-hua-tzu-tsai t'ien* 他化自在天 (*Paranirmita-vaśavartin*) id., cf. (25) and (14).
42 *t'ien-Mo* 天魔 (*devaputra-māra*) the god Māra, cf. (22).
43 *te'u-pei* 慈悲 (*maitrī-karuṇā*) compassion and pity.
44 *Tu-shu t'ien* 兜術天 (*Tuṣita*) name of a class of gods.
45 *t'ung-fu* 鑊釜 (*kukūla*) the infernal torture of the boiling kettle.
46 *wu k'u* 五苦 (*pañca-duḥkha*) the five kinds of suffering associated with the five karmic destinations (cf. 48).
47 *wu-seh chieh* 無色界 ((*ārūpyadhātu*) the Sphere of the Formless, the highest of the three Spheres of Existence; cf. (29).
48 *wu-tao* 五道 (*pañca-gati*) the five karmic destinations: rebirth in one of the Hells; as a hungry ghost; as an animal; as a man; as a god.
49 *Yeh-ni* 耶尼 ([*Apara*]-*Godānīya*) name of the Western Continent.
50 (Yen)-fu-li [閻] 浮利 (or 黎). (*Jambudvīpa*) name of the southern Continent.
51 *yü-chieh* 欲界 (*kāmadhātu*) the Sphere of Desire, the lowest of the Three Spheres of Existence; cf. (29).
52 *Yü-tan* 鬱單 (*Uttara-kuru*) name of the northern Continent.

It is very clear that, apart from the few isolated loans treated in the preceding section, all other borrowings belong to three large complexes:

— (1) *the cosmological complex* (time and space; the world-systems; the Four Continents; the many layers of Heavens and Hells; the Three Spheres of Existence).
— (2) *the complex of morality* (the Supreme Virtues; the Evil Outflows; the Original Vow; the Four Infinite Sentiments; "Hīnayāna" and "Mahāyāna" in their Taoist interpretation).
— (3) *the complex of karman and retribution* (the Field of Merit; the Three and Five Destinies; the Five Sufferings and Eight Unfavourable Situations, the bodily marks accumulated in successive lives; the infernal tortures).

And it is also very clear that this type of borrowing is very different from the one we treated in the last section, for, as we shall see, in these three sectors of Taoist religion the clusters of Buddhist elements mentioned above have deeply influenced the receiving system, and in some cases led to a complete reorientation. As I pointed out in the introduction (above, p. 88), it is impossible within the scope of this paper to treat these three large areas as much in detail as has been done with formal and conceptual borrowings, and in the following pages I shall only present the main lines of the argument and the main conclusions.

However, before doing so, let us follow a well-established Taoist principle and first look for what is *not* there, for in this case the conspicuous absence of other large complexes of Buddhist religion and world-view is as interesting as the presence of the three mentioned above.

The first very striking fact is the complete absence of typically scholastic terminology. Our list contains no trace of the enormous and highly sophisticated vocabulary coined by learned translators and their Chinese assistants since the introduction of the *Abhidharma* and *Vinaya* literature since the end of the fourth century, with their endless rubrication of concepts and very specialized terminology. In other words, even when dealing with complex borrowings, we observe a very low level of doctrinal sophistication.

The second lacuna is the complete lack of *Prajñāpāramitā* influence, apart from the single passage translated above, p. 114, in which the meaning of the concept—or rather non-concept—of Emptiness 空 is grotesquely distorted, and the curious use of *chih-hui* 智慧 noted in the same section, which has nothing to do with the idea of *prajñā* in Mahāyāna thought. This silence is the more remarkable since the overwhelming influence of precisely this Doctrine of Emptiness in contemporary Chinese philosophy and metaphysics of the "Dark Learning" 玄學 type is well-known. The development of a Buddhist "Dark Learning" was based on half-understood Mādhyamika ideas as known first from the Prajñāpāramitā scriptures in various primitive and archaic versions, and from such scriptures as the *Śūraṃgama-samādhi-sūtra* 首楞嚴三昧經 (T 642) and the immensely popular *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* (T 474–475), and since the early fifth

century also from the *śāstras* and commentaries ascribed to Nāgārjuna and his followers. Such notions were mingled with a number of basic ideas derived from *Lao-tzu* in Wang Pi's rationalistic interpretation, *Chuang-tzu* with its Kuo Hsiang commentary, and the *I-ching*. It is difficult to explain why we do not find the slightest trace of a comparable influx of Mādhyamika ideas in religious Taoism, not even in that of the *Ling-pao* tradition. Geographical and social factors can be ruled out—the Lower Yangtze area was since the early fourth century the most fertile breeding-ground of Dark Learning of all types, and "class criteria" cannot have played a role, because both Dark Learning and religious Taoism as reflected in written sources are both definitely upper-class. The exclusion of *Prajñāpāramitā* elements may have been the result of incompatibility: a religion which is so much focused on the concrete pursuit of bodily Immortality had to close its doors to a doctrine that proclaimed, in most uncompromising terms, the utter illusoriness of all phenomena. However that may be, it is interesting to note that in early medieval times the impact of Buddhism on Chinese thought went in two completely separate directions and gave rise to two totally different types of hybridization; it is yet another argument for forgetting about the terms "Taoism" or "Neo-Taoism" when dealing with "Dark Learning".

Thirdly, there are some other lacunae which at first sight are even more surprising. If we consider the paramount place of the body in Taoism, why do we not find any sign of Buddhist influence in a field so extensively covered in Buddhist literature—the material and immaterial components of the individual; the stages of embryonic development, birth, old age, disease, death and decomposition; the Four Great Elements that combine to form the body and that fall apart in death? Considering the Taoist preoccupation with meditation and trance, why is there no trace of borrowing from that field of Buddhist belief and practice, to such an extent that Buddhist respiratory techniques are only mentioned in passing as a specifically Buddhist practice, and that the term *ch'an* 禪 only occurs in the fancy name of one of the Nine Heavens[70])? In a system that is so hierarchical and that so clearly recognizes "stages of saintliness", from the terrestrial *hsien* to the highest Perfected One, why have the Buddhist schemes (either the old Hīnayānist scheme of the four stages from *srota-āpanna* to *arhat*, or the Mahāyānistic ten stages 十地 of the Bodhisattva career) failed to make any impression? Here a simple explanation based on a kind of "market mechanism" cannot give the answers: there were areas in which Taoists were fervently interested, and where they yet did not incorporate Buddhist elements, even if the latter were well-known and abundant. Perhaps we must reject such a "supply-and-demand" argument altogether, and rather look for a structural explanation. Like any complicated system of thought Taoism had its "hard" and "soft" areas: "hard" areas where, even before contact with Buddhism was made, the ideas had already been elaborated and chrystallized to such an extent that they were comparatively inaccessible to outside influences, and "soft" spaces that were "vulnerable" to outside influence, because in such areas ideas were either poorly developed or weakened by internal contradiction. It could well be that central

areas of Taoist thought such as meditation, the human body and stages of saintliness were immune to Buddhist influence precisely because they since the beginning had enjoyed so much attention and therefore had chrystallized into well-developed "closed" structures, whereas other areas—vague and conflicting ideas about life beyond the grave; indistinct and shifting representations of heavens and/or paradises; the conflict between collective inherited guilt and personal responsibility—were open to the impact of Buddhist ideas.

a) The cosmological complex

Indian fantasy (or what has more kindly been called "cosmic intuition") had given Buddhism the conception of a universe of staggering proportions: a dark unlimited space sprinkled with world-systems each consisting of a cluster of a billion worlds. In many of those worlds Buddhas are present, and some of them are paradise-like regions of indescribable beauty and bliss—the results of the Buddha's karmic merit, and of his original vow to "adorn" his future "Buddha-field". Our own world, called Sahā 忍土 "the world of Endurance" is a flat disc, the rim of which is formed by a continuous circular mountain-chain called Cakravāḍa 鐵衛山. The disc consists of layers of earth, water, and wind. In the centre is Mt. Sumeru, surrounded in the four cardinal directions by the Four Continents. The southern continent Jambudvīpa is the world of men as we know it, but the other continents are also inhabited by human-like beings. Our "antipodes" live in the northern continent called Uttara-kuru which is described as a region of natural bliss where the people pass their life-span of one thousand years in a state of happy anarchy—a description which understandably made some impression in Taoist circles. Mt. Sumeru looks like a pyramid standing on its head, its inverted top protruding through the layer of earth into the subterranean ocean. Half-way on its four sides the gods of the lowest heaven, those of the Four Heavenly Kings (四天王 cāturmahārājika-kāyika), guard the four continents. All the other layers of the twenty-eight Heavens are superimposed on the broad upturned base of the central mountain. The twenty-eight Heavens are divided in three groups. The lower six, characterized by full enjoyment of the senses (and hence by desire), still belong to the lowest of the three Spheres of Existence 三界, that of Desire (欲界, *kāmadhātu*), to which the still lower levels of human life, animals, hungry spirits and inhabitants of the Hells also belong. At the top of this complex, and sometimes counted as a Heaven of its own, we find the realm of Māra who as the embodiment of lust reigns over the whole *kāmadhātu*. Next comes the higher Sphere of Form (色界, *rūpadhātu*), in which the cruder sensorial activities are unknown; they comprise eighteen layers of Heavens, subdivided into four groups, each of which corresponds to a certain level of *dhyāna*—a correlation which is based on the interesting belief that the disciple during a certain stage of *dhyāna* mentally is transferred to the corresponding Heaven in order directly to experience the detachment from the senses. Still higher, reaching up to the upper limit of existence, are the four Heavens of

the Sphere of the Formless (無色界, *ārūpyadhātu*), peopled by abstract beings eternally steeped in the highest stages of mental concentration with which they are identified.

Under our continent we find a system of Hells (地獄, *naraka*), eight major ones and a great many others. Being the lowest of the five karmic destinations (五道, *pañcagati*), they are regions of suffering, humiliation, and unspeakable torture. Here we also find the infernal Yāma who at first sight seems to be the autonomous judge which popular religion has made of him. But, in fact, he is no more than an instrument of *karman*, for the amount or punishment is fully and inexorably fixed by the individual's own karmic burden, and no god can ever deviate from it.

On the contrary: gods are relatively powerless. They also are subjected to *karman* and retribution; they have got their exalted positions by merit accumulated in former lives, and once their *puṇya* 功德 is exhausted they are reborn into a lower *gati*. There is an interesting resemblance between the conception of divine existence in Buddhism, in which rebirth in one of the Heavens actually means filling a kind of "position" for a certain time, and the Taoist bureaucratic image of a hierarchy of immortal officials.

The world of men is subjected to a cyclical movement during which the life-span and the bodily size of human beings alternately increase and decrease; this is coupled with a cycle of moral degeneration and revival. For the rest, our world is, in good Indian fashion, completely unhistorical: whether a scene is situated in the recent past or millions of aeons ago, it is always the same world of urban civilization with its kings and brahmans, rich traders and courtesans, big cities and mighty armies. Occasionally, however, at the highest point of a cycle, worldly prosperity reaches its climax under the reign of a perfect "Monarch Turner-of-the-wheel" (轉輪聖王, *cakravartin*) who reigns over the Four Continents. But much rarer even than this are the appearance of a Buddha and the revelation of the Doctrine, and it is one of the greatest fruits of karmic merit that one is born at a time when a Buddha is active in this world. But since, according to the Mahāyānistic world-view, there are innumerable Buddhas active in other world-systems in the "ten directions of space" (十方, *daśa-diś*), it is always possible to strive after rebirth in one of those happy regions.

All this is, however, impermanent and perishable. Just as a world-system has evolved out of the emptiness of an "intermediate period," it will eventually be destroyed. The end of a cosmic era (劫, *kalpa*) and especially the end of a great cosmic era (大劫, *mahākalpa*) are marked by a series of disastrous floods, fires and storms which in three successive waves destroy the world-system up to the Heaven of the Abṛha gods. The highest layers—the upper four of the Sphere of Form and the indestructible Sphere of the Formless survive the cosmic disaster, and so do all beings, for all of them, even the inhabitants of the Hells, are reborn into those highest levels before the apocalypsis starts. There follows an intermediate period of darkness and emptiness, until the forces of the remaining *karman* of all beings start stirring again; a wind starts blowing and develops into a

cosmic tornado which forms the basis on which a new world-system is reintegrated. Thus in a very real sense the world itself is created by *karman*.

This long introduction was needed to provide a background against which the complex of Buddhist loans can be treated.

The first and most general type of loan concerns the aspects of time, space, and orientation. Here the Buddhist influence must be very old; it is to be found in scriptures of all Taoist traditions, for the expressions 劫 and 十方 are by far the most common terms of Buddhist origin, and they regularly figure in texts which do not show any other sign of Buddhist terminology. Needless to say that space and orientation are very old and fundamental element in Taoist thought and ritual, and the importance of the introduction of the "ten directions of space" may seem an unimportant detail. However, the Taoist scheme was no doubt originally based on the traditional Chinese fivefold pattern of the four cardinal directions plus the centre, in other words: on a conception of a horizontal liturgical space, and in this respect the introduction of the three-dimensional Buddhist space may have been an important innovation. But the older conception of a horizontal orientation has never been abandoned, and we find several interesting compromises in a number of Taoist scriptures, in which, for instance, a scheme of six regions is used by combining the "horizontal" four with the zenith and nadir of the Buddhist tradition[71]). Although the "innumerable numerable world-systems" are repeatedly mentioned, the idea is hardly ever elaborated, and there is a marked preference for paradise-like regions not situated in the Heavens but in a horizontal plane[72]). Even if the clusters of the world-systems occasionally figure in our texts, there is at least one scripture in which they are situated in the *eight* directions, i.e. the horizontal four cardinal and four intermediate directions[73]). This may also explain the interest shown in the four Great Continents, indicated by their authentic Indian names, in Taoist texts[74]), even though they sometimes figure in an astronomical or calendrical scheme without any Buddhist parallel[75]). On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the Nine Heavens, so often mentioned in Taoist scriptures of various traditions, are conceived as a vertical structure which, at least as far as the names are concerned, shows strong Buddhist influence[78]). There seems, however, no reason to regard the scheme of the Nine Heavens exclusively as a Buddhist intrusion, on the contrary. In the first place, there are traces of a corresponding scheme of three-plus-six heavens in a text which, though occasionally dealing with Buddhism, in this respect does not show any sign of Buddhist influence[77]), and it could well be that the group of six, regarded as "inferior," was later identified with the lower six Heavens of the Buddhist system—those who belong to the Sphere of Desire. In the second place, the names of most of the Nine Heavens may have been borrowed from Buddhist sources, but they are hopelessly misunderstood and mixed up with each other; it seems that they were used to "fill in" a pre-existing scheme of nine rather than as a new system taken over *en bloc* from Buddhist cosmology. The role of Māra as Lord of (*inter alia*) the lower six Heavens fitted into this system, although in Taoism the role of the Prince of Darkness is

ambiguous—his functions seem to vary from that of a powerful god and tempta-tor (the latter being a well-known Buddhist theme) to the more homely activities of imps, house-demons and *Poltergeister*[78]).

But the whole conception of the divine world was fluid in early Taoism, with many variations: the Thirty-six Heavens (no doubt based on the scheme of Nine), Thirty-two (in four groups of eight), Six and/or Nine (6 + 3), and both Nine and Thirty-two[79]). The orientation remained a problem, for in some texts it is quite clear that the Heavens are not simply superimposed, but in groups ori-ented on the cardinal directions. The confusion appears to have been deepened by the fact that passages describing paradise-like situations in a mixture of Bud-dhist and Taoist imagery the Buddhist conventional descriptions of blissful life in the Heavens, in the terrestrial utopia of Uttara-kuru, and in the ideal Buddha-fields in outer space have merged into one.

The same can be said about the Hells: here, again, a clear borrowing of Bud-dhist imagery, but sometimes the Hells appear to be situated in a horizontal plane, and the victims are like the Chinese convicts of real life condemned to forced labour in far-away border areas—in fact, their sufferings sometimes are described in precisely such terms[80]).

Finally, the Buddhist conception of time as a cyclical movement, punctuated by cosmic disasters that conclude an era of existence, and by cosmic reintegra-tion that forms the beginning of a new one, has deeply influenced the Taoist conception of time, even if the content of the concept *kalpa* is ill-defined, and at times seems to be based on astrological computations which do not play any role in the Indian original[81]). But it is obvious that the authors (or redactors) of our texts were most of all fascinated by the concept of "*kalpa*-disasters" 劫災 which figure many times in various contexts, with several details derived from Bud-dhist lore, including the destruction of the lower Heavens by successive waves of water and fire, and the preservation of the highest levels where the most important esoteric texts are kept. But the context is of course very un-Buddhist. Immortals may be able to escape from the apocalyptic waters by levitation; one may protect oneself against them with charms, and one text even seems to indi-cate that Heaven and Earth in fact do *not* perish in the *kalpa*-disaster, because they are protected by the powerful *Ling-pao* texts[82]).

Some general conclusions may be drawn concerning the "cosmological complex".

In the first place, we are again struck by a combination of extensive borrow-ing and superficiality. The scheme of Nine Heavens uses Buddhist names, but it teems with mistakes, misunderstandings and wrong identifications. This again points to a general but very superficial knowledge of Buddhism, especially since the traditional scheme of Twenty-eight Heavens is found in many well-known Mahāyāna scriptures.

Secondly, the whole complex is much simplified; some basic Buddhist ideas which underlie the whole system, such as the relation between *karman* and the integration of the universe, or that between certain stages of mental concentra-

tion and corresponding Heavens, have not been taken over, and may have been unknown in the Taoist milieu.

Thirdly, the major contribution of Buddhism seems to be the introduction, or at least the reinforcement, of the idea of a three-dimensional ritual space, including zenith and nadir. It has further enriched the pre-existing notions of cosmic eras, and probably also the personalization of divine powers—notably by the introduction of *māra* as the embodiment of lust and evil. In fact, it could well be that the very use of the word *t'ien* 天 for "god" is of Buddhist origin, as it seems to be unknown in Chinese literature before the second century A.D.

b) The complex of morality

There can be no doubt that Buddhist morality as codified in several sets of commands and prohibitions deeply influenced the system of Taoist ethics, although here again the influence is much stronger in the *Ling-pao* tradition than elsewhere. In most cases it is impossible to trace the borrowed elements to specific sources, although when dealing with this complex we can at least identify the genres from which they have been derived. To judge from the terminology and from the general character of the Buddhist elements, they must ultimately be derived from three types of sources: the rules 戒 to be observed by Buddhist laics; the stereotyped list of ten "good works" which form an expansion of those rules, and the strictly Mahāyānist canon of ethical rules and principles known as the "Bodhisattva Vow" 菩薩戒. I say "ultimately," because especially in this field of concrete moral behaviour, knowledge of the conventional Buddhist rules is not necessarily derived from written texts; in particular the few and terse formulas of the "five rules of the lay devotee" 五戒 (*pañcasīla*) may well have been transmitted orally, just as in our culture the "honour thy father and thy mother" is not necessarily based on first-hand knowledge of the Pentateuch. The range of borrowed moralistic elements is strictly confined to Buddhist lay ethics—an important fact that confirms many of our conclusions drawn in preceding sections: there is virtually no influence of the very extensive codes of Monastic Discipline (律, *Vinaya*) with their extremely detailed rules, their wealth of illustrative cases, and their specialized vocabulary[83]).

Buddhist lay ethics originally were simple and concrete. Since very early times the moral of the laic's conduct had been prescribed by a set of negative rules which told the male and female lay devotee (for at this elementary level no distinction of sex was ever made) to abstain from (1) killing 不殺生; (2) stealing 不偷盗; (3) sexual misbehaviour 不邪淫; (4) lying 不妄語, and (5) drinking intoxicant liquor 不飲酒. The promise to observe these rules was, however, not a casual affair. The laic formally accepted the vows 受戒 during a ceremony in which the master first interrogated the candidate (the questions are a mitigated version of the ones that are posed to a person applying to enter the Order); the laic then pronounced the formula of the Triple Refuge 三歸, and after each rule that was pronounced by the master he repeated his resolve to observe it "till the end of his life" 盡形壽.

During the periods of fasting (six monthly fast-days, and three fortnightly fasting periods in a year) a few rules were added to the five: not to indulge in cosmetics, personal adornments, dancing, or music; not to sleep on "high beds" (but on a mat on the ground; it also implies sexual abstention), and not eat after noon.

Another set of elementary rules, also negative, and partly coinciding with the five listed above, is the set of "Ten Good Works" 十善業 (*daśa kuśala-karmāṇi*), actually, as the word 業 implies, a list of ten abstentions that produce good *karman*. It is mainly an elaboration of the Five Rules in which the fourth commandment, that of not lying, is followed by three other "vocal sins" (slander 老君, dishonesty 惡口, and specious language 兩舌), and to which three "mental transgressions" (covetousness 綺語, anger 貪欲, and heresy 瞋恚) have been added.

This simple system of negative rules was apparently felt to be sufficient as long as the lay community still played an indispensable but marginal role in religious life. In Hīnayāna Buddhism, very much centered around the monastic community as (if not in in theory, at least in practice) the only place where saintliness and release could be pursued, the lay believers had limited aspirations. By the accumulation of merit through their liberality towards the *saṅgha* and through the observance of the elementary rules they could hope to be reborn in Heaven, or at least to enjoy prosperity and high status in their next life on earth, but the higher goals of religious life—freedom from all attachment and desire, release and *nirvāṇa*—were practically reserved for those who had given up the world and "had gone forth into the houseless state." Since he had severed all relations with the world, the monk was subjected to a completely new code of conduct that regulated his behaviour in the smallest detail, for all worldly norms and conventions had ceased to exist for him. The lay devotee, however, remained part of the world; he remained a member of his caste and therefore bound to the many obligations and ritual duties prescribed by the *dharma* of his caste. That is why Buddhist lay morality is so little specific in its rules: it did not replace the laic's own group-*dharma* (for that would imply leaving the world and becoming a monk), but it added a general moral orientation to it. But the incompleteness of this Buddhist lay morality is also the reason of its greatness: by being unspecific, the rules are absolute and all-embracing, without any social or ethnic distinctions.

With the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism the scope of lay morality widened. The old rules were maintained, but in addition to these the idea that anybody could take decision to strive for Enlightenment and to enter the Bodhisattva career was translated into new codes of behaviour with much higher aims. These Mahāyānistic ethics were based on the well-known theme of the Six Extreme Virtues practised by any Bodhisattva, as they had for many aeons been practised by Buddha in former lives: discipline, charity, zeal, patience under insult, meditation, and wisdom. Liberality (布施), which originally was mainly directed towards the *saṅgha*, was widened into the ideal of universal charity;

love (慈) and compassion (悲) for all beings were strongly emphasized, and the old belief in the accumulation of karmic merit by the performance of good works was given a new altruistic content by the typical Mahāyānistic idea that such merit could be "transferred" on other beings to release them from suffering. The moral ideals of the Mahāyāna never were systematized into a single uniform canon comparable to the *Vinaya*, the more so since in Mahāyāna ethics the sharp distinction between monastic life and lay Buddhism had become blurred, for the Bodhisattva career was in principle open to monks and layman alike. In a number of texts, translated from the early fifth century onward, long lists of negative and positive rules, "vows" and confessions are listed, and historical sources mention many cases of Chinese emperors, courtiers and other illustrious layman solemny taking the "Bodhisattva vows"—no less than 48.000 monks and laics are said to have done so in the years 519–520, guided by the example of Emperor Wu himself. Among the texts which in various forms present the Bódhisattva's ideal code of conduct the *Fan-wang ching* 梵網經 (T 1484), a fifth century Chinese apocryphal scripture wrongly ascribed to Kumārajīva, appears to have been very popular since early times (as it has remained till the present), and it may have been the main source of Mahāyāna influence on Taoist ethics so amply attested in our body of scriptures[84]).

The idea that the quest for Immortality should be combined with good works and high ethical principles is, of course, an old one, and there is no reason to assume a Buddhist origin for it. For norms of virtue and orderly social conduct Taoists had their examples nearer at hand: Confucian values were generally accepted, and in many respects Taoist morality appears to be a variant form of traditional ethics. Whenever the texts make a distinction between the traditional Confucian norms and the Taoist aims, they do so in a way that runs parallel to contemporary Buddhist apologetics: the worldly canons of social conduct form a useful base for religious life, and, conversely, religious life serves to complement and perfect the worldly code. The virtues of filial piety, loyalty, kindness, trustworthiness, sincerity and impartiality, together called the "way of (ordinary) man" 人道 or the "exoteric doctrine" 外學 form an indispensable first stage; the Taoist commandments can only be observed after this base has been laid, and without it it is impossible to effect inner transformation[85]). And is the Taoist ritual aiming at the release of seven generations of suffering ancestors not the highest perfection of Filial Piety?[86]). It is therefore not surprising that we find several lists of prohibitions that are not or only marginally affected by Buddhist influence, and in which much attention is given to traditional social virtues. One *T'ien-shih* scripture is almost wholly devoted to the theme that moral conduct is of essential importance and that one should not rely too much on sacrifice and the trappings of ritual, but the description of moral life does not contain any trace of Buddhist influence[87]), and the canon of 180 rules pronounced by T'ai-shang Lao-chün do not show any relation with Buddhist ideas[88]). An enumeration of the serious crimes requiring three years of heavy penitence, found in a *Shang-ch'ing* scripture, is only marginally influenced by Buddhist ethics, and

most crimes are specific social offences of the traditional type, such as robbing the people, illicit intercourse within the clan, slandering meritorious people, and planning rebellion against the ruler[89]). The *Ling-pao* scriptures are, as usual, deeply influenced by Buddhist examples, but even there one of the *Ling-pao* decalogues is a mixture in which the first five rules, clearly copied from the Buddhist *pañcaśīla*, are followed by four traditional social prescriptions such as harmony in family life and appreciation of other people's virtue, the whole being rounded up by the Mahāyānist principle of not striving to obtain the Way as long as other beings have not gained release[90]).

The most striking phenomenon is, however, the overwhelming impact of Mahāyāna universal ideals that is shown in *Ling-pao* scriptures. They are expressed in series of commandments 誡, "principles to be followed" 可從, "commemorations" 念, and "vows" or "good wishes" 願 of the purest Mahāyāna inspiration, and teeming with typical expressions such as "full of sympathy to help all living beings" 愍濟羣生; "with tender love widely to save" 慈愛廣救; "let me think of all beings and widely open the bridge (of Salvation)" 願念一切廣開橋梁; "in order that all may reach Release" 咸得度脫—in fact some, lists are so dominated by Mahāyāna ideas and terminology that they could as well figure in a Buddhist scripture of the 菩薩戒 type[91]).

The basic contrast between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna ideals was well-known in Taoist circles, even if its interpretation was somewhat onesided. In a number of passages Hīnayāna 小乘 is associated with the egocentric pursuit of salvation and Mahāyāna 大乘 with the altruistic ideal of "first save others, and then save oneself" 先度人, 後度身[92]). When a group of terrestrial Immortals ask why they after 3,600 years are not yet promoted to a celestial rank, Ko Hsüan tells them that they have limited themselves to the Small Vehicle, "only wishing to save yourself and not being concerned about saving others, only seeking the Way for yourselves and not being concerned with other people's obtaining the Way", and that, he adds, is also the reason why ancient worthies such as P'eng-tsu 彭祖 and Pai-shih 白石 only reached the ages of 800 and 3,000 years respectively[93]). Here we see that the opposition Hīnayāna-Mahāyāna is applied to different orientations within Taoism, one emphasizing egocentricity, and the other one stressing universality. There are also some texts in which the opposition is somewhat different, "Hīnayāna" being associated with outward ritual and mechanical means to effect Immortality, and "Mahāyāna" with mystic silence, meditation, and the practice of universal love. Hīnayāna suffers from verbosity, troublesome practices such as endless kowtows, lack of inner concentration, enormous ritual expenses, and egoistic wishes such as material prosperity, many children and many slaves. Such practices may lead to the elimination of sins and even to rebirth in the Hall of Heaven, but not to Immortality[94]). And another text assures us that even daily practice of respiratory techniques, the chanting of scriptures, and the use of charms will be of no avail of one wants to realize the Mahāyāna, for the Great Vehicle means, first of all, the willingness to serve all beings[95]). In one respect one may even say that this Taoist universality went further than its

Buddhist example, because it was based on the awareness of one single *ch'i* 氣 embracing all entities, even including plants and minerals: "One should tenderly love all entities as much as one's own self ... all that contains the fluid 含氣, (even) trees and herbs, earth and ashes are all like myself, and I think of them as if they were my own children"[96]).

In conclusion we may state that particularly in the *Ling-pao* tradition, but occasionally also outside that movement Taoist morality was deeply influenced, or even re-oriented, by Mahāyāna ideals. The complex borrowed seems to be derived from contemporary lay Buddhism, both at the level of guide-lines for daily life (the negative rules of the *pañcaśīla* type) and that of ultimate ideals (as embodied in the "Bodhisattva vows"). The opposition Hīnayāna-Mahāyāna was interpreted correctly as "self-centered – universalistic," and incorrectly as "inner life – outward trappings"; in both cases the Buddhist notion enriched and deepened pre-existing Taoist ideas about the mutual complementarity of ethics and "methods" 方術.

c) The complex of karman and retribution

Perhaps the most characteristic aspect of Taoist views concerning the whole complex of sin, guilt, penitence, atonement and retribution is to be found in their bureaucratization—a tendency that is, of course, also observable in all other aspects of Taoist religion. This very fundamental tendency to translate religious beliefs and practices into bureaucratic terms is hardly found in mediaeval Chinese Buddhism, which even in a Chinese environment in that respect retained much of its Indian, utterly un-bureaucratic background. In a system where superhuman powers are represented as court officials and top administrators, prayers take the form of memorials or written petitions to the throne, and ascent to Heaven is conceived in terms of appointment to celestial office, it is not surprising that sin, atonement and retribution are expressed in terms that reflect the administration of justice in a bureaucratic society. Sinful and virtuous deeds are carefully noted down and filed just as on the earth conduct-rolls are kept on all officials, serving as a basis for their future promotion or demotion. Just as commoners can only address themselves to the highest authorities through an official acting on their behalf, the devotees need the service of a priestly intermediary to address their petition 章 to the higher powers. The conventional formulas in which the supplicants' sinful indignity is set forth reflects the idiom of official documents with their tone of self-abasement and self-accusation. Life is risky and punishments are severe, but they can be bought off by sacrifice including considerable material expenses, just as in the human world persons can ransom themselves or their convicted relatives. However, this conception of sin and punishment also means that supernatural justice shared with its human counterpart the concept of collective guilt, which in Han times, at least for the most heinous crimes, implied the "extermination of the extended family, including the culprit's parents, presumably also his parental grand-

parents; his wife and children, and presumably his grandchildren; his brothers and sisters, and presumably even his married sisters"[97]). It is a conception of collective guilt which is reflected in the religious sphere by the well-known Taoist belief in *ch'eng-fu* 承負, the burden of sins inherited from seven, nine or even more generations of parents and ancestors and in turn passed on to one's descendants. Many passages in scriptures of all traditions abundantly testify of the belief (a) that the supplicant is burdened by the sins of his forbears and, in turn, is likely to commit sins implicating his children and grandchildren; (b) that his own redemption also implies that of his deceased relatives; but also (c) that he himself can only be exonerated and expect promotion if those relatives are discharged, and that therefore (d) the ritual of self-incrimination, punishment and atonement should in principle be an act performed for both the supplicant and his suffering ancestors[98]).

Of course the Mahāyānist idea of "transfer of merit" (see above, p. 132) could in one way make a positive contribution to the *ch'eng-fu* complex, because it made it possible to use the karmic potential built up through good works (including the pious act of the ritual itself) to redeem one's ancestors; it is merely a particularization of the Mahāyāna ideal of "working for the benefit of all beings"—the same combination that is found in the well-known story about the institution of the Yü-lan-p'en rite that is performed for all suffering souls, but after all owes its origin to Maudgalyāyana's concern for his own suffering mother.

However, in three respects the incorporation of the Buddhist conception of *karman* and retribution created problems. In the first place it blurred the clear image of the original *ch'eng-fu* belief, because in addition to the supplicant's inherited sin it also burdened him with the load of guilt inherited from his own past lives, an ambiguous construction which many scriptures mention without any attempt to explain it[99]). In the second place, the doctrine of rebirth disturbed the simple scheme of either "ascending to heaven" or "going down to hell," which had to be combined with the whole complicated mechanism of rebirth in the five *gati*. But the third and by far most serious contradiction lies in the fact that in Buddhism *karman* and retribution are, in principle, strictly individual, and that the whole concept of collective inherited guilt is not admitted.

There are some interesting signs that Chinese Buddhists from very early times realized that their idea of strictly personal responsibility was a new concept that had to be defended, They could do so on the basis of explicit scriptural evidence, for passages dealing with this theme are already found in a "Life of the Buddha," the two parts of which were separately translated at Loyang around 200 A.D. as *Hsiu-hsing pen-ch'i ching* 修行本起經 (T 184) and *Chung pen-ch'i ching* 中本起經 (T 196). The relation between parents and child is fortuitous; the father and mother say "I have given birth to him; this is my child" 是我所生, 是我之子, but in fact the child is the product of his own karmic configuration, and even the very fact that he is born as a human being is the result of

his conduct in past lives. For the same reason a mother is not responsible for the fact that her child is born blind or deaf, or very in-intelligent[100]). To the Chinese public, this stress upon the strictly individual character of sin must have been new and surprising, and many Chinese must have been impressed by the forceful way in which it is illustrated by the image of "death's messengers"—an old Buddhist metaphor, but known to the Chinese public mainly through the very popular cosmographical scripture *Ta lou-t'an ching* 大樓炭經 (T 23, early fourth century) in which the interrogation is put in the mouth of the infernal judge Yāma: "These sins of yours are not those of your father and mother, or your brother; they are not the sins of the king of gods, nor those of relatives and acquaintances, nor those of your ancestors who have passed away, nor those of *śramaṇas* and brahmans. It is you who have committed evil, and you yourself shall undergo the results!"[101])—a thundering accusation that recurs like a refrain after each questioning. And, apart from scriptural evidence, we have the testimony of early Chinese Buddhist lay devotees. The anonymous author of one of the earliest polemic treatises (*Cheng-wu lun* 正誣論, early fourth century) argues against his Taoist opponents' belief in "retrograde retribution" implicating one's deceased ancestors[102]), and Hsi Ch'ao 郗超 (336–377) who in his unique Buddhist catechism "Essentials of Religion" devotes a whole passage to an exposition of the principle of individual retribution containing an eloquent plea against collective punishment[103]).

In many scriptures of various Taoist orientations the contradiction between personal *karman* and collective guilt seems to be tolerated without any attempt to solve it. It is only in the *Ling-pao* tradition that we find a conscious effort to solve the dilemma, and knowing how deeply this Taoist tradition was influenced by Mahāyāna thought, no one will be surprised to learn that a clear choice was made for the principle of individual retribution. We find in several *Ling-pao* scriptures unambiguous statements to that effect[104]), but most informative is a long discussion on that subject, in the form of a dialogue between Lord Tao 道君 and a Heavenly Worthy 天尊[105]). It would deserve a full translation, but here I can only indicate the general line of the argument.

The Lord Tao poses the basic question about the nature of guilt: Are the ancestor's sins visited upon their descendants? And are our own sins strictly personal, or do they implicate our ancestors? He then quotes some passages from (unnamed) scriptures that indicate that *karman* is personal and cannot be transferred. But if that is true, it follows that we cannot help our suffering ancestors either, because our good works will only benefit ourselves.

The Heavenly Worthy answers most emphatically that *karman* is a strictly individual affair: all our deeds stem from our minds (or intentions, 心), i.e. from our spirit 神. The body that is born from father and mother has nothing to do with it—in fact, they are not our real parents, but in order to repay them for their loving care we honour them and call them "father and mother". Once we are united with the Way we shall have a real body that is identical with the spirit (身神為一) and then we shall return to our original Father-and-Mother. How

could retribution then be based on such an unreal bond as parentage and blood relationship?

Actually, the Heavenly Worthy continues, the concept of inherited guilt is the result of moral degeneration. The real scriptures of highest antiquity down the beginning of the Ch'ih-ming 赤明 era all proclaimed the individuality of *karman*; they knew neither of retroactive implication 上延 of ancestors nor of "downward transfer" 下流 of guilt to the descendants. Afterwards, from the end of the Ch'ih-ming era to the beginning of the Shang-huang 上皇 period, people became depraved and impure, full of evil and distrust, and for that reason they became accustomed to adduce their ancestors and parents, their children and grandchildren as guarantors in swearing oaths 上引祖父下引子孫以為證誓 when they addressed themselves to the unseen powers[106]). And when they broke those solemn covenants, the spirits could do nothing but take the guarantors and imprison them, so that the evil consequences affected the whole clan. But the intelligent disciple should never make this mistake; he should bear the full responsibility for his own *karman* and not seek to implicate others: "How could the clear and perfect ancient scriptures contain empty talk?" On the other hand, the transfer of one's own accumulated merit on others in order to save them is not only possible but even necessary, for nobody can become an Immortal without the Way of great love 大慈之道. Merit can be used to release all beings, for gods and spirits will be touched by the supplicant's true sincerity and self-denial. If all beings can profit from it, how much more then our own parents who have given birth to our bodies and nourished us with loving care?

We may conclude that regarding ideas about sin, guilt and retribution Buddhism deeply influenced Taoist thought, particularly in *Ling-pao* tradition, by introducing the concept of strictly individual responsibility and personal guilt. It further immensely enriched the Taoist views concerning the after-life, at the same time creating ambiguities and contradictions in the Taoist system which at least in the scriptures studied here were not really solved.

5. Conclusion

After this survey and preliminary analysis of Buddhist loans we may revert to the questions posed in the introduction (above, p. 85–86) and try to answer them om the basis of the partial conclusions drawn at the end of each section.

(1) We found a great mass of Buddhist loans of various types, ranging from the most superficial borrowing of ornamental elements to the fundamental impact of Buddhist complexes. As regards the latter category, it may be concluded that the cosmological complex borrowed from Buddhism effected an important change in the conception of ritual space; that in the field of ethics Taoism was deeply influenced by Mahāyāna universalism, and that the Buddhist complex of *karman*, retribution and rebirth brought about very important changes in the Taoist views on sin and its consequence beyond the grave,

notably by stressing the individual nature of guilt. In most cases it could be assumed that there were pre-existing Taoist notions that were re-enforced and stimulated by the impact of Buddhist ideas. When dealing with "weak" borrowings of the formal and conceptual types we observed that they were completely integrated into their new context to such an extent that much of their original value was lost; in such cases Buddhism mainly served to enrich the Taoist idiom without effecting important doctrinal changes. At the level of complex borrowing, some very important new elements were introduced, some of which, such as the doctrine of *karman* and rebirth, became very influential even if it was difficult to integrate them with earlier ideas. However, it should be stressed that there always remains a hard core of specifically Taoist notions that is not affected by Buddhist influence at all. If we try to identify this hard core that basically distinguished Taoism from Buddhism in the early medieval period (an exercise that may not be superfluous in view of the still much debated question "What is Taoism?") three areas may be distinguished: (1) the very fundamental notion of *ch'i* 氣 which does not play any significant role in the Buddhist representation of man and the universe; (2) consequently, the concept of bodily immortality along with all the physical and psychical operations recommended to achieve it, and (3) the ideas that texts as such are quintessential things in themselves, and consequently the whole complex of esoteric transmission and secret initiation associated with it.

(2) The selection of Buddhist loans shows a very clear pattern: there is an obvious concentration of borrowings from the three complexes of cosmology (including ideas about the pantheon), morality, and *karman*-and-retribution. Outside these three, relatively few loans are found, and they are all of the "weak" type. If we consider the nature of the "strong" loans, as well as a number of features which we observed again and again in various sections, there can be little doubt about the explanation of this distribution. We observed, in fact: (a) the absence of borrowings from some very important types of Buddhist "specialized" literature, notably the huge areas of scholastics and monastic discipline; (b) a certain preference for miraculous and picturesque (or even "exotic") features; (c) a superficial and often quite distorted image of Buddhism; (d) the use of only very common terms that cannot be traced to one particular Buddhist scripture or selection of scriptures because they belong to a kind of "basic Buddhist vocabulary", and (e) a marked influence and correct representation of basic ethical formulas such as the "five vows," the "ten good works," and elements derived from the "Bodhisattva vow". In view of all this, the conclusion is obvious: Taoism was not influenced by "professional" Buddhism, but through the distorting and simplifying filter of *lay* Buddhism; we must assume that the human contacts which formed the channel of transmission must not be sought in the monasteries or the *ch'ing-t'an* salons where learned monks were present to explain the doctrine (notably that of Emptiness, which, as we have seen, is signally absent), but rather in lay society where Taoists and Buddhist devotees met,

perhaps even as members of one and the same family. Of course this conclusion should be tested by confronting it with evidence from other sources (a test that falls outside the scope of this study), but in any case all evidence we have assembled here firmly points in that direction.

(3) It has become abundantly clear that the lion's share of Buddhist loans of all types and levels is concentrated in the scriptures of the *Ling-pao* tradition. At this stage it is difficult to explain this remarkable phenomenon. However, if we compare the whole world-view that is set forth in *Ling-pao* scriptures with that of other traditions, we find some typical features such as a great emphasis on moral rules and a certain aversion from outward forms of ritual and magic by which this system *as a whole* shows much greater affinity with Buddhist views than is found in other Taoist traditions. This could mean that *Ling-pao* Taoism already at the beginning, in its formative stage, was exposed to strong Buddhist influence (or even owed its very existence to Buddho-Taoist crossbreeding). This, of course, only means shifting the problem one stage back, to the late fourth century, when the earliest body of *Ling-pao* scriptures is supposed to have taken shape. That date may, however, be significant, if we consider the fact that the *Ling-pao* tradition came into being as a reaction against the other major southern Taoist movement, that of the Maoshan revelations that only had started a few decades earlier. If, as has been brilliantly demonstrated by Michel Strickmann[107]), the latter essentially was an indigenous reaction of the southern aristocracy against the invaders from the north and their ideology, it may be useful to point out that Buddhism, too, was mainly brought to the lower Yangtze regions by refugees from northern China. This may explain why we find so little evidence of Buddhist influence in the original corpus of Mao-shan scriptures, and also how its most successful rival, the *Ling-pao* movement, could establish its own identity by eagerly absorbing the Buddhist elements rejected by its opponent.

(4) The question whether the presence or absence (or, in the first case, the quantity and nature) of Buddhist loans in a Taoist scripture allows us to draw conclusions as to its date is very difficult to answer, for there are many obscuring and complicating factors that must be taken into account. In the first place, outside the *Ling-pao* texts the rarity of Buddhist loans cannot always be interpreted as evidence for an early date, because there are texts (e.g. the new rules introduced by K'ou Ch'ien-chih, TT 785, vol. 562 老君音誦誡經) which are known to be rather late and yet only show very slight traces of Buddhist influence. In such cases, as also the works of T'ao Hung-ching, the near-absence of Buddhist terminology may stem from a conscious "puristic" effort to exclude alien elements. But apart from the latter possibility (which perhaps can also be isolated by other means), Buddhist loans may indeed within certain limits be useful as criteria for dating. The first possibility is to look for "marginal" borrowings of the most common type, which in fact only comprise four elements:

the terms 劫, 十方, 魔, and remarkably, the expression 五苦八難. They occur in most scriptures of all sects, and their inclusion into the Taoist vocabulary must be very old indeed. The *absence* of any of such *most common* loans may be an indication of a very early age (of course to be used along with other criteria, and never as the only argument). But the statement should be further qualified, for there are texts which on account of their very nature (e.g. lists of recipes, or *fu* with explanation) do not easily lend themselves to the use of this type of terminology—after all, one does not look for Bible quotations in the *Larousse culinaire*. We should always consider in how far a given text would potentially lend itself to the inclusion of Buddhist loans. If, for instance, we have a long text containing passages of a discursive nature dealing with things like sin and retribution, eras, rules of moral behaviour, and various kinds of supernatural beings, it seems very probable indeed that the absence of even marginal Buddhist terminology is an indication of an early date—it is in my opinion one of the strongest arguments for regarding the *T'ai-p'ing ching* as a genuine Han work.

The second remark to be made is that *within* the *Ling-pao* tradition with its abundance of Buddhist borrowings the relative frequency and nature of such elements can be used as one of the criteria for dating a text, because in the literature of that sect, which apparently was exposed to continuous Buddhist influence, we may assume that the process has been a cumulative one. It is probably not a coincidence that a text commonly regarded as one of the oldest *Ling-pao* scriptures, TT 338 (vol. 183) 太上靈寶五符序, only shows very marginal traces of Buddhist influence; on the basis of this criterium, TT 330 (vol. 167) 太上洞玄靈寶真文要解上經 would be a close second.

(5) Our final question concerned Buddhism itself: to what extent can the analysis of Buddhist borrowings in Taoism teach us something about mediaeval Chinese Buddhism that we do not know from other sources? The answer must be that in two ways it does yield valuable information.

One of the great problems in the study of early Chinese Buddhism is that we know too much about it—as far as the canonical scriptures are concerned. Of some *sūtras* we know that they were very popular and had a wide circulation, but there are hundreds of texts containing innumerable points of doctrine, of which we cannot measure the actual impact. Many may have been obscure texts with hardly any circulation, surviving in some remote corner, eventually to be saved by their inclusion in the printed canon. In other words: the actual impact is difficult to measure. The selection of Buddhist ideas, particularly at the level of complex borrowing that we find in Taoist literature, gives a very valuable clue as to what ideas were the "focal points" in Buddhism with the strongest appeal—so strong that they could influence Chinese thought beyond the limits of the Buddhist community and be accepted by its greatest rival.

But if we agree with the conclusion drawn above, that Taoism in fact got its Buddhist impulses from lay Buddhism, the information is even more valuable. We actually know very little about that sector of Buddhist religion in mediaeval

China. Apart from a handful of documents of unequal value (the most important being His Ch'ao's "catechism") and, of course, the epigraphical materials, our main source of information consists of the monks' biographies. Such biographies teem with the names of illustrious laics, but they hardly indicate the scope and nature of their beliefs—after all, the *Kao-seng chuan* is largely a work of religious propaganda intended to show the "respectability" of the church in terms of learning and high connections, and the dozens of ministers, governors and courtiers swarming around any famous monk are described as status objects rather than as devotees. It could well be that a more detailed analysis of Buddhist complexes as mirrored in Taoist literature could teach us much about contemporary lay Buddhism, in spite of all misunderstandings and distortions.

But perhaps such misunderstandings and distortions were also widely spread among the simple Buddhist believers themselves. Perhaps we are—as so often happens—handicapped by the fact that we can only observe Buddhism and Taoism at the very highest level, that of the religious "professionals" and their written texts—the tops of two pyramids. We may consider the possibility that at a lower level the bodies of the pyramids merged into a much less differentiated lay religion, and that at the very base both systems largely dissolved into an indistinct mass of popular beliefs and practices.

In that sense—quite different from the one intended by the unknown author of the *San-t'ien nei-chieh ching*—we may agree that, indeed, the two teachings are 'two branches springing from a single trunk'.

Notes

1 The analysis is based on a list of titles kindly put at my disposal by my colleagues Schipper and Lagerwey at Paris; as without this supply of raw materials it would have been impossible to make this survey, I may here express my cordial thanks to them. Taoist scriptures will be referred to by TT followed by their number according to K.M. Schipper, *Concordance du Tao-tsang*, Paris 1975; I have added between brackets the number of the volume in the photolithographic reprint edition of 1924–1926, and a capital letter indicating the Taoist tradition to which the scripture belongs: *T* for 天師; *L* for 靈寶; and *S* for 上清. A list of Taoist scripture quoted or referred to is appended to this paper. Buddhist texts are referred to by their *Taishō daizōkyō* number, preceded by *T*.

2 TT 344 (vol. 177; *L*) p. 13^{a}.

3 TT 455 (vol. 202; *L*) p. 7^{a}.

4 See, for instance, the long lists in TT 456 (vol. 202; *L*) p. 22^{a}–31^{a} and TT 1367 (vol. 1040; *L*) ch. II, p. 4^{b}–7^{a}. For the ambivalent attitude of Taoism towards such popular cults, see Rolf A. Stein, "Religious Taoism and Popular Religion", in H. Welch and A. Seidel (eds.), *Facets of Taoism*, New Haven, 1977, pp. 53–82.

5 TT 325 (vol. 167; *L*) p. 17^{b}–18^{a}. That "practitioner" is the meaning of the word *chao* 兆 as it occurs very regularly in Taoist scriptures is made abundantly clear by the context. I have been unable to find an explanation of this remarkable use of *chao*, wich does not figure in any lexicon. Does the practitioner identify himself with the "omen", i.e. with the promise of a fortunate situation that the rite is expected to realize?

6 TT 1115 (vol. 352; *L*) p. 5[a b].

7 TT 1429 (vol. 1059; L) p. 10[a]. The expression 吳時先主孫權 is unusual; the text may be corrupted. Normally one would expect these words to be the beginning of a new phrase: "At the time of Wu, the first ruler Sun Ch'üan . . .".

8 It is not clear whether Chu Fa-lan's role as a disciple of the famous Taoist master is somehow associated with the well-known but still puzzling inclusion of a Taoist version of the *Sūtra in Forty-two Chapters* in the *Chen-kao*. There is, however, a slight chance, that these Taoist texts do not refer to the famous (if probably legendary) Chu Fa-lan of the first century A.D., but to an obscure namesake who is mentioned very incidentally in the biography of the third century translator Chih Ch'ien who, indeed, was active in the Lower Yangtze area (*CSTCC* 97·3; not mentioned in Chih Ch'ien's biography in *Kao-seng chuan*; cf. my *Buddhist Conquest* pp. 49–50.)

9 Tao-an assumed the clerical surname *Shih* when he stayed at Hsiang-yang, i.e. between 365 and 379 A.D.; cf. *Buddhist Conquest* p. 189.

10 TT 1205 (vol. 867; *T*) ch. I, p. 3[a]. In TT 789 (vol. 563; *T*) p. 13[b] we find what seems to be a more detailed account of Lao-tzu's severity towards the barbarians, his manifestation as the mysterious "Great Man", and the latter's big magic by means of which he forced the Hu to accept the doctrine: "Lao-tzu then went westward among the Hu, and he gave them the Doctrine of the Way. His prohibitions were very severe: they were not (allowed to) have the dispensation of *yin* and *yang* (陰陽之施, i.e. sexual intercourse), nor were they to kill living beings for their drink and food (飲食: probably wrong for 飲酒) so the Hu were unable to believe in the Way. He then transformed himself into a Perfected Immortal 真仙, and (this) Immortal, mixing with the gods (?), floated freely amidst the blue clouds, and . . . whirled around on the bank of the Weak Water (the meaningless 故 before 翔 is obviously corrupt in view of the parallelism with 浮遊 in the preceding phrase). The Hu people kowtowed several myriads of times, and the Perfected One . . . (鏡照天 does not make sense to me in this context); they shaved their heads and cut their beards, and vowed to have faith in the Perfected Man. Thereupon the True Way started to flourish . . .".

For the successive births or transformations of Lao-tzu as described in the *San-tien nei-chieh ching* and the *Cheng-i fa-wen t'ien-shih chiao chieh-k'o ching* 正一法文天師教戒科經 see Anna Seidel, *La divinisation de Laotseu dans le Taoisme des Han*, Paris, 1969, esp. pp. 79–84.

11 *ib.*, ch. I, p. 3[b]–4[a]. I shall not go into details of this confusing story. The account of two births of Lao-tzu (not translated here: one from his cosmic mother Hsüan-miao 玄妙玉女 in primeval times, and once from a self-created mother at the time of Fu Hsi) contains only two recognizable Buddhist traits: the fact that he preached a *sūtra* when dwelling in the womb, and his unusual birth, both times from his mother's left arm-pit. The story of Yin Hsi's entrance into Ch'ing-miao's body, his birth from her right side, and his first words are undoubtedly based upon an extremely popular account of the Buddha's youth, quest for Enlightenment and first preaching, the *T'ai-tzu jui-ying pen-ch'i ching* 太子瑞應本起經 (T 185), compiled from three Late Han scriptures and one or two unknown sources by Chih Ch'ien 支謙, probably at Chieh-yeh, between 220 and 250 A.D. Ch'ing miao 淸妙 is probably an expanded form of Miao 妙 which stands for Māyā, the name of Siddhārtha Gautama's mother in T 185 as well as in Dharmarakṣa's late third century translation of the *Lalitavistara, P'u-yao ching* 普曜經, T. 186, p. 486.2.

12 *ib.*, ch. I, p. 9[b]–10[a].

13 TT 1205 (vol. 876; *T*) ch. II, p. 4[b]. It is difficult to make out whether 沙門道人學小乘者 should be taken to mean "a Buddhist monk who (belongs to the particular

type of monks who) study the Small Vehicle" (implying that other Buddhist monks devote themselves to the Mahāyāna), or "a Buddhist monk who (as all Buddhist monks do) studies the Small Vehicle" (implying that Taoism is here regarded as the true Great Vehicle, and that the whole of Buddhism forms the Small Vehicle). For the use of the terms 小乘 and 大乘 in a Taoist context, see below, p. 44–45; cf. also Rolf A. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 63. The argument that Buddhism is *yin*, and therefore associated with death is well-known from Taoist anti-Buddhist polemic literature. As I have shown elsewhere (*Buddhist Conquest*, pp. 305–307) it figured already in the original *Hua-hu ching* composed about 300 AD by the Taoist master Wang Fou 王浮 , *alias* Chi Kung-tz'u 基公次. The title of that original version, *Ming-wei hua-hu ching* 明威化胡經, specifically attaches it to the early *T'ien-shih* tradition, as *ming-wei* 明威 no doubt stands for the "sworn alliance" 盟威 concluded between the gods and Chang Tao-ling in 142 AD, according to the *Cheng-i fa-wen t'ien-shih chiao chieh-k'o ching* (TT 789 p. 14ᵃ).

14 T 13, 14, 31, 32, 36, 48, 57, 98, 105, 109, 112, 150, 184, 196, 224, 280, 322, 343, 350, 418 (Korean recension only), 458, 602, 603, 605, 607, 624, 626, 792, 807, 1508. Cf. my "Late Han Vernacular Elements in the Earliest Buddhist Translations", *Journal of the Chinese language Teachers Association* 12, 1977, pp. 177–203. A more detailed study on these texts will be published in *T'oung Pao* under the title "A new Approach to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations".

15 The change seems trivial, but it actually is an extremely valuable stylistic landmark for dating Buddhist translations. Till the end of the fourth century the translators exclusively used the 聞如是 formula. The phrase 如是我聞 appears for the first time occasionally in the works of translators who were active in Ch'ang-an under the Former Ch'in, in the last quarter of the fourth century (T 1, 384, 385). Shortly afterwards Kumārajīva, who arrived in Ch'ang-an around 402, exclusively used the 如是我聞 formula in his numerous and extremely influential translations, and it was no doubt due to his example that the use of that rendering became general in the next few decades, both in the south (Fa-hsien, Buddhabhadra, Nandin, Dharmamitra) and in the north (Dharmakṣema). Around the middle of the fifth century, the old formula had virtually become obsolete; the last translators who used it were Guṇabhadra and the *upāsaka* Chü-ch'ü Ching-sheng 沮渠京聲, both active in the Lower Yangtze area under the Liu-Sung dynasty.

16 The closing formula never became as standardized in Chinese translations as the opening phrase eventually became. In early (pre-5th century) Chinese scriptures we find no less than 48 different renderings, ranging from a laconic 佛說經已, 皆大歡喜 (T 109; Han) to a very explicit 佛說如是, 諸比丘聞, 莫不歡喜, 作禮而去 (T 108; W. Chin).

17 The scripture that comes nearest to it is TT 23 (vol. 26).

18 TT 352 (vol. 178; *L*), p. 1ᵃ. The introductory 爾時 is not confined to Buddho-Taoist hybrids. It also occurs as the opening words in some twenty-five Buddhist translations in which it, for unknown reasons, replaces the regular *nidāna* formula. The cases are evenly spread over the whole period in which translation activities were undertaken, from the third to the early twelfth century.

19 TT 177 (vol. 77; *L*), p. 1ᵃ.

20 Smile and ray of light: TT 23 (vol. 26; *L*), p. 1ᵇ; in the Taoist version, the sacred text is sometimes said to appear in this cosmic light—an interesting addition to the Buddhist cliché: TT 1407 (vol. 1051; *L*), p. 2ᵃ; T 1411 (vol. 1052; *L*), p. 1ᵃ. Lists of miracles, strongly reminiscent of the series of 36 that appear at the moment of the Buddha's birth, in T 1 (vol. I; *L*) ch. I, p. 1ᵃ⁻ᵇ; T 22 (vol. 26; *L*) ch. I, p. 2ᵇ–4ᵇ: several characteristic Buddhist traits such as the earth becoming flat and translucent; the typically Chinese division of the 36 miraculous signs into 12 heavenly *jui* 瑞 and

24 earthly *ying* 應 has no Buddhist origin, but the terms themselves are combined in the title of T 185 太子瑞應本起經 that probably stood model for it.

21 TT 97 (vol. 49; *L*) ch. III, p. 1^{a}; TT 23 (vol. 26; *L*), p. 1^{a}; TT I (vol. 1; *L*) ch. I, p. 1^{a}; TT 318 (vol. 165; *L*), p. 5^{a}; TT 1411 (vol. 1052; *L*), p. 1^{a}; TT 1347 (vol. 1033; *S*), p. 1^{a}.

22 TT 23 (vol. 26; *L*), p. 2^{b}.

23 T 1 (vol. I; *L*) ch. I, p. 2^{a}.

24 e.g. TT 97 (vol. 49; *L*), p. 7^{a}: 四衆 (*catuḥpariṣad*, the "four groups" of the religious community) 同時俱起, 作禮稽首受命; TT 23 (vol. 26; *L*), p. 17^{b} (all who were present) 一時稽首, 受命而去; TT 369 (vol. 181; *L*), p. 19^{a}: 於是四衆同時稽首, 伏地, 稱善而退; TT 177 (vol. 77: *L*), p. 16^{b}: 是時諸天莫不欣喜, 善哉善哉.

25 TT 97 (vol. 49; *L*) ch. IV, p. 21^{b}–23^{b}; TT 1115 (vol. 352; *L*), p. 3^{b}–5^{a}.

26 TT 1115 (vol. 352; *L*), p. 2^{a}; *ib.* p. 5^{a}.

27 TT 325 (vol. 167; *L*), p. 3^{a}. The theme of giving away one's children as the highest perfection of Liberality had become well-known in China through Jātaka literature since the third century, and especially through the famous story of Prince Sudāna (in the Pāli version known as Vessantara, *Jātaka* no. 547), a Chinese version of which was included in K'ang Seng-hui's third century *Liu-tu-chi-ching* 六度集經 (T 152 no. 14, T 152 p. 7.3–11.1: Éd. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues*, vol. I, p. 57) and as a separate scripture translated around 400 by Sheng-chien 聖堅 (T 172 太子須大拏經; Chavannes, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 362–395 and vol. IV, p. 247–248).

28 For the theme of "change of sex" (*āśrayaparāvṛtti*) see Ét. Lamotte, *L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti* (Louvain 1962), p. 280–281, note 37.

29 TT 332 (vol. 167; *L*) ch. II, p. 1^{b}–3^{a}.

30 TT 325 (vol. 167; *L*), p. 3^{a}.

31 T 1 (vol. 2, *L*) ch. I, p. 2^{b}–3^{a}. For the power of manipulating space as one of the psychic faculties acquired as a by-product of the four *dhyāna* stages see *Ta chih-tu lun* 大智度論 T 1509, ch. 6, p. 105.1; trsl. Ét. Lamotte, *Le Traitè de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*, vol. I, Louvain 1944, p. 382–383 and note 2. *ib.*

32 TT 532 (vol. 295; *L*), p. 19^{a}. For this metaphor see e.g. T 99, *Samyuktāgama* 雜阿含, p. 242.3 and (id.) T 100, p. 487.3 (= *Saṃyutta Nikāya* II p. 181, *Pabbatasutta*); T 125 *Ekottarāgama* 增一阿含, p. 825.3.

33 e.g. TT 347 (vol. 177; *L*), p. 6^{a}.

34 In the very first phase (translations made by An Shih-kao 安世高, ca. 150–170 A.D.) the translators seem to have been at loss what to do with the *gāthās*. The introductory stanzas of the *Tao-ti ching* 道地經 (T 607, *Yogācārabhūmi*) have been rendered in clumsy prose, and in several other texts of this pioneer the words "the following is said in *gāthās*" are followed, somewhat paradoxically, by a passage in prose. Only seven translations out of the many attributed to Lokakṣema can be regarded as authentic: T 224, 280, 343, 418 (Korean version), 458, 626, 807.

35 Meng Fu 孟福 and Kuo Chih 郭稚, mentioned as participants in two local cults in, respectively, the lateral text of the 三公碑 of 181 A.D. (reproduced in Lu Tseng-hsiang 陸增祥, *Pa-ch'iung-shih chin-shih pucheng* 八瓊室金石補正 p. 526^{a} and 32^{b}) and in the reverse text of the 白石神君碑 of 183 A.D. (reproduced in *Liang-Han chin-shih chi* 兩漢金石記 by Weng Fang-kang 翁方綱 ch. 11, p. 16^{a}). The discovery was already made by T'ang Yung-t'ung (湯用彤, 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史. 1938, p. 69–70).

36 TT 325 (vol. 167; *L*), p. 16^{b}; *ib.*, p. 21.

37 *ib.*, p. 23^{a}.

38 TT 177 (vol. 77: *L*), p. 5^{a}; *ib.*, p. 10^{a}; TT 457 (vol. 202; *L*). p. 1^{a}.

39 T 1300 *Mātaṅgīsūtra* 摩登伽經, attributed to Chu Lü-yen 竺律炎 and Chih Ch'ien 支謙 (ca. 230 AD), contains a *mantra* of the "repetitive" type (p. 400.2: 阿磨利, 毘磨利 . . .), but the attribution is not attested before the late sixth century, and the

style and terminology of T 1300 definitely point to a much later date. Two early texts which certainly contained spells of this type were the collections of spells taken from the *Mahāmā- yūrī-vīdyārajñī* (大孔雀王神呪 and 孔雀王雜神呪) mentioned in *CSTCC*, ch. 2, p. 10.1 as translations made by the early fourth century *dhāraṇī*-specialist Śrītra; both works were lost at an early date. The earliest type of *mantra* known in China may have been the *dhāraṇī*-syllabarium (*arapacana* ...) that figures in section 20 of Mokṣala's translation of the *Prajñāpāramitā in 25.000 verses* (291 AD): T 221 p. 26.2–3. The extremely popular *Lotus Sūtra* contains a long *dhāraṇī*, but in the earliest Chinese version (T 267 p. 130.1; late third century) Dharmarakṣa has not rendered it phonetically; the spell has been "translated" in a most fanciful way; the first phonetic transcription is found in Kumārajīva's version (cf. note 52 below). We may conclude that before the fifth century *dhāraṇī* did not play a prominent role in the Buddhist scriptures known to the Chinese public; I therefore do not share Michel Strickmann's opinion (*Facets of Taoism*, p. 186) that they were very influential in Taoist circles as early as the fourth century AD.

40 TT 1367 (vol. 1040; *S*) ch. II, p. 7^{b}.

41 e.g. TT 97 (vol. 49; *L*) ch. IV, p. 22^{a}; TT 455 (vol. 202; *L*), p. 3^{a}; TT 457 (vol. 202; *L*), p. 8^{a}; TT 1411 (vol. 1052; *L*), p. 9^{a}.

42 TT 1243 (vol. 991; *T*), p. 5^{a}: 先因醜悪生出邊荒, 不識禮法, 不知儀方 ... In the same way the gift of the "correct" religious garment 法服 will assure the giver of a civilized rebirth in China: TT 177 (vol. 77; *L*), p. 8^{b}: 令人世世長雅, 逍遙中國, 不墮邊夷.

43 "The Gods speak the Āryan language", (*Abhidharmakośa* T 1558, ch. 11, p. 60.2; trsl. L. de la Vallée Poussin, vol. III, p. 165). Cf. Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信享, *Bukkyō daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (2nd ed., Kyoto, 1954) p. 4682.3, and *Hōbōgirin* p. 110 s.v. *Bongo* 梵語.

44 TT 97 (vol. 49; *L*) ch. I, p. 15^{b}; *ib.*, ch. III. p. 6^{a}.

45 TT 425 (vol. 194; *L*), p. 7^{a}.

46 *ib.*, p. 7^{a}.

47 *ib.*, p. 9^{a}.

48 TT 1373 (vol. 1041; *S*), p. 4^{b}–15^{b}.

49 *ib.*, p. 6^{b}.

50 TT 97 (vol. 49; *L*) ch. III, p. 7^{a}–28^{a}.

51 TT 425 (vol. 194; *L*) p. 9^{a}; cf. T. 185, p. 473.2. ch. T 184 修行本起經 (ca. 200 AD) p. 463.2 迦夷衛, but o. 468.1 迦維羅衛國; T 185 太子瑞應本起經 (first half third century) p. 473.2 迦維羅衛; T 186 普曜經 (late third cent.) p. 486.1 *id.*; also in T 188 異出菩薩本起經 p. 618.1 (wrongly attributed to the early fourth century translator Nieh Tao-chen 聶道眞; one of the sources used by Chih Ch'ien in compiling T 185, and therefore probably late second or early third century).

52 e.g. T 262, p. 58.2: 安爾,曼爾,摩摩禰、目帝、旨隸、遮梨第、賒咩, 賒履多,瑋履多,瑋羶帝、目多履 (*anye manye mane mamane citte carite same samitā viśānte mukte muktatame* ...); Sanskrit text ed. U. Wogihara and C. Tsuchida, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, Tokyo 1958, p. 335, trsl. H. Kern (*SBE* vol. XXI, Oxford 1909) p. 371; trsl. of Kumārajīva's version in L. Hurvitz, *The Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* (NY 1976), p. 320–321; Murano Senchū, *The Sūtra of the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law* (Tokyo 1975), p. 295–296.

53 TT 347 (vol. 179; *L*), p. 1^{b}–5^{b}.

54 TT 177 vol. 77; *L*), p. 6^{a}–7^{a}; *ib.* p. 9^{b}–13^{b}.

55 e.g. TT 97 (vol. 49; *L*), ch. IV, p. 21^{b} (opposed to 愚聾); *ib.* p. 23^{a} (parallel to 開聰).

56 Very clearly so in what forms the nucleus of TT 177 (vol. 77; *L*): the six 智慧閉塞六情上品誡 (p. 6^{a}–7^{a}; the six 智慧度生上品大誡 (p. 7^{a}–8^{a}; and the ten 智慧十善勸助上品大誡. In TT 1344 (vol. 1032; *S*) ch. III, p. 11^{b}–15^{a} we find another series of moral norms which "agree with 智慧".

57 e.g. TT 97 (vol. 49; *L*), p. 25[a]: 身入法輪之門; TT 177 (vol. 77; *L*). p. 8[b]: 法輪將至、將得仙道.
58 TT 330 (vol. 167; *L*), p. 3[a] and TT 347 (vol. 177; *L*), p. 7[b].
59 TT 346 (vol. 177; *L*), p. 6[a].
60 TT 785 (vol. 562; *T*), p. 18[a].
61 TT 344 (vol. 177; *L*), p. 12[a]: the *fan-jen* may study the *Tao-te ching* and even ascend to the Hall of Heaven, but the great esoteric texts such as the 大洞真經 must not be revealed to him.
62 TT 325 (vol. 167; *L*), p. 4[b].
63 TT 330 (vol. 167; *L*), p. 3[a]; TT 347 (vol. 177; *L*), p. 7[b]; TT 1314 (vol. 1026; *S*), p. 47[b].
64 TT 330 (vol. 167; *L*), p. 8[b].
65 TT 1114 (vol. 758; *L*), p. 12[a]; TT 1344 (vol. 1052; *S*) ch. III, p. 14[a].
66 TT 318 (vol. 165; *L*), p. 1[a].
67 Cf. Isabelle Robinet, "Metamorphosis and Deliverance from the Corpse in Taoism", *Hist. of Rel.* 19 (1979), p. 37–70, esp. p. 62 and p. 66–67.
68 TT 369 (vol. 181; *L*), p. 19[a].
69 TT 177 (vol. 77; *L*), p. 2[b].
70 The second Heaven, called 上上禪善無量壽天; e.g. TT 55 (vol. 30; *S*), p. 5[b]; TT 56 (vol. 30; *S*), p. 9[b]; TT 1346 (vol. 1033; 1033; *S*), p. 1[a]; TT 1347 (vol. 1033; *S*), p. 6[a].
71 TT 1373 (vol. 1041; X), p. 4[b]–6[b]. There is no specific reference to the sixfold division of space 六合 that occurs in *Chuang-tau* 2 (齊物論, ed. *Chu-lzu chi-ch'eng* p. 13): 六合之外聖人存而不論, explained by Wang Hsien-ch'leu as 天地四方. The most obscure of the cosmological models current in Han times, that of the *hsüan-yeh* 宣夜 theorists, appears to be based on the idea of an unlimited empty space surrounding the earth on every side, cf. J. Needham, *Science and Civilization*, vol. III, p. 219–223, and his remarks about the resemblance between the *hsüan-yeh* model and the Buddhist representation of the universe, *ib.*
72 無極世界: e.g. TT 97 (vol. 49; *L*), p. 22[b]; TT 23 (vol. 26; *L*), p. 2[b]; TT 417 (vol. 192; *L*), p. 5[b]. Paradise-like regions in a horizontal plane: TT 455 (vol. 202; *L*) the Tao visits the eight outlying worlds in the eight directions; TT 33 (vol. 27; *S*), p. 2[b]–3[a] the happy regions beyond the four continents; id. TT 1373 (vol. 1041; *S*), p. 4[b]–6[b]; TT 23 (vol. 26; *L*), p. 2[b] (*et pass.*) the five blissful countries.
73 Reference to the 三千大千世界 in TT 1114 (vol. 758; *L*), p. 11[a], followed by an enumeration of 大千 in the *eight* directions of space.
74 The Four Great Continents: TT 33 (vol. 26; *S*), p. 2[b]–3[a]; TT 1373 (vol. 1041; *S*), p. 4[b]–6[b]. In TT 33 [Apara-Go]dānīya is incompletely but correctly written 耶尼. In TT 1373 we find 俱邪邑 which appears to be a double corruption: 邪 is no doubt a mistake for 耶, but 邑 should also be corrected to 尼, as proved by the Middle Chinese pronunciation of 邑: **iəp*, which could never render -*nīya*.
75 TT 33 (vol. 27; *S*), p. 2[b]–3[a].
76 The names of the Nine Heavens are found, with minor variations, in TT 55 (vol. 30; *S*), p. 5[a]–9[b]; TT 56[a] (vol. 30; *S*), p. 9[b]–14[a]; TT 318 (vol. 165; *L*), p. 9[b]–14[a]; TT 1347 (vol. 1033; *S*), p. 6[a]–8[a], and TT 1365 (vol. 1039; *S*), p. 5[a]. They are as follows:
I. 鬱單無量天. No corresponding Buddhist name: the first two syllables are the usual transcription of the utopian northern continent of Uttarakuru.
II. 上上禪善無量壽天. No corresponding Buddhist name. Apparently associated with the "Western Paradise", i.e. the blissful world of the Buddha Amitābha or Amitāyus 無量壽.
III. 梵監天 (*var.* 順延天); probably a fancy form inspired by the four Brahmā-heavens and their various names (cf. VII, VIII and IX below). *Hsü-yen* is a pseudo-

Sanskrit term; it cannot be a transcription of *Suyāma* because in Middle Chinese 延 was pronounced. **iān*, with a dental final.
IV. 兜術天 (*var.* 寂然天), *Tuṣila*, in the Buddhist hierarchy also the fourth heaven, but I have not found the name 寂然天 in any Buddhist source. *Tuṣita* is always explained as "satisfied" (*saṃtuṣita*); at first sight, the term 寂然 is intriguing because it could be a (grammatically impossible) derivation from *tuṣṇīm* "silently", but it could also be a coincidental resemblance.
V. 不驕樂天 or 波羅尼蜜天. The name 不驕樂 is the common translation of *Nirmāṇarati*, which in the Buddhist pantheon indeed corresponds to the fifth heaven. But 波羅尼蜜, the usual transcription of *Paranirmita* (*-vaśavartin*), is not the fifth but the sixth Buddhist heaven.
VI. 化應聲天 or 他化自在天. Both are common translations of *Paranirmita-vaśavartin* which also in the Buddhist scheme is the sixth heaven; the transcription of the same name forms stage V in the Taoist scheme (see above).
VII. 梵寶天 or 波羅尼耶拔致天. The latter name is again a transcription (this time a complete one) of *Paranirmita-vaśavartin*, the sixth Buddhist heaven. 梵寶天 is a fancy name, like III above. In TT 318 this heaven is called 靈化梵輔天, a mixed form, the second part of which corresponds to *Brahma-purohita*, the eight Buddhist heaven. TT 1347 has 鬱寶天, which has no recognizable Buddhist counterpart.
VIII. 波梨答惒天 or 大梵天. Both correctly render *Brahmakāyika*, which is the seventh Buddhist heaven. In TT 1347 VIII is called 高虛清明天. In TT 56 the order of the names of VII and VIII is reversed.
IX. 波梨答惒天 or 大梵天. The first name is the common transcription of *Parīttābha*, the tenth Buddhist heaven; the second one corresponds to *Mahābrahmā* which in the Buddhist scheme is indeed the ninth. In TT 318 the name of the ninth heaven is 無想無結無愛天, which may be a free invention, but it could also be a faint echo of the names of the four classes of gods of the *Ārūpyadhātu*, notably of the highest one, "Those who have neither conscious perception nor the absence of it" (*Naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñā* 非有想非無想).

77 TT 1205 (vol. 876; *T*), ch. I, p. 6ᵃ: Chang Tao-ling, appointed as the 三天之師, has come to "abolish the Three Ways of the Six Heavens" 罷廢六天三道; those Ways (p. 7ᵃ) "all are the old things of the Six Heavens, and they all are already discarded" 皆是六天故事悉已被廢. The expression "Nine Heavens" 九天 occurs already in pre-Han literature (*Sun-tzu*, 形篇, ed. *Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng* p. 56: 善攻者動於九天之上); it is also found in *Huai-nan tzu* (ch. 3, 天文訓, p. 36–37), but there the Nine Heavens clearly refer to the nine regions of the empyrean (九野) in the centre and the eight cardinal and intermediate directions, and not to a system of superimposed layers. The latter image is, however, clearly expressed by the term 九重 that is already attested in early Han times (*Han-shu*, Peking edition, p. 1052, containing the text of the nineteen sacrificial hymns composed under emperor Wu: 九重開, 靈之遊; Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.* vol. III, p. 615: "Les neuf étages (des cieux) se sont ouverts—voici les étendards de la divinité"). For the "Six Heavens" as forces of evil and degeneration see M. Strickmann, "The Mao-shan Revelations: Taoism and the Aristocracy", *TP* 63 (1977), p. 12–13 and Rolf A. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 59 and p. 62–64; (the evil Six Heavens as opposed to the good Three Heavens 三天); for another type of opposition between the Three and the Six Heavens in a chronological sequence, and associated with *ling* 靈 and *pao* 寶, as set forth in the (probably third century) *Ling-pao wu-fu hsü* 靈寶五符序, see M. Kaltenmark, "Ling-pao: Note sur un terme du taoïsme religieux", *MIHEC* 2 (1960), pp. 560–567.

78 Buddhist scriptures often mention various kinds of Māra, notably "the four Māras", but apart from the fourth one, who is "Māra the god" (*devaputramāra*), the use of the term is clearly metaphorical, as the first three refer to impersonal entities: the

saṃskāras, the *kleśas*, and Death. In Taoist scriptures the meaning of 魔 has in most cases become generic and collective: "evil spirits" or "demons", as also appears from the stereotyped combinations, e.g. 衆魔 (*passim*, in scriptures of all traditions); TT 1329 (vol. 1029; *T*), p. 2^a 羣魔萬靈; *ib*;. p. 1^a 制魔滅妖. Māra the temptator: TT 1114 (vol. 758; *L*), p. 13^a; TT 1329 (vol. 1029; *S*), p. 5^a; TT 354 (vol. 179; *S*), p. 31^b. In a more positive role Māra is charged by the celestial powers with the control of all spirits and demons in the six heavens that are under his command (TT 1114 (vol. 758; *L*), p. 13^a). In that way he has been incorporated into the group of celestial sovereigns who are associated with the five directions and the five colours, in his case obviously the north, and black (*ib.*, p. 13^b).

79 *Nine Heavens*: see note 73; *Thirty-six Heavens*: TT 1373 (vol. 1041; *S*) ch. II, p. 5^a–15^a; *Thirty-two*; TT 97 (vol. 49; *L*), p. 7^a–28^a, and nearly the whole ch. IV; both *Nine and Thirty-two*: TT 1365 (vol. 1039; *S*), p. 5^a sqq.

80 Hells in a horizontal plane: TT 455 (vol. 202; *L*), passim. Chinese-type punishments (carrying stones and filling up pools, or, in human terms, "irrigation and drainage"): TT 1313 (vol. 1025; *S*), p. 2^a 死為下鬼、灌河填山 . . .; TT 1314 (vol. 1026; *S*), p. 54^b 充役三塗、負山運石以填無極之源; TT 1331 (vol. 1030; *S*), p. 10^b 七祖離幽徒.

81 TT 330 (vol. 167; *L*), p. 1^a.

82 *ib.*, p. 1^b.

83 The only exception is TT 785 (vol. 562, *T*), K'ou Ch'ien-chih's 老君音誦誡經, which contains a few commandments that are clearly derived from *vinaya* rules regulating the deportment of a monk when visiting lay devotees; cf. Yang Lien-sheng 楊聯陞, "Lao-tzu yin-sung chieh ching chiao-shih 校釋", *CYYCY Chi-k'an* 28 (1956), vol. I, p. 47. Yang Lien-sheng specifically relates these passages to Prajñāruci's translation of the *Cheng-fa nien-ch'u ching* 正法念處經 (T 721), but the rules in question (walking upright, looking straight forward, not creating disturbances in the host's home by offensive behaviour, etc.) are well-known, and the passage in TT 785 is rather based upon a general knowledge of Buddhist discipline than on a specific Buddhist text.

84 Cf. *Hōbōgirin* II, p. 142, s.v. *bosatsukai* 菩薩戒.

85 TT 344 (vol. 177; *L*), p. 14^a–15^a.

86 TT 1114 (vol. 758; *L*), p. 12^b.

87 TT 789 (vol. 563; *T*).

88 TT 786 (vol. 562; *T*).

89 TT 1314 (vol. 1026; *S*), p. 54^b.

90 TT 325 (vol. 167; *L*), p. 7^b. The only subtle difference between the Buddhist *pañcaśīla* and the first five Taoist prohibitions in this document is that instead of the Buddhist 不飲酒 "not to drink alcoholic liquors" we find 不醉 "not to become drunk".

91 The most typical examples are found in four closely related *Ling-pao* texts, viz. TT 177 (vol. 77); TT 344, TT 346 (both in vol. 177), and TT 352 (vol. 178); the Ten Rules 十誡 (TT 177, p. 1^b–2^b; id. TT 352, ch. I, p. 3^a); the Twelve Principles to be Followed 十二可從 (TT 177, p. 3^a–4^a; id. TT 352, p. 3^b–4^a); the six Supreme Rules leading to Release. 度生上品大誡 (TT 177, p. 7^a–8^a); the long series of vows or good wishes 願 in TT 344 (vol. 177, p. 4^a–7^a, roughly corresponding to the 45 "commemorations" 念 in TT 346 (vol. 177), p. 1^b–5^b. There are, however, also lists of rules in the *Ling-pao* scriptures in which the Mahāyānist element is much less conspicuous; such rules seem directly to have been patterned after the more modest prohibitions of the *pañcaśīla* and of the Ten Good Works, e.g. TT 1 (vol. 1, *L*), ch. I, p. 3^a: 不殺, 不害, 不嫉, 不妬, 不淫, 不盜, etc., and the ten prohibitions listed in TT 671 (vol. 352; *L*), p. 2^b–3^a.

92 TT 1114 (vol. 758; *L*); p. 6^b. The same phrase is also found in TT 1115 and TT 1205, see the next two notes.

93 TT 1115 (vol. 362; *L*), p. 1^b–2^a.

94 TT 1205 (vol. 876; T)) ch. II, p. 3^b–4^b.

95 TT 1322 (vol. 1029, S), p. 3^a. Cf. also TT 344 (vol. 177; *L*), p. 8^b, and TT 1322 (vol. 1028; *S*), which is wholly devoted to the opposition of "methods" 方術 versus ethics; the inspiration is here mainly Confucian, but there are also clear signs of Mahāyāna influence.

96 *ib.*, p. 5^a.

97 Hulsewé, *Remnants of Han Law*, Leiden, 1955, p. 116.

98 We should make a distinction, like some texts do, between *ch'eng-fu* which, strictly speaking, means that the burden of sin (or virtue) is passed from earlier to later generations, and what is called 延譲, which means that my own sins or virtues retroactively are visited upon my deceased parents and ancestors. Both types of implication are mentioned many times in our texts.

Some examples of *ch'eng-fu* (the term itself is of course very frequently used in the *T'ai-p'ing ching*, but I have not found it in our body of texts): TT 388 (vol. 183; *L*) ch. III, p. 18^b: Huang-ti has got his exalted position because of the virtue of his ancestors; TT 615 (vol. 335–336; *T*), ch. II, p. 31^a: the premature death of a guiltless person is caused by the "surplus" of his ancestors' transgressions, just as their surplus of virtue is the cause of a sinner's seemingly undeserved happiness; "small transgressions only affect one's own person; great ones extend downward to one's children and grandchildren" 小過止其身, 大過下流子孫; TT 405 (vol. 171; *S*), p. 13^b: a prayer to obtain forgiveness for the sins committed by seven generations of ancestors; TT 1345 (vol. 1032; *S*): the disciple whose ancestors have committed very serious crimes (enumerated here) is not allowed to defile the scriptures with his 餘殃之身; TT 346 (vol. 177; *L*), p. 3^b: 福流後代, 禍及子身.

Some examples of retroactive implication: TT I (vol. 1; *L*) ch. I, p. 4^b: 殃及九祖, 長役鬼官; TT 1114 (vol. 758; *L*), p. 15^a: if one makes this scripture known to unworthy persons 七祖囚於地獄、身履三悪之考; TT 639 (vol. 342, *S*): 大罪禍及於三祖, 小罪止身以受殃, a very far-going system of collective guilt is suggested by TT 1367 (vol. 1040, *S*), ch. II, p. 7^b: 或中表相牽, 內外相染, 男女大小一切眷屬後世今生俱有罪過.

99 e.g. TT 880 (vol. 582; *T*), ch. I, p. 9^b: prayer to be relieved of the sins of seven generations of ancestors and of personal sins accumulated in the course of *kalpas*; TT 615 (vol. 335–336; *T*), ch. IV, p. 21^a mentioning the supplicant's sins inherited from seven generations of ancestors; and *ib.* V, p. 1^b his own innumerable sins committed in former lives. I have not gone into the very complicated subject of Buddho-Taoist interaction in the field of confession and penitence—practices that can be traced back to the very beginning of organized religious Taoism. It is probable that at a later stage the Taoist complex of confession and expiation was influenced by the Buddhist ritual of "threefold penitence" (confession; joyful realization of merit and transfer of merit to others; exhortation directed towards the Buddhas to save all beings) to be performed by lay believers. However, in China this simple ritual developed into a more complicated "fivefold penitence" 五悔 that was closely associated with the class of (largely apocryphal) texts known as "Buddha names scriptures" 佛名經, and in this development we recognize an unmistakable influence of Taoist practices upon Buddhist ritual than the reverse. In a Buddhist perspective the subject has been extensively treated by Shioiri Ryōdō 塩入良道 in his "Chūgoku bukkyō ni okeru butsumyōkyō no seikaku to sono genryū" 中國佛教における佛名經の性格とその源流 (*Tōyō bunka kenkyūsho kiyō* 42, 1966, p. 221–320) and "Chūgoku bukkyō ni okeru raisan to butsumyō-kyōten" 中國佛教における禮懺と佛

名經典 (*Bukkyō shisōshi ronshū*, Tokyo 1964, p. 569–590), as well as by W. Vande Walle in his study on Hsiao Tzu-liang's 蕭子良 late fifth century compendium *Ching-chu-tzu ching-hsing fa-men* 淨住子淨行法門 (*KHMC* ch. 27), *Methode van rein gedrag voor de volgeling van het reine vertoeven* (unpubl. diss., Univ. of Gent, 1976), vol. I, p. 150–168. The subject is to be reconsidered in the context of Buddho-Taoist interaction.

100 T 196, p. 153.1

101 T 23, p. 286. 1–287.2. According to Tao-an's first catalogue of Buddhist scriptures (374 AD), the first translation of this very popular *sūtra* was made by Dharmarakṣa in 302 AD. The oldest extant Chinese version (T 23 大樓炭經; the title probably stands for *Lokadhātu-sūtra*) bears the names of Po Fa-chü 帛法炬 and Po Fa-li 帛法立, who both were active around 300. It is a very crude translation teeming with errors; a far better version is included in Buddhayaśas' translation of the Dīrghāgama (T 1 中阿含經, no. 30; 413 AD; no parallel in the Pāli *Dīgha Nikāya*). Later separate versions are T 24 起世經 (trsl. by Jñānagupta, second half 6th cent.) and T 25 起世因本經 (trsl. by Dharmagupta, late 6th cent.): both are based on a much more elaborate recension of this cosmological text. The theme of the three or five "divine messengers" is well-known: *Aṅguttara Nikāya* III. 35, trsl. F.L. Woodward and E. M. Hare, *Gradual Sayings*, vol. I, p. 121; *Madhyamāgama* T 26 (中阿含經, trsl. Saṅghadeva, late 4th cent.) no. 64, p. 503.1–506.1; *Ekottarāgama* T 125 (增一阿含經, id.) no. 32.4, p. 674.2–676.2; separate versions: T 42 鐵城泥犂經 (trsl. Dharmaratna, late 4th cent.) and T 43 閻羅王五天使者經 (trsl. Hui-chien 慧簡, mid.-5th cent.). Cf. also A. E. Link, "*Cheng-wu lun*: the Rectification of Unjustified Criticism", in *Or. Extr.* 8 (1961), p. 147, note 48.

102 *Hung-ming chi* 弘明集. T 2102, p. 8.1; Arthur E. Limk, *op. cit.* p. 151. In another passage (*ib.*, p. 7.3; trsl. Link p. 147) the anonymous author explicitly refers to the *Lou-t'an ching*.

103 *Hung-ming chi*, T 2102, p. 37.3; trsl. in *Buddhist Conquest*, p. 168–169.

104 TT 344 (vol. 177; *L*), p. 2^{b}; TT 347 (vol. 177; *L*), p. 1^{a}; TT 348 (vol. 177; *L*), p. 1^{a}; TT 417 (vol. 192; *L*), p. 14^{b}.

105 TT 456 (vol. 202; *L*), p. 32^{b}–38^{a}.

106 Some explicit cases of ancestors being mentioned as "guarantors" are found in Lu Hsiu-ching's 太上洞玄靈寶授度儀, TT 528 (vol. 294), p. 20^{b} and 38^{a}.

107 Michel Strickmann, "The Mao-shan Revelations: Taoism and the Aristocracy", *TP* 63, 1977, p. 1–64.

Taoist scriptures quoted or referred to

Nr.	Vol. & Sect.	(L = *Ling-pao*; *S* = *Shang-ch'ing*; *T* = *T'ien-shih*)
1	1; L.	靈寶無量度人上品妙經 (ch. I only).
22	26; L.	元始五老赤書玉篇眞文天書經
23	26; L.	太上諸天靈書度命妙經
33	27; S.	上淸黃氣陽精三道順行經
55	30; S.	高上太霄琅書瓊文帝章經
97	49; L.	太上靈寶諸天內音自然玉字
177	77; L.	太上洞眞智慧上品大誡
318	165; L.	洞玄靈寶自然九天生神章經
325	167; L.	太上洞玄靈寶智慧定志通微經
330	167; L.	" " " " " " 眞文要解上經

344	177; L.	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 智慧本願大戒上品經
346	177; L.	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 眞一勸誡法輪妙經
347	177; L.	太上玄一眞人說妙通轉神入定經
348	177; L.	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 勸誡法輪妙經
352	178; L.	太上洞玄靈寶赤書玉訣妙經
354	179; S.	上淸三元玉檢三元布經
369	181; L.	太上洞玄靈寶滅度五鍊生尸妙經
388	183; L.	太上靈寶五符序
405	191; S.	上淸紫精君皇初紫靈道君洞房上經
417	192; L.	太上大道三元品誡謝罪上法
425	194; L.	上淸太極隱注玉經寶訣
455	202; L.	太上玄一眞人說三途五苦勸戒經
456	202; L.	太上洞玄靈寶三元品戒功德輕重經
457	202; L.	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 智慧罪根上品大戒經
532	295; L.	太極眞人敷靈寶齋戒威儀諸經要訣
615	335–336; T.	赤松子章曆
639	342; S.	皇天上淸金闕帝君靈書紫文上經
671	352; L.	太上無極大道自然眞一五稱符上經
785	562; T.	老君音誦誡經
786	562; T.	太上老君經律
789	563; T.	正一法文天師教戒科經
1114	758; L.	太上洞玄靈寶本行宿緣經
1115	758; L.	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, 因緣經
1205	876; T.	三天內解經
1243	991; T.	正一法文太上外籙儀
1314	1026; S.	洞眞太上素靈洞元大有妙經
1322	1028; S.	,, ,, ,, ,, 八素眞經三五行化妙訣
1329	1029; T.	太上九赤班符五帝內眞經
1331	1030; S.	洞眞上淸神州七轉七變舞天經
1344	1032; S.	洞眞太上說智慧消魔眞經
1345	1032; S.	,, ,, ,, ,, 道君元丹上經
1347	1033; S.	,, ,, ,, ,, 上淸內經
1365	1039; S.	上淸元始譜錄太眞玉訣
1367	1040; S.	上淸河圖內玄經
1373	1041; S.	上淸外國放品靑童內文
1407	1051; L.	洞玄靈寶二十四生圖經
1411	1052; L.	,, ,, ,, ,, 長夜之府九幽玉匱明眞科
1439	1059; L.	,, ,, ,, ,, 玉京山步虛經。

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